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JOURNAL

OF THE

ACTS AND PROCEEDINGS

OF A

GENERAL CONVENTION

OF THE

STATE OF VIRGINIA,

ASSEMBLED AT RICHMOND,

ON WEDNESDAY, THE THIRTEENTH DAY OF FEBRUARY, EIGHTEEN HUNDRED
AND SIXTY-ONE.

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RICHMOND:

WYATT M. ELLIOTT, PRINTER.
1861.



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JOURNAL

OF THE

GENERAL CONVENTION.

The members of the Convention elected in pursuance of an act of the General Assembly, passed January 14th, 1861, assembled in the Capitol, in the City of Richmond, at 12 o'clock, M., on Wednesday, the thirteenth day of February, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and sixty-one, and in the eighty-fifth year of the Commonwealth.

The Convention was called to order by Mr. SCOTT, of Fauquier, on whose motion, Mr. JAMES H. COX, of the County of Chesterfield, was unanimously elected temporary President of the Convention.

Mr. COX was conducted to the chair by Mr. SUMMERS and Mr. PATRICK, and returned his acknowledgments for the honor conferred upon him.

On motion of Mr. SCOTT, of Fauquier, WILLIAM F. GORDON, Jr., Clerk of the House of Delegates, was appointed temporary Secretary of the Convention.

The roll was then called and the following members answered to their names:

Accomac	William H. B. Custis.
Albemarle	{ Valentine W. Southall, James P. Holcombe.
Alexandria	
Alleghany and Bath.....	George W. Brent.
Amelia and Nottoway	Thomas Sitlington.
Amherst.....	Lewis E. Harvie.
Appomattox.....	Samuel M. Garland.
	Lewis D. Isbell.

<i>Augusta</i>	{ A. H. H. Stuart, John B. Baldwin, George Baylor.
<i>Barbour</i>	Samuel Woods.
<i>Bedford</i>	William L. Goggin.
<i>Berkeley</i>	Allen C. Hammond.
<i>Brooke</i>	Campbell Tarr.
<i>Brunswick</i>	James B. Mallory.
<i>Buckingham</i>	William W. Forbes.
<i>Cabell</i>	William McComas.
<i>Campbell</i>	{ John M. Speed, Charles R. Slaughter.
<i>Caroline</i>	Edmund T. Morris.
<i>Charlotte</i>	Wood Bouldin.
<i>Chesterfield</i>	James H. Cox.
<i>Clarke</i>	Hugh M. Nelson.
<i>Culpeper</i>	James Barbour.
<i>Cumberland and Powhatan</i>	William C. Scott.
<i>Dinwiddie</i>	James Boisseau.
<i>Doddridge and Tyler</i>	C. J. Stuart.
<i>Elizabeth City, Warwick, York and Williamsburg</i>	{ Charles K. Mallory.
<i>Essex and King & Queen</i>	Richard H. Cox.
<i>Fairfax</i>	William H. Dulany.
<i>Fauquier</i>	{ Robert E. Scott, John Q. Marr.
<i>Fluvanna</i>	James M. Strange.
<i>Floyd</i>	Harvey Deskins.
<i>Frederick</i>	{ Robert Y. Conrad, James Marshall.
<i>Goochland</i>	Walter D. Leake.
<i>Gilmer, Wirt and Calhoun</i>	C. B. Conrad.
<i>Greene and Orange</i>	Jeremiah Morton.
<i>Greenbrier</i>	Samuel Price.
<i>Greensville and Sussex</i>	J. R. Chambliss.
<i>Halifax</i>	Thomas S. Flournoy,
<i>Hampshire</i>	{ Edward M. Armstrong, David Pugh.
<i>Hancock</i>	George McC. Porter.
<i>Hanover</i>	George W. Richardson.
<i>Hardy</i>	Thomas Maslin.
<i>Harrison</i>	{ John S. Carlile, Benjamin Wilson.
<i>Henrico</i>	Williams C. Wickham.
<i>Henry</i>	Peyton Gravely.
<i>Highland</i>	George W. Hull.

<i>Isle of Wight</i>	Robert H. Whitfield.
<i>Jackson and Roane</i>	Franklin P. Turner.
<i>Jefferson</i>	{ Alfred M. Barbour,
	{ Logan Osburn.
<i>Kanawha</i>	{ George W. Summers,
	{ Spicer Patrick.
<i>King George and Stafford</i>	Edward Waller.
<i>King William</i>	Fendall Gregory, Jr.
<i>Lancaster and Northumberland</i>	Addison Hall.
<i>Lee</i>	John D. Sharp.
<i>Lee and Scott</i>	Peter C. Johnston.
<i>Lewis</i>	Caleb Boggess.
<i>Loudoun</i>	{ John Janney,
	{ John A. Carter.
<i>Lowisa</i>	William M. Ambler.
<i>Lunenburg</i>	W. J. Neblett.
<i>Madison</i>	Angus R. Blakey.
<i>Marion</i>	{ Alpheus F. Haymond,
	{ Ephraim B. Hall.
<i>Marshall</i>	James Burley.
<i>Mason</i>	James H. Couch.
<i>Matthews and Middlesex</i>	Robert L. Montague.
<i>Mecklenburg</i>	Thomas F. Goode.
<i>Mercer</i>	Napoleon B. French.
<i>Monongalia</i>	{ Waitman T. Willey,
	{ Marshall M. Dent.
<i>Monroe</i>	{ Allen T. Caperton,
	{ John Echols.
<i>Montgomery</i>	Wm. Ballard Preston.
<i>Morgan</i>	Johnson Orrick.
<i>Nansemond</i>	John R. Kilby.
<i>Nelson</i>	Frederick M. Cabell.
<i>Norfolk County</i>	{ William White,
	{ J. G. Holladay.
<i>Northampton</i>	Miers W. Fisher.
<i>Ohio</i>	{ Sherrard Clemens,
	{ Chester D. Hubbard.
<i>Page</i>	Peter B. Borst.
<i>Patrick</i>	Samuel G. Staples.
<i>Pendleton</i>	Henry H. Masters.
<i>Pocahontas</i>	Paul McNeil.
<i>Petersburg</i>	Thomas Branch.
<i>Pittsylvania</i>	{ William T. Sutherlin,
	{ William M. Tredway.
<i>Pleasants and Ritchie</i>	Cyrus Hall.
<i>Preston</i>	{ William G. Brown,
	{ James C. McGrew.

<i>Prince Edward</i>	John T. Thornton.
<i>Prince William</i>	Eppa Hunton.
<i>Putnam</i>	James W. Hoge.
<i>Randolph and Tucker</i>	John N. Hughes.
<i>Rappahannock</i>	Horatio G. Moffet.
<i>Richmond City</i>	{ William H. Macfarland, Marmaduke Johnson, George W. Randolph.
<i>Richmond County & Westmoreland</i>	John Critcher.
<i>Rockbridge</i>	{ Samuel McD. Moore, James B. Dorman.
<i>Rockingham</i>	{ Samuel A. Coffman, John F. Lewis,
<i>Scott</i>	Colbert C. Fugate.
<i>Shenandoah</i>	{ Samuel C. Williams, Raphael M. Conn.
<i>Smyth</i>	James W. Sheffey.
<i>Southampton</i>	John J. Kindred.
<i>Upshur</i>	George W. Berlin.
<i>Warren</i>	Robert H. Turner.
<i>Wayne</i>	Burwell Spurlock.
<i>Wetzel</i>	Leonard S. Hall.
<i>Wood</i>	John J. Jackson.

Subsequently the following members appeared and took their seats :

<i>Bedford</i>	John Goode, Jr.
<i>Berkeley</i>	Edmund Pendleton.
<i>Botetourt</i>	William W. Boyd.
<i>Carroll</i>	F. L. Hale.
<i>Fayette and Raleigh</i>	Henry L. Gillespie.
<i>Franklin</i>	{ Jubal A. Early, Peter Saunders, Sr.
<i>Giles</i>	Manilius Chapman.
<i>Gloucester</i>	John T. Seawell.
<i>Grayson</i>	Wm. C. Parks.
<i>Halifax</i>	James C. Bruce.
<i>Logan, Boone and Wyoming</i>	James Lawson.
<i>Pulaski</i>	Benjamin F. Wysor.
<i>Roanoke</i>	George P. Tayloe.
<i>Rockingham</i>	Algernon S. Gray.
<i>Russell and Wise</i>	William B. Aston.
<i>Spotsylvania</i>	John L. Marye, Sr.
<i>Taylor</i>	John S. Burdett.
<i>Tazewell</i>	{ William P. Cecil, Samuel L. Graham.

<i>Washington</i>	{ Robert E. Grant, John A. Campbell.
<i>Wythe</i>	
	Robert C. Kent.

The PRESIDENT then announced that the first business in order was the election of a permanent President.

Mr. SUMMERS nominated Mr. JOHN JANNEY, of the County of Loudoun.

Mr. FLOURNOY nominated Mr. VALENTINE W. SOUTHALL, of the County of Albemarle.

The roll was then called, with the following result:

The names of those who voted for Mr. JANNEY are—

Messrs. Ed. M. Armstrong,	Messrs. Marmaduke Johnson,
John B. Baldwin,	John R. Kilby,
Alfred M. Barbour,	John F. Lewis,
George Baylor,	William McComas,
George W. Berlin,	James C. McGrew,
Caleb Boggess,	Paul McNeil,
George W. Brent,	Wm. H. Macfarland,
William G. Brown,	James Marshall,
John S. Burdett,	Thomas Maslin,
James Burley,	Henry H. Masters,
John S. Carlile,	Horatio G. Moffett,
John A. Carter,	George McC. Porter,
Sherrard Clemens,	Samuel McD. Moore,
Samuel A. Coffinan,	Hugh M. Nelson,
James H. Couch,	Johnson Orrick,
James H. Cox,	Logan Osburn,
John Critcher,	Spicer Patrick,
W. H. B. Custis,	Edmund Pendleton,
Marshall M. Dent,	Samuel Price,
James B. Dorman,	David Pugh,
William H. Dulany,	Robert E. Scott,
John Echols,	John D. Sharp,
Napoleon B. French,	Thomas Sitlington,
Colbert C. Fugate,	Burwell Spurlock,
Addison Hall,	Alex. H. H. Stuart,
Ephraim B. Hall,	Chapman J. Stuart,
L. S. Hall,	George W. Summers,
Allen C. Hammond,	Campbell Tarr,
Alpheus F. Haymond,	William M. Tredway,
James W. Hoge,	Edward Waller,
J. C. Holladay,	William White,
Chester D. Hubbard,	Robert H. Whitfield,
John N. Hughes,	Williams C. Wickham,
George W. Hull,	Waitman T. Willey,
John J. Jackson,	Benjamin Wilson—70.

The names of those who voted for Mr. SOUTHALL are—

Messrs. Wm. M. Ambler,	Messrs. Lewis D. Isbell,
James Barbour,	Peter C. Johnston,
Angus R. Blakey,	J. J. Kindred,
James Boisseau,	Walter D. Leake,
Peter B. Borst,	Charles K. Mallory,
Wood Bouldin,	James B. Mallory,
Thomas Branch,	John Q. Marr,
James C. Bruce,	John L. Marye, Sr.
Frederick M. Cabell,	Robert L. Montague,
Allen T. Caperton,	Edmund T. Morris,
John R. Chambliss,	Jeremiah Morton,
Raphael M. Conn,	William J. Neblett,
C. B. Conrad,	Wm. Ballard Preston,
Robert Y. Conrad,	George W. Randolph,
Richard H. Cox,	George W. Richardson,
Harvey Deskins,	William C. Scott,
Miers W. Fisher,	James W. Sheffield,
Thomas S. Flournoy,	Charles R. Slaughter,
William W. Forbes,	John M. Speed,
Samuel M. Garland,	Samuel G. Staples,
Peyton Gravely,	James M. Strange,
Fendall Gregory, Jr.	William T. Sutherlin,
William L. Goggin,	John T. Thornton,
Thomas F. Goode,	Robert H. Turner,
Cyrus Hall,	Franklin P. Turner,
Lewis E. Harvie,	Samuel C. Williams,
Eppa Hunton,	Samuel Woods—54.

Mr. JANNEY having received a majority of the whole number of votes cast, was declared duly elected.

Mr. SUMMERS and Mr. FLOURNOY were appointed a committee to wait upon the President of the Convention to inform him of his election, and conduct him to his seat.

The PRESIDENT being conducted to his seat, addressed the Convention as follows:

Gentlemen of the Convention:

I tender you my sincere and cordial thanks, for the honor you have conferred upon me, by calling me to preside over the deliberations of the most important Convention that has been assembled in this State since the year 1776.

I am without experience in the performance of the duties to which you have assigned me, with but little knowledge of parliamentary law and the rules which are to govern our proceedings, and I have nothing to promise you but fidelity and impar-

tiality. Errors I know I shall commit, but these will be excused by your kindness, and promptly corrected by your wisdom.

Gentlemen, it is now almost seventy-three years since a Convention of the people of Virginia was assembled in this hall to ratify the Constitution of the United States, one of the chief objects of which was to consolidate, not the Government, but the Union of the States. Causes which have passed, and are daily passing, into history, which will set its seal upon them, but which I do not mean to review, have brought the Constitution and the Union into imminent peril, and Virginia has come to the rescue. It is what the whole country expected of her. Her pride as well as her patriotism—her interest as well as her honor, called upon her with an emphasis which she could not disregard, to save the monuments of her own glory. Her honored son who sleeps at Mount Vernon, the political Mecca of all future ages, presided over the body which framed the Constitution; and another of her honored sons, whose brow was adorned with a civic wreath which will never fade, and who now reposes in Orange county, was its principal architect, and one of its ablest expounders—and, in the administration of the government, five of her citizens have been elected to the chief magistracy of the Republic. It cannot be that a government thus founded and administered can fail, without the hazard of bringing reproach, either upon the wisdom of our fathers, or upon the intelligence, patriotism and virtue of their descendants.

It is not my purpose to indicate the course which this body will probably pursue, or the measures it may be proper to adopt. The opinions of to-day may all be changed to-morrow. Events are thronging upon us, and we must deal with them as they present themselves.

Gentlemen, there is a flag which for nearly a century has been borne in triumph through the battle and the breeze, and which now floats over this capitol, on which there is a star representing this ancient Commonwealth, and my earnest prayer, in which I know every member of this body will cordially unite, is that it may remain there forever, provided always that its lustre is untarnished. We demand for our own citizens perfect equality of rights with those of the empire States of New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio, but we ask for nothing that we will not cheerfully concede to those of Delaware and Rhode Island.

The amount of responsibility which rests upon this body cannot be exaggerated. When my constituents asked me if I would consent to serve them here if elected, I answered in the affirmative, but I did so with fear and trembling. The people of Virginia have, it is true, reserved to themselves, in a certain contingency, the right to review our action, but still the measures which we adopt may be fraught with good or evil to the whole country.

Is it too much to hope that we, and others who are engaged in the work of peace and conciliation, may so solve the problems which now perplex us, as to win back our sisters of the South, who, for what they deem sufficient cause, have wandered from their old orbits? May we not expect that our old sister, Massachusetts, will retrace her steps? Will she not follow the noble example of Rhode Island, the little State with a heart large enough for a whole continent? Will she not, when she remembers who it was who first drew his sword from the scabbard on her own soil at Cambridge, and never finally returned it, until her liberty and independence were achieved, and whence he came, repeal her obnoxious laws, which many of her own wisest and best citizens regard as a stain upon her legislative records?

Gentlemen, this is no party Convention. It is our duty on an occasion like this to elevate ourselves into an atmosphere, in which party passion and prejudice cannot exist—to conduct all our deliberations with calmness and wisdom, and to maintain, with inflexible firmness, whatever position we may find it necessary to assume.

The PRESIDENT announced that the next business in order was the election of a Secretary.

Mr. TREDWAY nominated S. D. Whittle, of Richmond City.

Mr. PATRICK nominated Green Peyton, of the County of Albemarle.

Mr. BARBOUR, of Jefferson, nominated Sam'l T. Walker, of the County of Rockingham.

Mr. BARBOUR, of Culpeper, nominated Zephaniah Turner, of the County of Rappahannock.

Mr. MOORE nominated John L. Eubank, of Richmond City.

Mr. LEAKE nominated S. Bassett French, of the County of Chesterfield.

Mr. MONTAGUE nominated John Bell Bigger, of Richmond City.

Mr. WICKHAM nominated R. Lindsay Walker, of the County of New Kent.

The roll was then called, with the following result :

The names of those voting for Mr. TURNER are—

Messrs. John Janney (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. Eppa Hunton,
James Barbour,	James Marshall,
George W. Brent,	John Q. Marr,
John S. Carlile,	Horatio G. Moffett,
John A. Carter,	Hugh M. Nelson,
James H. Cox,	Robert E. Scott,
W. H. B. Custis,	Chapman J. Stuart,

Messrs. William H. Dulany, Cyrus Hall, Ephraim B. Hall, L. S. Hall, Allen C. Hammond, Alpheus F. Haymond,	Messrs. Robert H. Turner, Franklin P. Turner, Edward Waller, William White, Benjamin Wilson, Samuel Woods—26.
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The names of those who voted for S. T. WALKER are—

Messrs. Alfred M. Barbour, Caleb Boggess, William G. Brown, Sherrard Clemens, Samuel A. Coffman, Raphael M. Conn, C. B. Conrad, James H. Couch, Marshall M. Dent, James B. Dorman, J. G. Holladay,	Messrs. John N. Hughes, George W. Hull, John F. Lewis, James C. McGrew, Paul McNeil, Henry H. Masters, Edmund Pendleton, George McC. Porter, Campbell Tarr, Wait. T. Willey—21.
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The names of those who voted for Mr. EUBANK are—

Messrs. James Burley, Frederick M. Cabell, Allen T. Caperton, John Critcher, William W. Forbes, Napoleon B. French, Colbert C. Fugate, Samuel M. Garland, William L. Goggin, Addison Hall,	Messrs. John J. Jackson, Marmaduke Johnson, William H. Macfarland, Thomas Maslin, Samuel McD. Moore, Johnson Orrick, John D. Sharp, Burwell Spurlock, James M. Strange—19.
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The names of those who voted for Mr. PEYTON are—

Messrs. Thomas Branch, Thomas S. Flournoy, Fendall Gregory, Jr. Peter C. Johnston, John L. Marye, Sr. Jeremiah Morton, Spicer Patrick,	Messrs. William Ballard Preston, Samuel Price, William C. Scott, James W. Sheffield, Valentine W. Southall, Geo. W. Summers—13.
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The names of those who voted for Mr. R. L. WALKER are—

Messrs. John B. Balwin, George Baylor, James C. Bruce, Harvey Deskins, John Echols, James P. Holcombe,	Messrs. Charles K. Mallory, Thomas Sitlington, Charles R. Slaughter, Alex. H. H. Stuart, Wms. C. Wickham—11.
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The names of those who voted for Mr. FRENCH are—

Messrs. Edw'd M. Armstrong,	Messrs. John R. Kilby,
James Boisseau,	Walter D. Leake,
Peter B. Borst,	David Pugh,
Robert Y. Conrad,	Rob. H. Whitfield—9.
Chester D. Hubbard,	

The names of those who voted for Mr. BIGGER are—

Messrs. Richard H. Cox,	Messrs. Robert L. Montague,
Miers W. Fisher,	Edmund T. Morris,
Lewis E. Harvie,	George W. Randolph,
Lewis D. Isbell,	G. W. Richardson—9.
James B. Mallory,	

The names of those who voted for Mr. WHITTLE are—

Messrs. Wm. M. Ambler,	Messrs. John M. Speed,
Wood Bouldin,	William T. Sutherlin,
Thos. F. Goode,	John T. Thornton,
John J. Kindred,	Wm. M. Tredway—9.
William J. Neblett,	

No person having received a majority of the votes cast, the name of Mr. Whittle was dropped, and the roll was again called, with the following result:

The names of those who voted for Mr. TURNER are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. William McComas,
James Barbour,	James Marshall,
Peter B. Borst,	John Q. Marr,
George W. Brent,	John L. Marye, Sr.
John S. Burdett,	Horatio G. Moffett,
John S. Carlile,	Jeremiah Morton,
John A. Carter,	Hugh M. Nelson,
Robert Y. Conrad,	Edmund Pendleton,
James H. Cox,	Robert E. Scott,
W. H. B. Custis,	Chapman J. Stuart,
William H. Dulany,	George W. Summers,
Peyton Gravely,	William M. Tredway,
Cyrus Hall,	Robert H. Turner,
Ephraim B. Hall,	Franklin P. Turner,
L. S. Hall,	Edward Waller,
Allen C. Hammond,	William White,
Alpheus F. Haymond,	Benjamin Wilson,
Eppa Hunton,	Samuel Woods—36.

The names of those who voted for Mr. EUBANK are—

Messrs. George W. Berlin,	Messrs. John J. Kindred,
William W. Boyd,	Wm. H. Macfarland,
James Burley,	Thomas Maslin,
Frederick M. Cabell,	Samuel McD. Moore,
Allen T. Caperton,	Johnson Orrick,
John Critcher,	David Pugh,
William W. Forbes,	George W. Randolph,
Napoleon B. French,	John D. Sharp,
Colbert C. Fugate,	Barwell Spurlock,
Samuel M. Garland,	Samuel G. Staples,
William L. Goggin,	James M. Strange,
Ephraim B. Hall,	George P. Tayloe,
John J. Jackson,	John T. Thornton—27.
Marmaduke Johnson,	

The names of those who voted for Mr. S. T. WALKER are—

Messrs. Alfred M. Barbour,	Messrs. J. G. Holladay,
Caleb Boggess,	John N. Hughes,
William G. Brown,	George W. Hull,
Sherrard Clemens,	John F. Lewis,
Samuel A. Coffman,	James C. McGrew,
Raphael M. Conn,	Paul McNeil,
C. B. Conrad,	Henry H. Masters,
James H. Couch,	George McC. Porter,
Marshall M. Dent,	Campbell Tarr,
James B. Dorman,	Waitman T. Willey,
James W. Hoge,	Sam'l C. Williams—22.

The names of those who voted for Mr. R. L. WALKER are—

Messrs. John B. Baldwin,	Messrs. William C. Scott,
George Baylor,	Thomas Sitlington,
Wood Bouldin,	Charles R. Slaughter,
James C. Bruce,	John M. Speed,
John Echols,	Alex. H. H. Stuart,
James P. Holcombe,	William T. Sutherlin,
Charles K. Mallory,	W. C. Wickham—14.

The names of those who voted for Mr. PEYTON are—

Messrs. Thomas Branch,	Messrs. Spicer Patrick,
Jubal A. Early,	Wm. Ballard Preston,
Thomas S. Flourney,	Samuel Price,
Fendall Gregory, Jr.	Peter Saunders, Sr.
Chester D. Hubbard,	James W. Sheffield,
Peter C. Johnston,	V. W. Southall—12.

The names of those who voted for Mr. FRENCH are—

Messrs. Ed. M. Armstrong,	Messrs. Walter D. Leake,
Angus R. Blakey,	James B. Mallory,
James Boisseau,	William J. Neblett,
John R. Chambliss,	Logan Osburn,
Thomas F. Goode,	R. H. Whitfield—11.
John R. Kilby,	

The names of those who voted for Mr. BIGGER are—

Messrs. William M. Ambler,	Messrs. Lewis D. Isbell,
Richard H. Cox,	Robert L. Montague,
Miers W. Fisher,	Edmund T. Morris—7.
Lewis E. Harvie,	

No person having received a majority of the votes cast, the name of Mr. Bigger was dropped, and the roll was again called, with the following result:

The names of those who voted for Mr. EUBANK are—

Messrs. William B. Aston,	Messrs. Paul McNeil,
James Boisseau,	William H. Macfarland,
William W. Boyd,	Thomas Maslin,
Thomas Branch,	Samuel McD. Moore,
James Burley,	William J. Neblett,
Frederick M. Cabell,	Johnson Orrick,
Allen T. Caperton,	Samuel Price,
John Critcher,	David Pugh,
Jubal A. Early,	George W. Randolph,
Thomas S. Flournoy,	Peter Saunders, Sr.
William W. Forbes,	John D. Sharp,
Napoleon B. French,	James W. Sheffey,
Colbert C. Fugate,	Thomas Sitlington,
Samuel M. Garland,	Burwell Spurlock,
H. L. Gillespie,	Samuel G. Staples,
William L. Goggin,	James M. Strange,
Addison Hall,	William T. Sutherland,
Lewis D. Isbell,	George P. Tayloe,
John J. Jackson,	John T. Thornton—39.
Marmaduke Johnson,	

The names of those who voted for Mr. TURNER are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Prest.</i>)	Messrs. Eppa Hunton,
James Barbour,	William McComas,
George W. Brent,	James B. Mallory,
John S. Burdett,	James Marshall,
John S. Carlile,	John Q. Marr,

Messrs. John A. Carter,
 Robert Y. Conrad,
 James H. Couch,
 James H. Cox,
 W. H. B. Custis,
 William H. Dulany,
 Peyton Gravely,
 Cyrus Hall,
 Ephraim B. Hall,
 L. S. Hall,
 Allen C. Hammond,
 Alpheus F. Haymond,
 James W. Hoge,
 John N. Hughes,

Messrs. John L. Marye, Sr.
 Horatio G. Moffett,
 Jeremiah Morton,
 Hugh M. Nelson,
 Robert E. Scott,
 Chapman J. Stuart,
 George W. Summers,
 William M. Tredway,
 Robert H. Turner,
 Franklin P. Turner,
 Edward Waller,
 William White,
 Benjamin Wilson,
 Samuel Woods—38.

The names of those who voted for Mr. S. T. WALKER are—

Messrs. Alfred M. Barbour,
 George Baylor,
 Caleb Boggess,
 Peter B. Borst,
 William G. Brown,
 Sherrard Clemens,
 Samuel A. Coffman,
 Raphael M. Conn,
 C. B. Conrad,
 Marshall M. Dent,
 James B. Dorman,
 Robert E. Grant,

Messrs. Algernon S. Gray,
 J. G. Holladay,
 Chester D. Hubbard,
 George W. Hull,
 John F. Lewis,
 James C. McGrew,
 Henry H. Masters,
 George McC. Porter,
 Campbell Tarr,
 Waitman T. Willey,
 Sam'l C. Williams—23.

The names of those who voted for Mr. FRENCH are—

Messrs. Ed. M. Armstrong,
 Angus R. Blakey,
 John R. Chambliss,
 Miers W. Fisher,
 John Goode, Jr.
 Thomas F. Goode,

Messrs. John R. Kilby,
 John J. Kindred,
 Walter D. Leake,
 Robert L. Montague,
 Logan Osburn,
 Rob. H. Whitfield—12.

The names of those who voted for Mr. R. L. WALKER are—

Messrs. Wood Bouldin,
 James C. Bruce,
 Richard H. Cox,
 Harvey Deskins,
 John Echols,
 James P. Holcombe,

Messrs. Charles K. Mallory,
 Edmund T. Morris,
 George W. Richardson,
 Charles R. Slaughter,
 John M. Speed,
 Wms. C. Wickham—12.

The names of those who voted for Mr. PEYTON are—

Messrs. John B. Baldwin,	Messrs. Spicer Patrick,
John A. Campbell,	William Ballard Preston,
Fendall Gregory, Jr.	William C. Scott,
Lewis E. Harvie,	Valentine W. Southall,
Peter C. Johnston,	Alex. H. H. Stuart—10.

No person having received a majority of the votes cast, the name of Mr. Peyton was dropped, and the names of Messrs. French and S. T. Walker were withdrawn, when the roll was again called, with the following result:

The names of those who voted for Mr. EUBANK, are—

Messrs. Ed. M. Armstrong.	Messrs. Peter C. Johnston.
William B. Aston.	John R. Kilby.
Wood Bouldin.	Walter D. Leake.
William W. Boyd.	James C. McGrew.
Thomas Branch.	Paul McNeil.
James Burley.	Wm. H. Macfarland.
Frederick M. Cabell.	Thomas Maslin.
Allen T. Caperton.	Henry H. Masters.
William P. Cecil.	Samuel McD. Moore.
John R. Chambliss.	William J. Neblett.
Manilius Chapman.	Johnson Orrick.
Sherrard Clemens.	Logan Osburn.
Samuel A. Coffinan.	William C. Parks.
Raphael M. Conn.	Edmund Pendleton.
C. B. Conrad.	Wm. Ballard Preston.
John Critcher.	Samuel Price.
Jubal A. Early.	David Pugh.
Thomas S. Flournoy.	Geo. W. Randolph.
William W. Forbes.	Peter Saunders, Sr.
Napoleon B. French.	William C. Scott.
Colbert C. Fugate.	John D. Sharp.
Samuel M. Garland.	James W. Sheffey.
H. L. Gillespie.	Thomas Sitlington.
Robert E. Grant.	Burwell Spurlock.
William L. Goggin.	Samuel G. Staples.
Addison Hall.	Alex. H. H. Stuart.
Lewis E. Harvie.	James M. Strange.
Chester D. Hubbard.	William T. Sutherlin.
George W. Hull.	George P. Tayloe.
Lewis D. Isbell.	John T. Thornton.
John J. Jackson.	Benj. F. Wysor—63.
Marmaduke Johnson.	

The names of those who voted for Mr. TURNER, are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't.</i>)	Messrs. Alpheus F. Haymond,
Alfred M. Barbour,	James W. Hoge,
James Barbour,	J. G. Holladay,
Angus R. Blakey,	John N. Hughes,
Caleb Boggess,	Eppa Hunton,
George W. Brent,	John J. Kindred,
William G. Brown,	William McComas,
John S. Burdett,	John Q. Marr,
John S. Carlile,	John L. Marye, Sr.
John A. Carter,	Horatio G. Moffett,
Robert Y. Conrad,	Jeremiah Morton,
James H. Couch,	Hugh M. Nelson,
James H. Cox,	George McC. Porter,
W. H. B. Custis,	Robert E. Scott,
Marshall M. Dent,	Chapman J. Stuart,
James B. Dorman,	Campbell Tarr,
William H. Dulany,	William M. Tredway,
Miers W. Fisher,	Robert H. Turner,
Peyton Gravely,	Edward Waller,
Algernon S. Gray,	William White,
John Goode, Jr.	Robert H. Whitfield,
Thomas F. Goode,	Waitman T. Willey,
Cyrus Hall,	Samuel C. Williams,
Ephraim B. Hall,	Benjamin Wilson,
L. S. Hall,	Samuel Woods—51.
Allen C. Hammond,	

The names of those who voted for Mr. R. L. WALKER, are—

Messrs. John B. Baldwin,	Messrs. John F. Lewis,
George Baylor,	James B. Mallory,
James Boisseau,	Robert L. Montague,
Peter B. Borst,	Edmund T. Morris,
James C. Bruce,	Geo. W. Richardson,
John A. Campbell,	Charles R. Slaughter,
John Echols,	Valentine W. Southall,
Fendall Gregory, Jr.	John M. Speed,
James P. Holcombe,	W. C. Wickham—18.

No person having received a majority of the votes cast, the name of Mr. R. L. Walker was dropped, when the roll was again called with the following result:

The names of those who voted for Mr. EUBANK are—

Messrs. Edw'd M. Armstrong,	Messrs. Marmaduke Johnson,
William B. Aston,	Peter C. Johnston,
John B. Baldwin,	Robert C. Kent,

Messrs. George Baylor,
 George W. Berlin,
 James Boisseau,
 Wood Bouldin,
 William W. Boyd,
 Thomas Branch,
 James Burley,
 Frederick M. Cabell,
 John A. Campbell,
 Allen T. Caperton,
 William P. Cecil,
 John R. Chambliss,
 Manilius Chapman,
 Sherrard Clemens,
 Samuel A. Coffinan,
 Raphael M. Conn,
 Richard H. Cox,
 John Critcher,
 Harvey Deskins,
 Jubal A. Early,
 John Echols.
 Thomas S. Flournoy,
 William W. Forbes,
 Napoleon B. French,
 Colbert C. Fugate,
 Samuel M. Garland,
 H. L. Gillespie,
 Robert E. Grant,
 William L. Goggin,
 Addison Hall,
 Lewis E. Harvie,
 James P. Holcombe,
 Chester D. Hubbard,
 George W. Hull,
 Lewis D. Isbell,
 John J. Jackson,

Messrs. John R. Kilby,
 Walter D. Leake,
 John F. Lewis,
 Paul McNeil,
 William H. Macfarland,
 Charles K. Mallory,
 James B. Mallory,
 Thomas Maslin,
 Henry H. Masters,
 Samuel McD. Moore,
 Johnson Orrick,
 Logan Osburn,
 William C. Parks,
 Edmund Pendleton,
 William Ballard Preston,
 Samuel Price,
 David Pugh,
 George W. Randolph,
 George W. Richardson,
 Peter Saunders, Sr.
 William C. Scott,
 John D. Sharp,
 James W. Sheffield,
 Thomas Sitlington,
 Charles R. Slaughter,
 Valentine W. Southall,
 John M. Speed,
 Samuel G. Staples,
 Alex. H. H. Stuart,
 James M. Strange,
 William T. Sutherlin,
 George P. Tayloe,
 John T. Thornton,
 Williams C. Wickham,
 Benj. F. Wysor—77.

The names of those who voted for Mr. ZEPH. TURNER are—

Messrs. John Janney, (*Pres't.*) Messrs. J. G. Holladay,
 Alfred M. Barbour,
 James Barbour,
 Angus R. Blakey,
 Caleb Boggess,
 Peter B. Borst,
 George W. Brent,
 William G. Brown,
 John N. Hughes,
 Eppa Hunton,
 John J. Kindred,
 William McComas,
 James C. McGrew,
 John Q. Marr,
 John L. Marye, Sr.

Messrs. James C. Bruce,
 John S. Burdett,
 John S. Carlile,
 John A. Carter,
 James H. Couch,
 James H. Cox,
 W. H. B. Custis,
 Marshall M. Dent,
 James B. Dorman,
 William H. Dulany,
 Miers W. Fisher,
 Peyton Gravely,
 Algernon S. Gray,
 Fendall Gregory, Jr.
 John Goode, Jr.
 Thomas F. Goode,
 Cyrus Hall,
 Ephraim B. Hall,
 L. S. Hall,
 Allen C. Hammond,
 Alpheus F. Haymond,
 James W. Hoge,

Messrs. Horatio G. Moffett,
 Robert L. Montague,
 Edmund T. Morris,
 Jeremiah Morton,
 Hugh M. Nelson,
 Spicer Patrick,
 George McC. Porter,
 Robert E. Scott,
 Burwell Spurlock,
 Chapman J. Stuart,
 George W. Summers,
 Campbell Tarr,
 William M. Tredway,
 Robert H. Turner,
 Franklin P. Turner,
 Edward Waller,
 William White,
 Robert H. Whitfield,
 Waitman T. Willey,
 Benjamin Wilson,
 Samuel Woods—59.

✓ Mr. EUBANK having received a majority of the votes cast, was declared duly elected Secretary of the Convention.

On motion of Mr. SCOTT, of Fauquier,

Resolved, That when the Convention adjourns to-day, it adjourn to meet at the Hall of the Mechanics' Institute, to-morrow at 12 o'clock.

On motion of Mr. MORTON,

Resolved, That the sittings of this Convention be daily opened with prayer, and that the President request the Clergy of the city to officiate.

On motion of Mr. CLEMENS, the rules of the House of Delegates were adopted for the government of the Convention until otherwise ordered.

Mr. PRICE submitted the following resolution which, on motion of Mr. MONTAGUE, was laid upon the table:

Resolved, That no member shall be regarded as entitled to any seat which he is not immediately occupying.

On motion of Mr. SCOTT, of Fauquier, the Convention adjourned until to-morrow at 12 o'clock.

THURSDAY, FEB. 14TH, 1861.

The Convention met pursuant to adjournment in the Hall of the Mechanics' Institute, at 12 o'clock, M.

Mr. TIMOTHY RIVES, a delegate from the Counties of Prince George and Surry, and Mr. GEORGE BLOW, JR., a delegate from the City of Norfolk, appeared and took their seats.

Prayer by the Rev. Mr. DUNCAN, of the Methodist Church.

The PRESIDENT announced that the first business in order was the election of Sergeant-at-Arms.

Mr. MACFARLAND submitted the following resolution:

Resolved, That the President of the Convention be authorized to appoint all the officers necessary to complete the organization of this body, to consist of a Sergeant-at-Arms, two Door Keepers, and four Pages.

Mr. MONTAGUE proposed to amend the resolution by referring the appointment of the officers necessary to complete the organization to a Committee of fifteen, to be selected by the President from the different portions of the State.

On motion of Mr. PATRICK, the resolution and amendment were laid upon the table.

The Convention then proceeded to the election of Sergeant-at-Arms.

Mr. NEBLETT nominated Mr. W. C. Sneed of the County of Lauenburg.

Mr. JONSTON nominated Mr. C. B. Cosby, of the County of Washington.

Mr. WILLEY nominated Mr. J. W. Rives, of the County of Barbour.

Mr. C. H. MALLORY nominated Mr. R. H. Vaughan, of Elizabeth City.

Mr. MORRIS nominated Mr. Atwell, of the County of Caroline.

Mr. DORMAN nominated Mr. N. A. Thompson, of the County of Hanover.

Mr. MACFARLAND nominated Mr. J. C. Moss, of the City of Richmond.

Mr. HOFFMAN nominated Mr. A. J. Farish, of the County of Albemarle.

Mr. DULANY nominated Mr. J. E. Scruggs, of the County of Fauquier.

Mr. GARLAND nominated Mr. John H. Fuqua, of the County of Amherst.

Mr. RO. Y. CONRAD nominated Mr. T. B. P. Ingram, of the City of Richmond.

Mr. BORST nominated Mr. C. M. Johnson, of the County of Fauquier.

Mr. RIVES nominated Mr. J. B. Senner, of the City of Fredericksburg.

Mr. CHAMBLISS submitted the following resolution, which on motion of Mr. DORMAN, was laid upon the table.

Resolved, That all the nominations be referred to a committee of five members who shall make the selection from the nominees.

The roll was then called, with the following result:

The names of those who voted for Mr. THOMPSON are—

Messrs. Edward M. Armstrong,	Messrs. James W. Hoge,
John B. Baldwin,	George W. Hull,
Alfred M. Barbour,	John R. Kilby,
James Barbour,	Walter D. Leake,
George Baylor,	John Q. Marr,
William W. Boyd,	Thomas Maslin,
James C. Bruce,	Henry H. Masters.
Manilius Chapman,	Samuel McD. Moore,
Sherrard Clemens,	Spicer Patrick,
W. H. B. Custis,	Samuel Price,
Marshall M. Dent,	George W. Richardson,
James B. Dorman,	John T. Seawell,
John Echols.	Alex. H. H. Stuart,
Thomas S. Flournoy,	George P. Tayloe,
Napoleon B. French,	William White,
H. L. Gillespie,	Robert H. Whitfield,
Samuel H. Graham,	Williams C. Wickham,
Algernon S. Gray,	Benj. F. Wysor—37.
Allen C. Hammond,	

The names of those who voted for Mr. RIVES are—

Messrs. George W. Berlin,	Messrs. John N. Hughes,
Caleb Boggess,	John J. Jackson,
William G. Brown,	William McComas,
John S. Burdett,	James C. McGrew,
James Burley,	Paul McNeil,
John S. Carlile,	Johnson Orrick,
C. B. Conrad,	Peter Saunders, Sr.
James H. Couch,	Burwell Spurlock,
Jubal A. Early,	Chapman J. Stuart,
Peyton Gravely,	Franklin P. Turner,
Ephraim B. Hall,	Waitman T. Willey,
Alpheus F. Haymond,	Benjamin Wilson,
Chester D. Hubbard,	Samuel Woods—26.

The names of those who voted for Mr. FARISH are—

Messrs. William M. Ambler,	Messrs. L. S. Hall,
Angus R. Blakey,	James P. Holcombe,
Samuel A. Coffinan,	Robert C. Kent,
Raphael M. Conn,	Jeremiah Morton,
Harvey Deskins,	George W. Randolph,
Fendall Gregory, Jr.	James M. Strange,
Addison Hall,	Sam'l C. Williams—14.

The names of those who voted for Mr. COSBY are—

Messrs. William B. Aston,	Messrs. John D. Sharp,
John A. Campbell,	James W. Sheffey,
Colbert C. Fugate,	Charles R. Slaughter,
Robert E. Grant,	Valentine W. Southall,
Peter C. Johnston,	John M. Speed,
William C. Parks,	Campbell Tarr—13.
William Ballard Preston,	

The names of those who voted for Mr. INGRAM are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Prest.</i>)	Messrs. Hugh M. Nelson,
John A. Carter,	Logan Osburn,
Robert Y. Conrad,	David Pugh,
John F. Lewis,	Robert E. Scott,
James Marshall,	Robert H. Turner—11.
Horatio G. Moffett,	

The names of those who voted for Mr. SNEAD are—

Messrs. James Boisseau,	Messrs. Lewis D. Isbell,
Wood Bouldin,	James B. Mallory,
John R. Chambliss,	William J. Neblett,
Thomas F. Goode,	John T. Thornton—9.
Lewis E. Harvie,	

The names of those who voted for Mr. SENNER are

Messrs. Thomas Branch,	Messrs. John L. Marye, Sr.
George W. Brent,	Timothy Rives,
J. G. Holladay,	Edward Waller—7.
John R. Kilby,	

The names of those who voted for Mr. SCRUGGS are—

Messrs. William H. Dulany,	Messrs. Samuel G. Staples,
William W. Forbes,	William T. Sutherlin,
William C. Scott,	Wm. M. Tredway—6.

The names of those who voted for Mr. VAUGHAN are—

Messrs. Richard H. Cox,	Messrs. Robert L. Montague,
Miers W. Fisher,	John T. Seawell—5.
James B. Mallory,	

The names of those who voted for Mr. FUQUA are—

Messrs. William P. Cecil,	Messrs. William L. Goggin,
Samuel M. Garland,	John Goode, Jr.—4.

The names of those who voted for Mr. ATWELL are—

Messrs. John Critcher,	Edmund T. Morris.—2.
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The names of those who voted for Mr. JOHNSON are—

Messrs. Peter B. Borst,	Eppa Hunton.—2.
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No person having received a majority of the votes cast,
Mr. MARR moved that the rules be suspended to enable him
to offer the following resolution:

Resolved, That all the candidates for the office of Sergeant-at-Arms, except
the three who received the largest vote be dropped.

The motion to suspend the rules was agreed to, and the reso-
lution adopted.

The roll was then called with the following result:

The names of those who voted for Mr. THOMPSON are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Prest.</i>)	Messrs. John J. Jackson,
Edward M. Armstrong,	Marmaduke Johnson,
William B. Aston,	Peter C. Johnston,
John B. Baldwin,	John R. Kilby,
Alfred M. Barbour,	John J. Kindred,
James Barbour,	John F. Lewis,
George Baylor,	Wm. H. Macfarland,
George Blow, Jr.	Charles K. Mallory.
Wood Bouldin,	James B. Mallory.
William W. Boyd,	James Marshall,
Thomas Branch,	John Q. Marr,
George W. Brent,	John L. Marye, Sr.
James C. Bruce,	Thomas Maslin,
John A. Campbell,	Henry H. Masters,
Allen T. Caperton,	Samuel McD. Moore,
John A. Carter,	Hugh M. Nelson,
John R. Chambliss,	Logan Osburn,

Messrs. Manilius Chapman,
 Sherrard Clemens,
 Robert Y. Conrad,
 James H. Cox,
 John Critcher,
 W. H. B. Custis,
 Marshall M. Dent,
 James B. Dorman,
 William H. Dulany,
 Jubal A. Early,
 John Echols,
 Thomas S. Flournoy,
 William W. Forbes,
 Napoleon B. French,
 Colbert C. Fugate,
 H. L. Gillespie,
 Samuel L. Graham,
 Robert E. Grant,
 Algernon S. Gray,
 William L. Goggin,
 Cyrus Hall,
 Allen C. Hammond,
 James W. Hoge,
 J. G. Holladay,
 George W. Hull,

Messrs. Spicer Patrick,
 George McC. Porter,
 Wm. Ballard Preston,
 Samuel Price,
 David Pugh,
 George W. Richardson
 Timothy Rives,
 Peter Saunders, Sr.
 Robert E. Scott,
 William C. Scott,
 John D. Sharp,
 V. W. Southall,
 Samuel G. Staples,
 Alex. H. H. Stuart,
 Chapman J. Stuart,
 Wm. T. Sutherlin,
 Campbell Tarr,
 George P. Tayloe,
 John T. Thornton,
 William M. Tredway,
 Edward Waller,
 William White,
 Robert H. Whitfield,
 Williams C. Wickham.
 Benj. F. Wysor—84.

The names of those who voted for Mr. FARISH are—

Messrs. Wm. M. Ambler,
 Angus R. Blakey,
 James Boisseau,
 Peter B. Borst,
 Frederick M. Cabell,
 William P. Cecil,
 Samuel A. Coffinan,
 Raphael M. Conn,
 Richard H. Cox,
 Harvey Deskins,
 Miers W. Fisher,
 Samuel M. Garland,
 Fendall Gregory, Jr.
 John Goode, Jr.
 Thomas F. Goode,
 Addison Hall,
 L. S. Hall,
 James P. Holcombe,

Messrs. Eppa Hunton,
 Lewis D. Isbell,
 Robert C. Kent,
 Walter D. Leake,
 Horatio G. Moffett,
 Robert L. Montague,
 Edmund T. Morris,
 Jeremiah Morton,
 William J. Neblett,
 William C. Parks,
 George W. Randolph,
 James W. Sheffey,
 Charles R. Slaughter,
 John M. Speed,
 James M. Strange,
 Robert H. Turner,
 Sam'l C. Williams—35

The names of those who voted for Mr. RIVES are—

Messrs. George W. Berlin,	Messrs. Chester D. Hubbard,
Caleb Boggess,	John N. Hughes,
William G. Brown,	William McComas,
John S. Burdett,	James C. McGrew,
James Burley,	Paul McNeil,
John S. Carlile,	Johnson Orrick,
C. B. Conrad,	Burwell Spurlock,
James H. Couch,	Franklin P. Turner,
Peyton Gravely,	Waitman T. Willey,
Ephraim B. Hall,	Benjamin Wilson,
Alpheus F. Haymond,	Samuel Woods—22.

Mr. N. A. THOMPSON having received a majority of the votes cast, was declared duly elected Sergeant-at-Arms.

Mr. NELSON submitted the following resolution, which on motion, was laid upon the table.

Resolved, That a Committee of ——— members be appointed to consider and report what rules of proceedings of the House of Delegates, are applicable as rules of proceedings of this Convention, and what amendments thereof, if any, ought to be made.

The President announced that the next business in order, was the election of First Door Keeper.

Mr. J. B. MALLORY nominated Mr. C. Drumwright, of the County of Mecklenburg.

Mr. A. HALL nominated Mr. Richard Reins, of the City of Richmond.

Mr. FRENCH nominated Mr. B. R. Linkous, of the County of Raleigh.

Mr. CRITCHER nominated Mr. J. R. Fisher, of the City of Richmond.

Mr. JOHNSON, nominated Mr. S. H. Jeter, of the City of Richmond.

Mr. CARLILE nominated Mr. Charles Lewis, of the County of Harrison.

Mr. FLOURNOY nominated Mr. Charles Kent, of the County of Pittsylvania.

Mr. MORTON nominated Mr. Wm. Routt, of the County of Greene.

Mr. WILLIAM C. SCOTT, nominated Mr. J. F. Simpson, of the County of Powhatan.

Mr. BOULDIN nominated Mr. W. B. Wills, of the County of Charlotte.

Mr. WICKHAM nominated Mr. F. V. Sutton, Jr., of the City of Richmond.

The roll was then called, with the following result:

The names of those who voted for Mr. LINKOUS are—

Messrs. William B. Aston,
John B. Baldwin,
George Baylor,
William W. Boyd.
John A. Campbell,
Allen T. Caperton,
John A. Carter,
William P. Cecil,
Harvey Deskins,
James B. Dorman,
Jubal A. Early,
John Echols.
Miers W. Fisher,
Napoleon B. French,
Colbert C. Fugate,
H. L. Gillespie,
Samuel L. Graham,
Robert E. Grant,
Algernon S. Gray,
William L. Goggin,
F. L. Hale,
Allen C. Hammond,
James W. Hoge,

Messrs. Eppa Hunton,
Peter C. Johnston,
Robert C. Kent,
John F. Lewis,
William McComas,
Paul McNeil,
Thomas Maslin,
Samuel McD. Moore,
William C. Parks,
Spicer Patrick,
William Ballard Preston,
Samuel Price,
David Pugh,
Peter Saunders, Sr.
John D. Sharp,
James W. Sheffey,
Burwell Spurlock,
Samuel G. Staples,
Alex. H. H. Stuart,
George P. Tayloe,
William White,
Benj. F. Wysor—45.

The names of those who voted for Mr. LEWIS are—

Messrs. Alfred M. Barbour,
George W. Berlin,
William G. Brown,
John S. Burdett,
James Burley,
John S. Carlile,
Sherrard Clemens,
C. B. Conrad,
Robert Y. Conrad,
James H. Couch,
W. H. B. Custis,
Marshall M. Dent,
Ephraim B. Hall,
Alpheus F. Haymond,
Chester D. Hubbard,

Messrs. John N. Hughes,
George W. Hull,
John J. Jackson,
James C. McGrew,
Horatio G. Moffett,
Johnson Orrick,
Logan Osburn,
George McC. Porter,
Chapman J. Stuart,
Campbell Tarr,
Franklin P. Turner,
Waitman T. Willey,
Benjamin Wilson,
Samuel Woods—29.

The names of those who voted for Mr. JETER are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. Walter D. Leake,
William M. Ambler,	William H. Macfarland,
John R. Chambliss,	Charles K. Mallory,
Manilius Chapman,	John Q. Marr,
Raphael M. Conn,	Robert L. Montague,
Richard H. Cox,	George W. Randolph,
William W. Forbes,	Timothy Rives,
Fendall Gregory, Jr.	Robert E. Scott,
L. S. Hall,	Valentine W. Southall,
Lewis E. Harvie,	James M. Strange,
Marmaduke Johnson,	John T. Thornton,
John R. Kilby,	Robert H. Whitfield,
John J. Kindred,	Sam'l C. Williams—26.

The names of those who voted for Mr. SUTTON are—

Messrs. Samuel M. Garland,	Messrs. George W. Richardson,
John Goode, Jr.	John T. Seawell,
John L. Marye, Sr.	Charles R. Slaughter,
Edmund T. Morris,	Wms. C. Wickham—8.

The names of those who voted for Mr. DRUMWRIGHT are—

Messrs. James Boisseau,	Messrs. Thomas F. Goode,
Thomas Branch,	James B. Mallory,
George W. Brent,	William J. Neblett—6.

The names of those who voted for Mr. ROUTT are—

Messrs. James Barbour,	Messrs. James P. Holcombe,
Angus R. Blakey,	Jeremiah Morton,
Peter B. Borst,	Robert H. Turner—6.

The names of those who voted for Mr. KENT are—

Messrs. William H. Dulany,	Messrs. William T. Sutherlin,
Thomas S. Flournoy,	Wm. M. Tredway—5.
Peyton Gravely,	

The names of those who voted for Mr. WELLS are—

Messrs. Wood Bouldin,	Messrs. Hugh M. Nelson,
Lewis D. Isbell,	John M. Speed—4.

The names of those who voted for Mr. REINS are—

Messrs. Edw'd M. Armstrong,	Mr. Henry H. Masters—3.
Addison Hall,	

The names of those who voted for Mr SIMPSON are—

Mr. James H. Cox,

Mr. William C. Scott—2.

Mr. John Critcher voted for Mr. FISHER.

No person having received a majority of the votes cast,

Mr. MORRIS moved that the rules be suspended to enable him to offer the following resolution:

Resolved, That all the candidates for the office of First Door Keeper, except the three who received the largest vote, be dropped.

The motion to suspend the rules was agreed to, and the resolution adopted.

The roll was then called, with the following result:

The names of those who voted for Mr. LINKOUS are—

Messrs. Edw'd M. Armstrong,	Messrs. Allen C. Hammond,
William B. Aston,	Alpheus F. Haymond,
John B. Baldwin,	James W. Hoge,
Alfred M. Barbour,	Eppa Hunton,
George Baylor,	Lewis D. Isbell,
Angus R. Blakey	John J. Jackson,
George Blow, Jr.	Peter C. Johnston,
Caleb Boggess,	Robert C. Kent,
Peter B. Borst,	Walter D. Leake,
William W. Boyd,	John F. Lewis,
George W. Brent,	William McComas,
John S. Burdett,	Paul McNeil,
John A. Campbell,	Thomas Maslin,
Allen T. Caperton,	Henry H. Masters,
John A. Carter,	Horatio G. Moffett,
William P. Cecil,	Samuel McD. Moore,
Samuel A. Coffman,	William C. Parks,
W. H. B. Custis,	Spicer Patrick,
Marshall M. Dent,	Wm. Ballard Preston,
Harvey Deskins,	Samuel Price,
James B. Dorman,	David Pugh,
Jubal A. Early,	Peter Saunders, Sr.
John Echols,	John D. Sharp,
Miers W. Fisher,	James W. Sheffey,
Thomas S. Flournoy,	Burwell Spurlock,
Napoleon B. French,	Samuel G. Staples,
Colbert C. Fugate,	Alex. H. H. Stuart,
Samuel M. Garland,	Chapman J. Stuart,
H. L. Gillespie,	William T. Sutherlin,
Samuel L. Graham,	George P. Tayloe,
Robert E. Grant,	Edward Waller,

Messrs. Peyton Gravely,
Algernon S. Gray,
William L. Goggin,
F. L. Hale,

Messrs. William White,
Williams C. Wickham,
Samuel Woods,
Benj. F. Wysor—70.

The names of those who voted for Mr. JETER are—

Messrs. John Janney (*Pres't*)
Wm. M. Ambler,
James Boisseau,
Wood Bouldin,
Thomas Branch,
Frederick M. Cabell,
John R. Chambliss,
Manilius Chapman,
Raphael M. Conn,
James H. Cox,
Richard H. Cox,
John Critcher,
William H. Dulany,
William W. Forbes,
John Goode, Jr.
Thomas F. Goode,
Fendall Gregory, Jr.
Addison Hall,
L. S. Hall,
Lewis E. Harvie,
J. G. Holladay,
Marmaduke Johnson,
John R. Kilby,
John J. Kindred,
William H. Macfarland,

Messrs. Charles K. Mallory,
James B. Mallory,
John Q. Marr,
John L. Marye, Sr.
Robert L. Montague,
Edmund T. Morris,
Jeremiah Morton,
William J. Neblett,
Hugh M. Nelson,
Edmund Pendleton,
Geo. W. Randolph,
George W. Richardson,
Timothy Rives,
Robert E. Scott,
William C. Scott.
Charles R. Slaughter,
Valentine W. Southall,
John M. Speed,
James M. Strange,
John T. Thornton.
William M. Tredway,
Robert H. Turner,
Franklin P. Turner,
Robert H. Whitfield,
Sam'l C. Williams—50.

The names of those who voted for Mr. LEWIS are—

Messrs. George W. Berlin,
William G. Brown,
James Burley.
John S. Carlile,
Sherrard Clemens,
C. B. Conrad,
Robert Y. Conrad,
James H. Couch,
Ephraim B. Hall,
Chester D. Hubbard,

Messrs. John N. Hughes,
George W. Hull,
James C. McGrew,
Johnson Orrick,
Logan Osburn,
George McC. Porter,
Campbell Tarr,
Waitman T. Willey,
Benjamin Wilson—19.

Mr. LINKOUS having received a majority of the votes cast, was declared duly elected First Door Keeper.

The PRESIDENT presented a communication from the Governor

of the Commonwealth, enclosing a letter from the Hon. John S. Preston, of South Carolina, presenting his credentials as Special Commissioner from the Government of South Carolina, and enclosing also the credentials of the Hon. Fulton Anderson as Special Commissioner from the State of Mississippi, which were read, and, on motion of Mr. MONTAGUE, were laid upon the table and ordered to be printed. [Doc. No. I.]

The PRESIDENT presented a letter from the Hon. John L. Benning, presenting his credentials as Special Commissioner from the State of Georgia, which was read, and on motion of Mr. MONTAGUE, laid upon the table and ordered to be printed. [Doc. No. II.]

Mr. PRESTON submitted the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed by the President to wait upon Hon. John S. Preston, Commissioner from the State of South Carolina; Hon. Henry L. Benning, Commissioner from the State of Georgia, and Hon. Fulton Anderson, Commissioner from the State of Mississippi, and inform them that this Convention of the people of Virginia respectfully invites them to seats in this Hall, and will receive at such time, and in such mode as they may severally prefer, any messages they may have to deliver.

The PRESIDENT announced the following committee in accordance with the foregoing resolution: William Ballard Preston, Lewis E. Harvie, William H. Macfarland, Robert Y. Conrad, and Robert L. Montague.

Mr. HAYMOND submitted the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, That the President of the Convention be authorized to employ four pages, whose services are to be for the use of the members of this Convention.

Mr. CAPERTON submitted the following resolution, which, on motion of Mr. STAPLES, was laid upon the table.

Resolved, That the seats for Delegates in this Hall shall be regarded as free among the members of the Convention, and not specially appropriated, except whilst occupied.

The PRESIDENT announced that the next business in order was the election of Second Doorkeeper.

On motion of Mr. MORRIS, the Convention adjourned.

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FRIDAY, Feb. 15th, 1861.

The Convention met at 12 o'clock, M.

Prayer by the Rev. Mr. DUNCAN, of the Methodist Church.

Mr. HENRY A. WISE, the delegate from the County of Princess Anne, appeared and took his seat.

The PRESIDENT announced that the first business in order was the election of Second Door Keeper.

Mr. FORBES nominated Mr. John J. Winn, of the County of Albemarle.

Mr. McCOMAS nominated Mr. H. S. Coleman, of the County of Stafford.

Mr. GREGORY nominated Mr. Roscoe Burke, of the County of King William.

Mr. TREDWAY nominated Mr. S. H. Jeter, of the City of Richmond.

Mr. SPEED nominated Mr. W. Josiah Leake, of the County of Goochland.

Mr. Cox, of Chesterfield, nominated Mr. Welch, of the County of Chesterfield.

Mr. MONTAGUE nominated Mr. Joseph Tompkins, of the County of Chesterfield.

The roll was then called, with the following result :

The names of those who voted for Mr. JETER are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres.</i>)	Messrs. William H. Macfarland,
James Boisseau,	Charles K. Mallory,
James C. Bruce,	James B. Mallory,
Frederick M. Cabell,	James Marshall,
John S. Carlile,	William J. Neblett,
John A. Carter,	Hugh M. Nelson,
John R. Chambliss,	William C. Parks,
Richard H. Cox,	George W. Randolph,
Thomas S. Flournoy,	Timothy Rives,
Peyton Gravely,	John T. Seawell,
Addison Hall,	Chapman J. Stuart,
Cyrus Hall,	William T. Sutherlin,
L. S. Hall,	John T. Thornton,
Lewis E. Harvie,	William M. Treadway,
Alpheus F. Haymond,	Franklin P. Turner,
J. G. Holladay,	Robert H. Whitfield,
Marmaduke Johnson,	Benj. F. Wysor—35.
John R. Kilby,	

The names of those who voted for Mr. LEAKE are—

Messrs. William M. Ambler,	Messrs. Robert E. Grant,
William B. Aston,	John Goode, Jr.
Angus R. Blakey,	F. L. Hale,
Peter B. Borst,	John J. Jackson,
Wood Bouldin,	Peter C. Johnston,
William W. Boyd,	Robert C. Kent,
John A. Campbell,	John J. Kindred,
William P. Cecil,	Walter D. Leake,
Manilius Chapman,	Edmund T. Morris,
Sherrard Cleinens,	Jeremiah Morton,
James H. Couch,	Samuel Price,
William H. Dulany,	George W. Richardson,
John Echols,	James W. Sheffield,
Miers W. Fisher,	Thomas Sitlington,
Colbert C. Fugate,	John M. Speed,
H. L. Gillespie,	Williams C. Wickham,
Samuel L. Graham,	Henry A. Wise—34.

The names of those who voted for Mr. WELCH are—

Messrs. Alfred M. Barbour,	Messrs. Chester D. Hubbard,
George Blow, Jr.	Samuel McD. Moore,
Thomas Branch,	Edmund Pendleton,
William G. Brown,	George McC. Porter,
James Burley,	William Ballard Preston,
Samuel A. Coffman,	David Pugh,
Raphael M. Conn,	Peter Saunders, Sr.
James H. Cox,	Robert E. Scott,
W. H. B. Custis,	Samuel G. Staples,
Marshall M. Dent,	Campbell Tarr,
James B. Dorman,	William White,
Jubal A. Early,	Waitman T. Willey,
Allen C. Hammond,	Sam'l C. Williams—26.

The names of those who voted for Mr. COLEMAN are—

Messrs. Ed. M. Armstrong,	Messrs. William McComas,
James Barbour,	Paul McNeil,
George W. Berlin,	John Q. Marr,
Caleb Boggess,	John L. Marye, Sr.
John S. Burdett,	Thomas Maslin,
C. B. Conrad,	Henry H. Masters,
Napoleon B. French,	Horatio G. Moffett,
Algernon S. Gray,	Johnson Orrick,
James W. Hoge,	John D. Sharp,

Messrs. John N. Hughes,
George W. Hull,
Eppa Hunton,
James Lawson,

Messrs. Burwell Spurlock,
Edward Waller,
Benjamin Wilson,
Samuel Woods—26.

The names of those who voted for Mr. WINN are—

Messrs. John B. Baldwin,
George Baylor,
George W. Brent,
Robert Y. Conrad,
William W. Forbes,
Samuel M. Garland,
William L. Goggin,
Thomas F. Goode,

Messrs. James P. Holcombe,
John F. Lewis,
Charles R. Slaughter,
Valentine W. Southall,
Alex. H. H. Stuart,
James M. Strange,
George P. Tayloe—15.

Mr. Fendall Gregory, Jr., voted for Mr. BURKE.

Mr. Robert L. Montague voted for Mr. TOMPKINS.

No person having received a majority, Mr. MORTON moved that the rules be suspended to enable him to offer the following resolution:

Resolved, That the selection of Second Door Keeper be made from the four candidates who have received the largest vote cast.

The motion was agreed to, and the resolution adopted.
The roll was then called with the following result:

The names of those who voted for Mr. LEAKE are—

Messrs. Wm. M. Ambler,
William B. Aston,
John B. Baldwin,
Angus R. Blakey,
Peter B. Borst,
Wood Bouldin,
William W. Boyd,
William P. Cecil,
Manilius Chapman,
Sherrard Clemens,
James H. Couch,
William H. Dulany,
John Echols,
Miers W. Fisher,
Samuel M. Garland,
H. L. Gillespie,
Samuel L. Graham,

Messrs. John J. Jackson,
Peter C. Johnston,
Robert C. Kent,
J. J. Kindred,
Walter D. Leake,
James C. McGrew,
Robert L. Montague,
Edmund T. Morris,
Jeremiah Morton,
William C. Parks,
Spicer Patrick,
Samuel Price,
George W. Richardson,
James W. Sheffield,
Thomas Sitlington,
Charles R. Slaughter,
Valentine W. Southall,

Robert E. Grant,
William L. Goggin,
John Goode, Jr.
Thomas F. Goode,
F. L. Hale,
Lewis D. Isbell,

John M. Speed,
James M. Strange,
Robert H. Turner,
Wms. C. Wickham.
Henry A. Wise—46.

The names of those who voted for Mr. JETER are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. Marinaduke Johnson,
James Boisseau,	John R. Kilby,
James C. Bruce,	Wm. H. Macfarland,
John S. Burdett,	Charles K. Mallory,
Frederick M. Cabell,	James B. Mallory,
John S. Carlile,	James Marshall,
John A. Campbell,	Wm. J. Neblett,
John A. Carter,	Hugh M. Nelson,
John R. Chambliss,	Logan Osburn,
Raphael M. Conn,	George W. Randolph,
Robert Y. Conrad,	Timothy Rives,
Richard H. Cox,	John T. Seawell,
Thomas S. Flournoy,	Chapman J. Stuart,
Peyton Gravely,	William T. Sutherlin,
Fendall Gregory, Jr.	George P. Tayloe,
Addison Hall,	John T. Thornton,
Cyrus Hall,	William M. Tredway,
L. S. Hall,	Franklin P. Turner,
Lewis E. Harvie,	Samuel C. Williams,
Alpheus F. Haymond,	Benj. F. Wysor—40.
James P. Holcombe,	

The names of those who voted for Mr. WELCH are—

Messrs. Alfred M. Barbour,	Messrs. Allen C. Hammond,
George Baylor,	Chester D. Hubbard,
George Blow, Jr.	John F. Lewis,
Thomas Branch,	Samuel McD. Moore,
George W. Brent,	Edmund Pendleton,
William G. Brown,	George McC. Porter,
James Burley,	William Ballard Preston,
Allen T. Caperton,	David Pugh,
Samuel A. Coffman,	Peter Saunders, Sr.
James H. Cox,	Robert E. Scott,
W. H. B. Custis,	Samuel G. Staples,
Marshall M. Dent,	Alex. H. H. Stuart,
James B. Dorman,	Campbell Tarr,
Jubal A. Early,	William White,
William W. Forbes,	Waitman T. Willey—31
Ephraim B. Hall,	

The names of those who voted for Mr. COLEMAN are—

Messrs. Ed. M. Armstrong,	Messrs. William McComas,
James Barbour,	Paul McNeil,
George W. Berlin,	John Q. Marr,
Caleb Boggess,	John L. Marye, Sr.
C. B. Conrad,	Thomas Maslin,
John Critcher,	Henry H. Masters,
Napoleon B. French,	Horatio G. Moffett,
Colbert C. Fugate,	Johnson Orrick,
Algernon S. Gray,	John D. Sharp,
James W. Hoge,	Burwell Spurlock,
John N. Hughes,	Edward Waller,
George W. Hull,	Benjamin Wilson,
Eppa Hunton,	Samuel Woods—27.
James Lawson,	

No person having received a majority, Mr. WISE moved that the rules be suspended to enable him to submit a motion declaring the candidate who had received the highest vote the Second Door Keeper, and the question being put was decided in the negative.

The name of Mr. Coleman was dropped under the rules, and the roll was again called with the following result:

The names of those who voted for Mr. LEAKE are—

Messrs. William M. Ambler,	Messrs. Alpheus F. Haymond,
Edward M. Armstrong,	James W. Hoge,
William B. Aston,	John N. Hughes,
John B. Baldwin,	George W. Hull,
Alfred M. Barbour,	Eppa Hunton,
James Barbour,	Lewis D. Isbell,
Angus R. Blakey,	Peter C. Johnston,
Peter B. Borst,	Robert C. Kent,
Wood Bouldin,	John J. Kindred,
William W. Boyd,	James Lawson,
Thomas Branch,	Walter D. Leake,
George W. Brent,	James C. McGrew,
William G. Brown,	Paul McNeil,
John A. Campbell,	John L. Marye, Sr.
Allen T. Caperton,	Henry H. Masters,
William P. Cecil,	Horatio G. Moffett,
Manilius Chapman,	Robert L. Montague,
Sherrard Clemens,	Edmund T. Morris,
Robert Y. Conrad,	Jeremiah Morton,
James H. Cotich,	Johnson Orrick,
John Critcher,	William C. Parks,

Messrs. Marshall M. Dent,
 Harvey Deskins,
 James B. Dorman,
 William H. Dulany,
 John Echols,
 Miers W. Fisher,
 Thomas S. Flournoy,
 William W. Forbes,
 Napoleon B. French,
 Colbert C. Fugate,
 Samuel M. Garland,
 H. L. Gillespie,
 Samuel L. Graham,
 Robert E. Grant,
 Algernon S. Gray,
 William L. Goggin,
 John Goode, Jr.
 Thomas F. Goode,
 F. L. Hale,

Messrs. Spicer Patrick,
 Wm. Ballard Preston,
 Samuel Price,
 David Pugh,
 George W. Richardson,
 Robert E. Scott,
 John D. Sharp,
 James W. Shelley,
 Thomas Sitlington,
 Charles R. Slaughter,
 Valentine W. Sonthall,
 John M. Speed,
 Samuel G. Staples,
 James M. Strange,
 John T. Thornton,
 Robert H. Turner,
 Williams C. Wickham,
 Henry A. Wise—79.

The names of those who voted for Mr. JETER are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. William H. Macfarland,
George W. Berlin,	Charles K. Mallory,
James Boisseau,	James B. Mallory,
John S. Burdett,	James Marshall,
Frederick M. Cabell,	John Q. Marr,
John S. Carlile,	Hugh M. Nelson,
John A. Carter,	Logan Osburn,
John R. Chambliss,	George W. Randolph,
Raphael M. Conn,	Timothy Rives,
C. B. Conrad,	John T. Seawell,
Richard H. Cox,	Burwell Spurlock,
Peyton Gravely,	Chapman J. Stuart,
Fendall Gregory, Jr.	William T. Sutherlin,
Addison Hall,	George P. Tayloe,
L. S. Hall,	William M. Tredway,
Lewis E. Harvie,	Franklin P. Turner,
James P. Holcombe,	Edward Waller,
J. G. Holladay,	Samuel C. Williams,
Marmaduke Johnson,	Benjamin Wilson,
John R. Kilby,	Samuel Woods,
William McComas,	Benj. F. Wysesor—42.

The names of those who voted for Mr. WELCH are—

Messrs. George Baylor,
George Blow, Jr.
Caleb Boggess,
William G. Brown,
James Burley,
Samuel A. Coffman,
James H. Cox,
W. H. B. Custis,
Jubal A. Early,
Ephraim B. Hall,
Allen C. Hammond,
Chester D. Hubbard,

Messrs. John J. Jackson,
John F. Lewis,
Thomas Maslin,
Samuel McD. Moore,
Edmund Pendleton,
George McC. Porter,
Peter Saunders, Sr.
Alex. H. H. Stuart,
Campbell Tarr,
William White,
Robert H. Whitfield,
Wait. T. Willey—24.

Mr. LEAKE having received a majority, was declared duly elected Second Doorkeeper.

Mr. PRESTON from the committee appointed to wait upon the Commissioners from the States of South Carolina, Georgia and Mississippi, presented the following report, which was unanimously adopted:

The committee appointed by the Convention to wait upon the Commissioners from the States of South Carolina, Georgia and Mississippi, to invite them to accept seats on the floor of this Convention, and inform them that the Convention would receive any messages from them, respectively, at such time and in such form as they might choose, respectfully report:

That the committee waited upon the gentlemen named in the resolution, yesterday evening, and stated to them, as directed, the purport of the visit. The Commissioners expressed their grateful sense of the courtesy shown to them personally, and the honorable consideration of their mission, and accepted the tender of seats upon this floor (which they now occupy), and said that if it should suit the convenience of the Convention, they desired to address it orally on Monday next. All which they requested the committee to communicate to the Convention.

On motion of Mr. PRESTON, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That the Convention will, on Monday next at 12 o'clock, receive the Commissioners from the States of South Carolina, Georgia, and Mississippi, according to the report of the committee.

On motion of Mr. TREDWAY, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That editors of newspapers published in the city of Richmond, and reporters for such papers, be admitted to seats in the Convention, under the direction of the President.

On motion of Mr. HAYMOND, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That the President of the Convention appoint a Committee of Elections, consisting of thirteen members, to whom shall be referred the returns of delegates, and all matters relating to contests for seats in the Convention.

Mr. NELSON moved that the resolution submitted by him yesterday, be taken up for consideration, and the question being put, was decided in the negative.

Mr. DORMAN moved to suspend the rules with the view of submitting the following resolution, which was agreed to, and the resolution adopted.

Resolved, That the rules of the Virginia Convention of 1850, so far as applicable, be adopted for the government of the Convention, and that 200 copies of the same be printed for the use of this body.

The said rules are as follows:

RULES AND REGULATIONS.

1. The President of the Convention shall take the Chair every day precisely at the hour to which the Convention shall have adjourned the day preceding; shall immediately call the members to order, and on the appearance of a quorum, shall cause the Journal of the preceding day to be read for correction. He shall preserve *order and decorum*; may speak to points of order in preference to other members; rising from his seat for that purpose; shall decide questions of order, subject to an appeal to the Convention; shall daily examine and correct the Journal before it is read; shall have a general direction of the hall; may call any member to the Chair to perform its functions not exceeding one day; shall set apart seats in the hall for the members of the General Assembly, and of the Executive of this State, for the Judges of this State, and of the United States; and for such other persons as he may think proper to invite within the hall; for any disturbance or disorder among spectators in the hall or gallery, he or the chairman of the committee of the whole, (as the case may be) shall have power to order the same to be cleared; he shall appoint all committees not otherwise ordered; shall promptly call members to order for transgressing the rules; and when two members rise at the same time to address the Chair, shall name the one who is to speak, taking care however always to allow a member who rises and addresses the Chair first, to speak first.

2. No member shall absent himself from the service of the Convention, unless he be sick and unable to attend.

3. A member about to speak or deliver any matter to the Convention, shall rise *from his seat*, and without advancing, shall, with due respect address, "*Mr. President*," confining himself strictly to the point in debate, avoiding all personality, and indecent and disrespectful language.

4. No member while addressing the Convention, shall call another member by name.

5. No member shall speak more than *twice* to the same question without leave, nor more than *once*, until every other member intending to speak shall have spoken.

6. The rules of parliamentary practice, comprised in Jefferson's Manual, shall govern the Convention in all cases to which they are applicable, and not inconsistent with the rules and orders of the Convention.

7. The Secretary shall draw up the Journals of the Convention daily, which, after being examined and corrected by the President, and read to the Convention, shall be printed, and one copy shall be delivered to him and one to each member without delay. He shall not suffer any member, or other person, to take any records or papers from his table, or out of his custody.

8. A question being once determined, must stand as the judgment of the Convention, and shall not again be drawn into debate.

9. While the President is reporting or putting a question, none shall entertain private discourse, read, stand up, walk into, or out of the house; and when a motion to lie on the table is made, there shall be no debate upon that, or any incidental question arising out of it, including an appeal.

10. No member shall vote upon any question touching his own conduct or privilege as a member, but shall be entitled to vote upon all other questions, before the result of the vote is announced from the Chair.

11. A majority of the members of the Convention shall be necessary to transact business, and every question shall be determined according to the vote of the majority of the members present. Any smaller number shall be sufficient to adjourn, and fifteen to call a house, and send for the absent, and make any order for their censure or discharge.

12. A majority of any committee shall be necessary to transact business.

13. Any person who shall tamper with any witness in respect to his evidence to be given in this Convention, or before any of its committees, or who shall directly or indirectly attempt to deter, or hinder any person from appearing, or giving evidence, shall be deemed to have committed a high crime, and shall be punished according.

14. No person shall be taken into custody by the sergeant-at-arms on any complaint of a breach of privilege, until the matter of such complaint shall be examined by a committee and reported to the house.

15. The sergeant's fee shall be as follows: for taking a person into custody two dollars; for every day detained in custody two dollars; for sending a messenger to take any person in custody by warrant from the President, eight cents per mile for going and the same for returning.

16. On a call of the house, the doors shall not be shut against any member until his name is once called and noted as an absentee.

17. When any member shall remain in his seat two days after leave of absence, such leave shall be void.

18. No business shall be introduced, taken up, or considered, after 12 o'clock, until the orders of the day shall be disposed of, except that an order of the day commenced may continue from day to day until finished, to the exclusion of other orders.

19. Any member (seven others concurring) shall have a right to demand the ayes and noes upon any question, at any time before it be put, and in such case, the names of the members shall be called by the Secretary in alphabetical order, and the ayes and noes entered respectively on the Journal; and the question decided as a majority of votes shall thereupon appear. But after the ayes and noes are separately taken, and before they are counted and entered on the Journal, the Secretary shall read over the names of those who voted in the affirmative, and of those who voted in the negative, in order that any mistake in the listing of names and votes may be corrected.

20. The petitioner who contests the election of a member returned to serve in this Convention, shall receive his wages only from the day on which he is declared duly elected.

21. Select committees shall be composed of not less than five nor more than thirteen.

22. In elections, but one vacancy shall be filled at a time, and if, in any election, no person receive a majority of the whole vote upon the first ballot, the person having the smallest number of votes shall not be voted for upon the next ballot, and so on each succeeding ballot, until some person shall have a majority of the whole.

23. In all votes of the house, except by ayes and noes, the President may, and at the instance of any member, shall, cause the house to be divided; and if upon the rising of the members in the affirmative, a doubt still exists with the President or any member, on which side the majority is, the members in the affirmative shall first be counted, and then those in the negative, either by the President or at his request, by two members of opposite opinions upon the question.

24. The documents ordered to be printed by the Convention shall be printed on paper of the same size of the Journals of the Convention, and a copy shall be bound with each Journal, to be furnished to the members at the end of the session; and it shall be the duty of the printer of the house to print one hundred additional copies of each document for the use of the Commonwealth.

25. No committee shall sit during the sessions of the Convention without special leave.

26. If any member, while speaking, transgress the rules of the Convention, the President shall, or any member may, call to order; and the member so called to order shall immediately sit down, unless permitted to explain, and the Convention shall, if appealed to, decide on the case, but without debate. If there be no appeal, the decision of the Chair shall be submitted to; if the decision be in favor of the member, he shall proceed—if against him, he shall not proceed; if any other member object, without leave of the Convention; and if the case require it, he shall be liable to the censure of the Convention.

27. If a member be called to order for words spoken in debate, the member calling him to order, shall repeat the words excepted to, and they shall be taken down in writing by the secretary; and no member shall be held to answer, or be subject to the censure of the Convention for words spoken in debate, if any other member has spoken, or other business has intervened, before exception to them shall have been taken.

28. While a member is speaking, none shall entertain private discourse, or shall otherwise disturb him, or pass between him and the Chair.

29. Every member shall remain uncovered during the sessions of the Convention; and no member shall remain by the secretary's table while the ayes and noes are calling, or while the Convention is voting, or the secretary calling or counting the votes, in any election.

30. Every member who shall be in the house when a question is put shall vote, unless excused; and all motions to excuse, in such cases, shall be made before the house divides, or before the call of the ayes and noes is commenced; and any member requesting to be excused from voting, may make a brief verbal statement of his reasons, and the question shall then be taken without further debate.

31. Every motion shall be reduced to writing, if the President or any member desire it.

32. When a question is under debate, no motion shall be received but to adjourn, for the previous question, to lie on the table, to postpone indefinitely, to adjourn the question to a different day, to commit, or amend; which several motions shall have precedence in the order in which they are arranged.

33. Upon a call for the previous question, no member shall speak more than ten minutes. Unless such call be seconded by twenty members, indicated by rising, the President shall put no question; but if so sustained, a question shall be immediately put by the Chair to this effect, "shall the main question be now put?" If on this question a majority of the House vote in the affirmative, the Chair shall thereupon put the pending question, and all incidental questions of order arising after a motion is

made for the previous question, and pending the motion, shall be decided, whether on appeal or otherwise, without debate.

34. Any member may call for the division of a question, and it shall be, thereupon, divided, if it comprehend propositions in substance so distinct that one being taken away, a substantive proposition shall remain for the decision of the house—but a motion to strike out being lost, shall not preclude a motion to strike out and insert.

35. When the Convention is about to rise, every member shall keep his seat until the President shall have announced the adjournment.

Mr. SPEED submitted the following resolution which, on motion of Mr. WOODS, was indefinitely postponed:

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed with instructions to ascertain if some arrangement can be made with the House of Delegates by which they may so adjust their sessions as that their hall can be appropriated, during a portion of each day, for the use of the Convention; or failing to make such arrangement, that said committee be instructed to provide some other place for the session of this body.

Mr. CONRAD, of Frederick, submitted the following resolution which was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That a committee to consist of twenty-one delegates, selected from the different sections of the State, to be termed "The Committee on Federal Relations," be appointed by the President; to said committee all resolutions touching Federal Relations which may be offered in Convention, shall be referred; and it shall be their duty from time to time, to report upon the same to the Convention for its action.

Mr. GRAY submitted the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the thanks of this body be tendered to Wm. F. Gordon, Esq., Clerk of the House of Delegates, for the handsome manner in which he has discharged the duties of temporary Secretary of the Virginia Convention.

Mr. WILSON submitted the following resolution, which being objected to, was laid over under the rule:

Resolved, That the Virginia Commissioners to the Peace Conference now in session in the city of Washington be respectfully requested to report to this body at their earliest convenience, whether in their opinion, any result acceptable to Virginia, may be expected from the deliberations of their body.

On motion of Mr. JOHNSON, the Convention proceeded to the election of Printer. Mr. JOHNSON nominated WYATT M. ELLIOTT, of the City of Richmond.

No other nomination being made, the vote was taken, and Mr. ELLIOTT was unanimously elected.

Mr. HAYMOND submitted the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Printer to this Convention receive the same pay for his services, as the Printer to the House of Delegates, for similar work.

Mr. MORRIS submitted the following resolution, which on motion of Mr. HALL, of Wetzell, was laid upon the table:

Resolved, That a committee of five members be appointed by the President to ascertain and report speedily if this Hall cannot be so arranged as better to accommodate the members of this House.

The PRESIDENT announced that he had appointed the following Pages for this Convention:

William H. Tallman, Edward Gay, August Rosen, Arthur Flegen.

The PRESIDENT presented the following communication from the President of the Young Men's Christian Association, of the City of Richmond:

RICHMOND, February 13, 1861.

HON. JOHN JANNEY, *Pres't Va. Convention*:

Dear Sir,—The Richmond Young Men's Christian Association have assigned me the agreeable duty of inviting the members of your honorable body to visit their Library and Reading Rooms, in Goddin's Hall, at such times during your present session, as may be consistent with your convenience.

I am very respectfully your obedient servant,

J. B. WATKINS, *Pres't Y. M. C. A.*

Mr. KENT presented the petition of Mr. B. D. LANE, contesting the election of Mr. JOHN D. SHARP, the Delegate returned from the County of Lee, which was referred to the Committee on Elections.

On motion of Mr. MONTAGUE, the Convention adjourned.

4
SATURDAY, February 16, 1861.

The Convention assembled at 12 o'clock.

Prayer by the Rev. Mr. DUNCAN of the Methodist Church.

The PRESIDENT announced the following Committee on Federal Relations:

Messrs. Conrad of Frederick, Wise, Scott of Fauquier, Preston, Harvie, Macfarland, McComas, Montague, Price, Southall, Willey, Bruce, Boyd, Barbour of Culpeper, Williams, Rives, Moore, Blow, Johnston of Lee and Scott, Baldwin, Jackson.

The PRESIDENT announced the following Committee of Elections:

Messrs. Haymond, Goggin, Brown, Chambliss, Caperton, Ambler, Gray, Hunton, Campbell, Tredway, Hall of Lancaster and Northumberland.

On motion of Mr. DORMAN, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That the election returns transmitted to the President of the Convention, be referred to the Committee on Elections, with instructions to report the result of the vote cast upon the question of referring the action of this Convention to the people.

On motion of Mr. SUTHERLIN, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That editors of the newspapers published in this State, and reporters for the same, be admitted to seats in the Convention, under the direction of the President.

On motion of Mr. TURNER, of Jackson and Roane, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That this Convention tenders to the Young Men's Christian Association of Richmond, its grateful acknowledgments, for the kind offer to the members of this body of the free use of the Reading Room and Library of the Association.

The PRESIDENT laid before the Convention the following communications:

To the President of the Virginia Convention:

The accompanying portrait of James Monroe was taken from life, and is thought to be an excellent likeness of that eminent statesman. Thinking that it may be an appropriate ornament for the Hall of the Convention, (during the session of that body,) I offer it to you to be hung up there.

With great respect, &c., &c.,

MARTHA STANARD.

RICHMOND, February, 14, 1861.

RICHMOND, February 15, 1861.

To the President of the Virginia State Convention:

RESPECTED SIR:—I have caused to be placed in the Hall of the Convention—a picture of Washington crossing the Delaware—a portrait of Chief Justice Marshall, and two Marble Busts of Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun, all of which, I trust, are appropriate for the occasion, and I hope will meet the approbation of the august body now sitting in Convention.

Very respectfully,

JOHN W. DAVIES.

On motion of Mr. MACFARLAND, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That this Convention accept with pleasure, and gratefully acknowledge, the very handsome and appropriate presents which now adorn the hall of the Convention.

Mr. EARLY submitted the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Sergeant-at-Arms of this Convention do ascertain the number of persons that can be accommodated in the gallery, and space set apart for gentlemen as spectators, and that the Secretary issue tickets of admission equal to the number that can be so accommodated, and distribute them equally among

the members of the Convention, and that no person be admitted into the said gallery or space on Monday next, without a ticket of admission.

Mr. FISHER moved to amend the resolution by substituting the following:

Resolved, That when the Convention adjourns to-day, it adjourn to meet in the African church, on Monday next, at 12 o'clock M.

The question being upon the adoption of the amendment, was put and decided in the negative.

Mr. HALL, of Marion, moved that the resolution be laid upon the table.

The question being put was decided in the negative.

The resolution offered by Mr. EARLY was then adopted.

Mr. MARR, submitted the following resolution, which was ordered to be referred to the Committee on Federal Relations.

Resolved, That Virginia cherishes a devoted attachment to the union of these States under the Constitution framed by the wise and patriotic men of the past; that she will use every honorable effort and make any sacrifice consistent with her honor and interest to restore and maintain it; but that it is proper to declare, through the Convention now assembled, her opposition to the coercion, under existing circumstances, of any slave State, and an unalterable determination not to submit to any administration of the government in which her rights are assailed or not fully protected, and that if the Union cannot be restored and preserved upon terms honorable to its component parts, it should be divided.

Mr. MORTON submitted the following resolutions, which were ordered to be referred to the Committee on Federal Relations.

Resolved, That the people of Virginia, in Convention assembled, do solemnly declare, that she will not submit to the coercion of the seceded States, upon the pretext of the enforcement of the laws of the United States, or upon any pretext whatever.

2. That she solemnly protests against the use of the standing army and navy of the United States, by the General Government, and the concentration of troops at the Federal Metropolis, and at various forts, arsenals, &c., to coerce any State or States *now in or out of the Union*.

3. That this Commonwealth ardently desires to restore the federal Union, and to preserve it upon terms of safety and honor to all its members; but if the efforts now being made for that purpose prove unavailing, she will not hesitate to unite herself with her sister States of the South.

Mr. CARLILE submitted the following resolution which was ordered to be referred to the Committee on Federal Relations.

Resolved, That since the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of *Chisholm vs. the State of Georgia*, and the adoption of the eleventh amendment to the Constitution, we are at a loss to understand how the impression that the Federal Government possessed the power to coerce a State could have obtained credence.

Mr. LEAKE submitted the following resolution, which was ordered to be referred to the Committee on Federal Relations:

Resolved, as the opinion of this Convention of the people of Virginia, That if the Federal Government at Washington should undertake forcibly to retake the forts

within any of the States that have dissolved their connexion with the Federal Union, Virginia will regard such acts as an invasion of the rights of sovereign States, and should said authorities undertake to collect the duties on foreign importations introduced, or about to be introduced into any such States, Virginia will regard any such acts as coercion, and that her faith has been pledged, and is hereby again pledged, as far as it can be, to resist with all the means in her power, all such acts of invasion and coercion.

Mr. RICHARDSON submitted the following resolutions, which were ordered to be referred to the Committee on Federal Relations:

The people of the sovereign State of Virginia, in General Convention assembled, do declare and publish the following resolutions:

1. That the compact by which the several sovereignties composing the United States of North America were united in a confederacy, has been repeatedly violated by individuals and States composing the Northern part of the same.

2. That the said compact having been thus repudiated by parties to the same, to the injury and oppression of other parties thereto, is not binding upon the latter, and exists not of right but by sufferance.

3. That not only are the sovereign States of this Union the rightful judges of the circumstances under which their honor and safety require their withdrawal therefrom, but those who have peaceably so withdrawn, were justified in so doing, by invasions of their just rights.

4. That we will resist the coercion of the States which have so withdrawn, because there is no rightful power to use force against them under present circumstances, because their interest is common with ours, and because an impairment of their safety is dangerous to our own.

5. That in view of the grievances which the South has sustained at the hands of the North, and of the election of a chief magistrate, avowedly hostile to the institutions of the former, it is the duty of the latter at once to concede such constitutional guarantees to the South, as will prevent the recurrence of the wrongs already inflicted on us, and secure our full and equal rights in the Confederacy.

6. That the failure to provide against these wrongs and to secure these rights is an evidence of either indifference or hostility towards us, which are alike fatal to our peace and safety..

7. That in view of these plain truths, we demand that security for our rights and honor be accorded to us in the Confederacy as speedily as the necessary constitutional proceedings can be carried out, and in default thereof, will dissolve our connection with those who first wantonly wrong us, and then obstinately persevere in the injury.

8. That arguing from the persistent denial of our just demands the danger of a conflict of arms, we decree that the State be forthwith put in such a condition of defence as will insure her safety, dignity and honor.

On motion of Mr. JOHNSON, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That the President of the Convention be authorized to employ an Assistant Door Keeper.

Mr. FLOURNOY submitted the following resolutions, which were ordered to be referred to the Committee on Federal Relations:

Resolved by this Convention, That whilst Virginia has a high appreciation of the blessings intended to be secured by the Constitution of the Union, and would do much and forbear much to perpetuate them, yet it feels itself bound to declare that an identity of interests and of wrongs with the seceded States of the South, would, in case of an attempted coercion by the Federal Government, demand and receive the interposition of all her military strength in resisting such aggression.

Resolved, That Virginia hopes and believes that by prudent measures of conciliation on the part of the United States Government in its intercourse with the seceded States, and by a just appreciation of the magnitude of our present perils, that some measures of compromise between the North and the South may be adopted which will restore peace, friendship, and Union to every section of our now distracted country.

Mr. MORTON submitted the following resolution, and the question being put, was decided in the negative:

Resolved, That the Sergeant-at-Arms be directed to cushion the seats of members, and provide each member with a desk, or table with a lock and key.

On motion of Mr. FORBES the Convention adjourned.

5
MONDAY, February 18th, 1861.

The Convention assembled at 12 o'clock, M.

Prayer by Rev. Dr. REID, of the Presbyterian Church.

On motion of Mr. CONRAD, of Frederick, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That the Committee on Federal Relations be authorized to appoint a Clerk.

On motion of Mr. PRESTON, the Convention proceeded with the order of the day, having for its object the reception of oral communications from the Commissioners from the States of South Carolina, Georgia, and Mississippi.

The PRESIDENT then introduced Hon. FULTON ANDERSON, Commissioner from the State of Mississippi, who addressed the Convention.

On the conclusion of his address, the PRESIDENT introduced Hon. H. L. BENNING, Commissioner from the State of Georgia, who addressed the Convention, and concluded by tendering a copy of "an Ordinance to dissolve the Union between the State of Georgia, and other States united with her, etc.," which being presented to the Convention by the President, was, on motion of Mr. PRESTON, laid upon the table, and ordered to be printed. [Doc. No. III.]

On motion of Mr. PRESTON, the further execution of the order of the day was postponed until to-morrow at 12 o'clock, M.

On motion of Mr. EARLY, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That the resolution adopted on Saturday in regard to tickets of admission for this day, be renewed for to-morrow.

On motion of Mr. STAPLES, the Convention adjourned.

TUESDAY, Feb. 19th, 1861.

The Convention assembled at 12 o'clock, M.

Mr. B. W. BYRNE, the delegate from the Counties of Braxton, Nicholas and Clay, appeared and took his seat.

Prayer by the Rev. Mr. PETERKIN, of the Episcopal Church.

On motion of Mr. PRESTON the Convention proceeded with the unfinished order of the day.

The PRESIDENT then introduced the Hon. JOHN S. PRESTON, the Commissioner from South Carolina, who addressed the Convention.

On the conclusion of his address, Mr. GOODE submitted the following resolution, which was adopted.

Resolved, That the Hon. Fulton Anderson, the Hon. Henry L. Benning, and the Hon. John S. Preston be respectfully requested to furnish copies of their addresses to this Convention for publication.

Mr. HALL, of Wetzel, submitted the following resolutions, which were ordered to be referred to the Committee on Federal Relations.

Resolved, That, in the opinion of this Convention, Virginia has a legal right, at any time, to resume to herself the powers that she heretofore granted to the Federal Government, but she should never exercise that right when the interest of others are involved only for good cause; and that the mere election of Abraham Lincoln to the presidency of the United States, under the forms of the Constitution, affords no just ground for Virginia to resume to herself the powers granted to the General Government; but, in view of the fact that a portion of our sisters of the South, composing this Confederacy, have seen proper to break up their connection with this Government, and have formed a new Confederacy—thereby leaving the State of Virginia—in connection with the balance of the border slave States—greatly in the minority in both Houses of Congress, therefore, in the opinion of this Convention, Virginia should demand (as a matter of self-protection,) additional guarantees and proper amendments to the Federal Constitution, so as to preserve a just and proper equilibrium between the sections.

Resolved, That Virginia should unite in presenting an ultimatum to the Northern States, which ultimatum should be just and fair to all sections of our common country, and give the States a fair opportunity to take action on the same.

Resolved, That, in the opinion of this Convention, Virginia should fix a time, beyond which she will not wait, and if the Northern States fail to ratify the action of Virginia, or fail to meet her in a spirit of harmony and conciliation within the time that may be prescribed by this Convention, Virginia should at once take such steps as will effectively secure her just rights out of the Union with the Northern Confederacy.

On motion of Mr. CLEMENS the Convention adjourned.

WEDNESDAY, February 20, 1861.

The Convention assembled at 12 o'clock, M.

Prayer by the Rev. Mr. PETERKIN, of the Episcopal Church.

Mr. CLEMENS submitted the following resolution:

Resolved, That the President of this Convention have authority to employ, at a fixed rate of compensation, a sufficient number of reporters to take down as they occur the debates of this body, with a view to the publication of the same hereafter, in a portable form, if it shall be deemed, by this body, expedient or necessary.

Mr. FISHER moved to amend the resolution, and the amendment being accepted by Mr. CLEMENS, the resolution was adopted as follows:

Resolved, That the President of this Convention be authorized to contract with the proprietors of the Richmond Enquirer for continuing the reporting and publishing the proceedings of this Convention.

Subsequently, Mr. PRICE moved a reconsideration of the vote by which the resolution was adopted, and the question being put was decided in the negative—yeas 46, nays 82.

On motion of Mr. CLEMENS, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. John R. Kilby,
William B. Aston,	John F. Lewis,
John B. Baldwin,	James C. McGrew,
William W. Boyd,	Wm. H. Macfarland,
William G. Brown,	Thomas Maslin,
James C. Bruce,	Henry H. Masters,
John S. Burdett,	Samuel McD. Moore,
James Burley,	Hugh M. Nelson,
Benj. W. Byrne,	William C. Parks,
John A. Campbell,	Spicer Patrick,
C. B. Conrad,	Edmund Pendleton,
Robert Y. Conrad,	Wm. Ballard Preston,
James H. Cox,	Samuel Price,
Jubal A. Early,	Peter Saunders, Sr.
Colbert C. Fugate,	V. W. Southall,
Samuel M. Garland,	Alex. H. H. Stuart,
H. L. Gillespie,	Chapman J. Stuart,
Robert E. Grant,	George P. Tayloe,
Peyton Gravely,	William M. Tredway,
F. L. Hale,	William White,
J. G. Holladay,	Robert H. Whitfield,
George W. Hull,	Williams C. Wickham,
John J. Jackson,	Benj. F. Wysor—46.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. Wm. M. Ambler,	Messrs. Eppa Hunton,
Edward M. Armstrong,	Lewis D. Isbell,
George Baylor,	Marmaduke Johnson,
Angus R. Blakey,	Peter C. Johnston,
George Blow, Jr.	Robert C. Kent,
Caleb Boggess,	John J. Kindred,
James Boisseau,	Walter D. Leake,
Peter B. Borst,	William McComas,
Thomas Branch,	Paul McNeil,
William P. Cecil,	Charles K. Mallory,
John R. Chambliss,	James B. Mallory,
Manilius Chapman,	James Marshall,
Sherrard Clemens,	John Q. Marr,
Samuel A. Coffinan,	John L. Marye, Sr.
Raphael M. Conn,	Horatio G. Moffett,
James H. Couch,	Robert L. Montague,
Richard H. Cox,	Edmund T. Morris,
John Critcher,	Jeremiah Morton,
W. H. B. Custis,	William J. Neblett,
Harvey Deskins,	Johnson Orrick,
James B. Dorman,	Logan Osburn,
William H. Dulany,	George McC. Porter,
John Echols,	David Pugh,
Miers W. Fisher,	George W. Randolph,
Thomas S. Flournoy,	George W. Richardson,
William W. Forbes,	Timothy Rives,
Napoleon B. French,	Robert E. Scott,
Samuel L. Graham,	John T. Seawell,
Fendall Gregory, Jr.	James W. Sheffey,
John Goode, Jr.	Thomas Sitlington,
Thomas F. Goode,	John M. Speed,
Addison Hall,	Burwell Spurlock,
Cyrus Hall,	Samuel G. Staples,
Ephraim B. Hall,	Robert H. Turner,
L. S. Hall,	Franklin P. Turner,
Allen C. Hammond,	Edward Waller,
Lewis E. Harvie,	Waitman T. Willey,
Alpheus F. Haymond,	Samuel C. Williams,
James W. Hoge,	Benjamin Wilson,
James P. Holcombe,	Henry A. Wise,
Chester D. Hubbard,	Samuel Woods—82.

Mr. BRENT submitted the following resolutions, which were ordered to be referred to the Committee on Federal Relations:

Resolved by the people of Virginia in Convention assembled, That we are warmly attached to the Union of these States—that we do not recognize in the diversity

of our institutions any cause of conflict between the different States; but, on the contrary, we believe the great varieties of soil, of production and of interests, in a Republic like this, grounds for a more lasting and perfect Union.

Resolved, That in times like these it becomes the duty of every patriot to rise above party or sectional considerations, to make an earnest effort to save the Union, in that spirit of generous compromise in which the Constitution was framed, and, therefore, in the spirit of compromise, we are willing to adopt the amendments to the Constitution proposed by Senator Crittenden, or any other plan of conciliation equivalent thereto, which has been or may be hereafter offered, by which harmony may be restored between the people of the different States, and the Union perpetuated.

Resolved, That in the opinion of this Convention the employment of the army and navy of the United States to coerce submission of the seceding States will inevitably plunge the country into civil war, and entirely extinguish all hope of a settlement of the issues now pending. We, therefore, invoke the Federal Government, as well as the seceding States, to withhold and stay the arm of military power, and on no pretext whatever to bring on the country the horrors of civil war until the people themselves can take such action as our troubles demand.

Mr. TURNER, of Jackson, submitted the following resolutions, which were ordered to be referred to the Committee on Federal Relations:

Resolved by the people of Virginia in Convention assembled, That if all efforts to reconcile the unhappy differences existing between the two sections of the country shall prove to be abortive, then, in the opinion of this Convention, every consideration of honor and interest demands that Virginia shall unite her destiny with the slaveholding States of the South.

Resolved, That when any one or more of the States has determined, or shall hereafter determine, under existing circumstances, to withdraw from the Union, we are unalterably opposed to any attempt on the part of the Federal Government to coerce the same into reunion or submission, and that we will resist the same by all the means in our power.

Mr. MORRIS submitted the following resolutions, which were ordered to be referred to the Committee on Federal Relations:

Resolved, That the union of the South is the safety of the South.

Resolved, That, in our opinion, each of the remaining slaveholding States of this Union should speedily resume the powers delegated by them to the Federal Government, and coöperate afterwards.

Mr. TREDWAY submitted the following resolution:

Resolved, That a Select Committee of five be appointed with instructions to inquire and report as speedily as practicable, whether any movements of arms or men, has been made by the General Government, to any fort or arsenal in, or bordering upon Virginia, indicating a preparation for attack or coercion.

Mr. DORMAN moved to lay the resolution on the table, and the question being put, was decided in the affirmative—yeas 78, nays 61.

On motion of Mr. FISHER, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are:

Messrs. William B. Aston,
John B. Baldwin,
George Baylor,
George W. Berlin,
George Blow, Jr.

Messrs. James W. Hoge,
J. G. Holladay,
Chester D. Hubbard,
John N. Hughes,
George W. Hull,

Messrs. Caleb Boggess,
 William W. Boyd,
 Thomas Branch,
 George W. Brent,
 William G. Brown,
 John S. Burdett,
 James Burley,
 Benjamin W. Byrne,
 John A. Campbell,
 John S. Carlile,
 John A. Carter,
 Sherrard Clemens,
 Samuel A. Coffinan,
 C. B. Conrad,
 Robert Y. Conrad,
 James H. Couch,
 James H. Cox,
 John Critcher,
 W. H. B. Custis,
 Harvey Deskius,
 James B. Dorman,
 William H. Dulany,
 Jubal A. Early,
 John Echols,
 Napoleon B. French,
 Colbert C. Fugate,
 H. L. Gillespie,
 Robert E. Grant,
 Peyton Gravely,
 Algernon S. Gray,
 Addison Hall,
 Ephraim B. Hall,
 Allen C. Hammond,
 Alpheus F. Haymond,

Messrs. John J. Jackson,
 Peter C. Johnston,
 John F. Lewis,
 William McComas,
 James C. McGrew,
 Paul McNeil,
 William H. Macfarland,
 Thomas Maslin,
 Henry H. Masters,
 Horatio G. Moffett,
 Samuel McD. Moore,
 Hugh M. Nelson,
 Johnson Orrick,
 Logan Osburn,
 Spicer Patrick,
 Edmund Pendleton,
 George McC. Porter,
 David Pugh,
 Timothy Rives,
 Peter Saunders, Sr.
 John D. Sharp,
 Thomas Sitlington,
 Burwell Spurlock,
 Samuel G. Staples,
 Alex. H. H. Stuart,
 Chapman J. Stuart,
 George P. Tayloe,
 Edward Waller,
 William White,
 Williams C. Wickham,
 Waitman T. Willey,
 Benjamin Wilson,
 Samuel Woods—77.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (*Pres't*)
 William M. Ambler,
 Ed. M. Armstrong,
 Angus R. Blakey,
 James Boisseau,
 Peter B. Borst,
 Wood Bouldin,
 James C. Bruce,
 William P. Cecil,
 John R. Chambliss,

Messrs. John R. Kilby,
 John J. Kindred,
 James Lawson,
 Walter D. Leake,
 Charles K. Mallory,
 James B. Mallory,
 James Marshall,
 John Q. Marr,
 Robert L. Montague,
 Edmund T. Morris,

Messrs. Manilius Chapman,
 Raphael M. Conn,
 Richard H. Cox,
 Miers W. Fisher,
 Thomas S. Flourney,
 William W. Forbes,
 Samuel M. Garland,
 Samuel L. Graham,
 Fendall Gregory, Jr.
 William L. Goggin,
 John Goode, Jr.
 Thomas F. Goode,
 F. L. Hale,
 Cyrus Hall,
 L. S. Hall,
 Lewis E. Harvie,
 James P. Holcombe,
 Eppa Hunton,
 Lewis D. Isbell,
 Marnaduke Johnson,
 Robert C. Kent,

Messrs. Jeremiah Morton,
 William J. Neblett,
 William C. Parks,
 Wm. Ballard Preston,
 Samuel Price,
 George W. Randolph,
 George W. Richardson,
 Robert E. Scott,
 John T. Seawell,
 James W. Sheffey,
 Valentine W. Southall,
 John M. Speed,
 James M. Strange,
 John T. Thornton,
 William M. Tredway,
 Robert H. Turner,
 Franklin P. Turner,
 Robert H. Whitfield,
 Samuel C. Williams,
 Henry A. Wise,
 Benj. F. Wysor—62.

Mr. NELSON submitted the following resolutions, which were ordered to be referred to the Committee on Federal Relations:

1. *Resolved, by the Convention of Virginia,* That the differences between the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States, can only be settled by the adoption of amendments to the Constitution, and that the interests of both sections of the country imperiously demand that the slavery agitation should be removed now and forever from the halls of Congress.

2. *Resolved,* That whilst we hold that the Constitution of the United States makes all the States equal and gives them all equal rights in the common territory; yet, in view of the fact, that ours is a Government founded upon compromise, we are willing to divide said territory by a line on the parallel of 36 deg. 30 min., and that we will insist that in all the territory South of said line of latitude, slavery of the African race shall be recognized as property, during the continuance of the Territorial Government—by a Constitutional provision irrepealable—except by the consent of all the slaveholding States.

3. *Resolved,* That a like provision should be made to prohibit Congress from interfering with the subject of slavery in any of the States, without the consent of every State; and also to make it the interest of the people of the States, to which fugitive slaves escape, to have them delivered to their owners.

4. *Resolved,* That if no adjustment of the differences between the States can be effected, it is the duty of the American people to provide the way for a dignified, peaceful, and fair separation, upon equitable terms and conditions—and for a proper division of the common property.

Mr. HOLCOMBE submitted the following resolution, which was ordered to be referred to the Committee on Federal Relations:

Resolved, That in the opinion of this Convention, no adjustment of the unhappy sectional controversy which now divides the country will give lasting peace or permanent security to the slaveholding States, unless it embraces an amendment of the Constitution, which will place in their hands such measure of

political power, as will enable them to prevent any department of the Federal Government from using its authority, in any form, to the prejudice of their institutions.

On motion of Mr. TURNER, of Jackson, the resolution submitted by Mr. WILSON on the third day of the session, was taken up, and leave being granted by the Convention, the resolution was withdrawn by Mr. WILSON.

On motion of Mr. JOHNSON, of Richmond city, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to inquire what compensation the officers of this Convention shall receive and to report the same to this Convention.

Mr. GOODE, of Mecklenburg, submitted the following resolution, which was ordered to be referred to the Committee on Federal Relations:

Resolved, That in view of the probable immediate passage by Congress, of a force bill, we feel called upon to declare promptly and emphatically, that Virginia will regard an attempt to coerce any seceding State, under whatever pretext made, as in conflict with the fundamental principles of, and destructive to our republican institutions, and that a due regard for our rights, and those of her sister States, (for she will claim them as her sisters,) would impel her to resist such attempt by all the means in her power.

On motion of Mr. FISHER the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That the Governor of this Commonwealth be requested to inform the Convention of the number of enrolled Militia and of the Volunteers of the State, the number of companies that have been supplied with arms, their kind and description, as soon as he conveniently may.

Mr. MONTAGUE submitted the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Virginia Commissioners to the Peace Conference now in session in the City of Washington, be respectfully requested to report to this body at their earliest convenience, whether, in their opinion, any result acceptable to Virginia may be expected from the deliberations of their body.

Mr. PATRICK moved to lay the resolution on the table, and the question being put was decided in the affirmative—yeas 98, nays, 40.

On motion of Mr. MONTAGUE the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. William W. Forbes,
Ed. M. Armstrong,	John N. Hughes,
William B. Aston,	George W. Hull,
John B. Baldwin,	John J. Jackson,
George Baylor,	Marmaduke Johnson,
George W. Berlin,	Peter C. Johnston,

Messrs. George Blow, Jr.
 Caleb Boggess,
 Wood Bouldin,
 William W. Boyd,
 Thomas Branch,
 George W. Brent,
 William G. Brown,
 James C. Bruce,
 John S. Burdett,
 James Burley,
 Benj. W. Byrne,
 John A. Campbell,
 John S. Carlile,
 Sherrard Clemens,
 Samuel A. Coffman,
 C. B. Conrad,
 Ro. Y. Conrad,
 James H. Couch,
 James H. Cox,
 John Critcher,
 W. H. B. Custis,
 Harvey Deskins,
 James B. Dorman,
 William H. Dulany,
 Jubal A. Early,
 John Echols,
 Thomas S. Flournoy,
 Napoleon B. French,
 Colbert C. Fugate,
 Samuel M. Garland,
 H. L. Gillespie,
 Robert E. Grant,
 Peyton Gravely,
 Algernon S. Gray,
 William L. Goggin,
 F. L. Hale,
 Addison Hall,
 Ephraim B. Hall,
 Allen C. Hammond,
 Alpheus F. Haymond,
 James W. Hoge,
 J. G. Holladay,
 Chester D. Hubbard,

Messrs. James Lawson,
 John F. Lewis,
 William McComas,
 James C. McGrew,
 Paul McNeil,
 Wm. H. Macfarland,
 Charles K. Mallory,
 James B. Mallory,
 James Marshall,
 John L. Marye, Sr.
 Thomas Maslin,
 Henry H. Masters,
 Horatio G. Moffett,
 Samuel McD. Moore,
 Hugh M. Nelson,
 Johnson Orrick,
 Logan Osburn,
 Spicer Patrick,
 Edmund Pendleton,
 George McC. Porter,
 Wm. Ballard Preston,
 Samuel Price,
 David Pugh,
 Timothy Rives,
 Peter Saunders, Sr.
 Robert E. Scott,
 John D. Sharp,
 James W. Sheffield,
 Thomas Sitlington,
 Charles R. Slaughter,
 Valentine W. Southall,
 John M. Speed,
 Burwell Spurlock,
 Samuel G. Staples,
 Alex. H. H. Stuart,
 Chapman J. Stuart,
 George P. Tayloe,
 William M. Tredway,
 Edward Waller,
 William White,
 Wms. C. Wickham,
 Waitman T. Willey,
 Samuel Woods—98.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. William M. Ambler, Messrs. Robert C. Kent,
 Angus R. Blakey, John R. Kilby,

Messrs. James Boisseau,
 Peter B. Borst,
 William P. Cecil,
 John R. Chambliss,
 Manilius Chapman,
 Raphael M. Conn,
 Richard H. Cox,
 Miers W. Fisher,
 Samuel L. Graham,
 Fendall Gregory, Jr.
 John Goode, Jr.
 Thomas F. Goode,
 Cyrus Hall,
 L. S. Hall,
 Lewis E. Harvie,
 James P. Holcombe,
 Lewis D. Isbell,
 Eppa Hunton,

Messrs. John J. Kindred,
 Walter D. Leake,
 Robert L. Montague,
 Edmund T. Morris,
 Jeremiah Morton,
 William J. Neblett,
 William C. Parks.
 George W. Randolph,
 George W. Richardson,
 John T. Seawell,
 James M. Strange,
 John T. Thornton,
 Robert H. Turner,
 Franklin P. Turner,
 Robt. H. Whitfield,
 Sam'l C. Williams,
 Henry A. Wise,
 Benj. F. Wysor—40.

Mr. BRANCH submitted the following resolutions, which were ordered to be referred to the Committee on Federal Relations:

1. *Resolved*, That the people of Virginia in Convention assembled, are firmly opposed to military coercion, open or under disguise, to the Confederate States of the Union by the Federal Government, and that they will not submit to it.

2. *Resolved*, That the State of Virginia is willing to wait a reasonable time for the Northern States of the Confederacy to guarantee to Virginia and her sister Southern States, justice and equality in the Union—based on the principles of the “Crittenden Resolutions,” and a protective power in the Constitution for the preservation intact of their just and equal rights.

3. *Resolved*, That in pursuance of this policy and with the view of effecting a restoration of kindly feeling in all parts of the country, and re-constructing the constitutional compact and Union upon an honorable, equal and permanent basis, and the hope of securing the return of the Cotton States which have withdrawn from the United States, Virginia will not for the present exercise her inherent right of declaring herself an independent sovereignty of America.

4. *Resolved*, But that desiring and intending to act with the candor and independence becoming her position and her relation towards her sister States, and the complication and magnitude of the interests involved, Virginia distinctly declares that failing, if she should, in this her earnest effort to accomplish the objects above indicated, her natural ties, her clear rights and sacred honor alike dictate a firm and prompt adhesion on her part to the common cause of the Southern States, and the blending of their interests and destiny with her own.

5. *Resolved*, That we invite and request the States of Arkansas, Missouri, Tennessee, Kentucky, Maryland, Delaware and North Carolina, to appoint Commissioners to meet Commissioners appointed by this Convention, at Wytheville, in the county of Wythe, in this State, on the last Thursday in March next, to devise the best means of promoting our mutual interests.

6. *Resolved*, That we elect eleven Commissioners to carry out the provisions of the 5th resolution; and that they report their determination to this Convention, on the — day of April.

7. *Resolved*, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the Governors of all the States, to the President of the United States, to the Governors of the confederated States of North America, and to the President thereof.

Mr. HAYMOND from the Committee of Elections presented a

report in part, which on motion of Mr. PATRICK, was laid upon the table and ordered to be printed. [Doc. No. IV.]

Mr. BOULDIN submitted the following resolution, which was ordered to be referred to the Committee on Federal Relations:

Resolved, by this Convention, That any attempt on the part of the Federal Government to reclaim, by military force, the forts and arsenals now held by the seceded States, or to collect by force federal revenue from those States, if not itself war, must inevitably lead to war; and in such war Virginia, with all her military strength, will sustain the seceded States.

On motion of Mr. PATRICK the Convention adjourned.

THURSDAY, February 21, 1861.

The Convention assembled at 12 o'clock, M.

Prayer by the Rev. Mr. NOLLEY, of the Methodist Church.

The PRESIDENT announced the following Committee on Compensation of Officers, under the resolution adopted yesterday: Messrs. Johnson, of Richmond City, Hubbard, Gregory, Coffman and Shesley.

Mr. HAYMOND, from Committee of Elections, presented the following report, "showing who are elected delegates to the Convention:"

The Committee of Elections have had under consideration the evidence of election of members to the Convention, and report that the following persons appear to have been duly elected thereto, to wit:

<i>Accomac</i>	William H. B. Custis.
<i>Albemarle</i>	{ Valentine W. Southall,
	{ James P. Holcombe.
<i>Alexandria</i>	George W. Brent.
<i>Alleghany and Bath</i>	Thomas Sitlington.
<i>Amelia and Nottoway</i>	Lewis E. Harvie.
<i>Amherst</i>	Samuel M. Garland.
<i>Appomattox</i>	Lewis D. Isbell.
<i>Augusta</i>	{ A. H. H. Stuart,
	{ John B. Baldwin,
	{ George Baylor.
<i>Barbour</i>	Samuel Woods.
<i>Bedford</i>	{ William L. Goggin.
	{ John Goode, Jr.
<i>Berkeley</i>	{ Edmund Pendleton.
	{ Allen C. Hammond

<i>Botetourt and Craig</i>	{ Fleming B. Miller, William W. Boyd.
<i>Braxton, Nicholas, Clay and Webster</i>	Benjamin W. Byrne.
<i>Brooke</i>	Campbell Tarr.
<i>Brunswick</i>	James B. Mallory.
<i>Buckingham</i>	William W. Forbes.
<i>Cabell</i>	William McComas.
<i>Campbell</i>	{ John M. Speed, Charles R. Slaughter.
<i>Caroline</i>	Edmund T. Morris.
<i>Carroll</i>	F. L. Hale.
<i>Charles City, James City and New Kent</i>	{ John Tyler.
<i>Charlotte</i>	Wood Bouldin.
<i>Chesterfield</i>	James H. Cox.
<i>Clarke</i>	Hugh M. Nelson.
<i>Culpeper</i>	James Barbour.
<i>Cumberland and Powhatan</i>	William C. Scott.
<i>Dinwiddie</i>	James Boisseau.
<i>Doddridge and Tyler</i>	C. J. Stuart.
<i>Elizabeth City, Warwick, York and Williamsburg</i>	{ Charles K. Mallory.
<i>Essex and King & Queen</i>	Richard H. Cox.
<i>Fairfax</i>	William H. Dulany.
<i>Fauquier</i>	{ Robert E. Scott, John Q. Marr.
<i>Fayette and Raleigh</i>	Henry L. Gillespie.
<i>Fluvanna</i>	James M. Strange.
<i>Franklin</i>	{ Jubal A. Early, Peter Saunders, Sr.
<i>Floyd</i>	Harvey Deskins.
<i>Frederick</i>	{ Robert Y. Conrad, James Marshall.
<i>Giles</i>	Manilius Chapman.
<i>Gloucester</i>	John T. Seawell.
<i>Gilmer, Wirt and Calhoun</i>	C. B. Conrad.
<i>Goochland</i>	Walter D. Leake.
<i>Grayson</i>	Wm. C. Parks.
<i>Greene and Orange</i>	Jeremiah Morton.
<i>Greenbrier</i>	Samuel Price.
<i>Greensville and Sussex</i>	J. R. Chambliss.
<i>Halifax</i>	{ Thomas S. Flournoy, James C. Bruce.
<i>Hampshire</i>	{ Edward M. Armstrong, David Pugh.
<i>Hancock</i>	George McC. Porter.

<i>Hanover</i>	George W. Richardson.
<i>Hardy</i>	Thomas Maslin.
<i>Harrison</i>	{ John S. Carlile, Benjamin Wilson.
<i>Ferrieco</i>	Williams C. Wickham.
<i>Henry</i>	Peyton Gravely.
<i>Highland</i>	George W. Hull.
<i>Isle of Wight</i>	Robert H. Whitfield.
<i>Jackson and Roane</i>	Franklin P. Turner.
<i>Jefferson</i>	{ Alfred M. Barbour, Logan Osburn.
<i>Kanawha</i>	{ George W. Summers, Spicer Patrick.
<i>King George and Stafford</i>	Edward Waller.
<i>King William</i>	Fendall Gregory, Jr.
<i>Lancaster and Northumberland</i>	Addison Hall.
<i>Lee</i>	John D. Sharp.
<i>Lee and Scott</i>	Peter C. Johnston.
<i>Lewis</i>	Caleb Boggess.
<i>Logan, Boone and Wyoming</i>	James Lawson.
<i>Loudoun</i>	{ John Janney, John A. Carter.
<i>Louisa</i>	William M. Ambler.
<i>Lunenburg</i>	W. J. Neblett.
<i>Madison</i>	Angus R. Blakey.
<i>Marion</i>	{ Alpheus F. Haymond, Ephraim B. Hall.
<i>Marshall</i>	James Burley.
<i>Mason</i>	James H. Couch.
<i>Matthews and Middlesex</i>	Robert L. Montague.
<i>Mecklenburg</i>	Thomas F. Goode.
<i>Mercer</i>	Napoleon B. French.
<i>Monongalia</i>	{ Waitman T. Willey, Marshall M. Dent.
<i>Monroe</i>	{ Allen T. Caperton, John Echols.
<i>Montgomery</i>	Wm. Ballard Preston.
<i>Morgan</i>	Johnson Orrick.
<i>Nansemond</i>	John R. Kilby.
<i>Nelson</i>	Frederick M. Cabell.
<i>Norfolk City</i>	George Blow, Jr.
<i>Norfolk County</i>	{ William White, J. G. Holladay.
<i>Northampton</i>	Miers W. Fisher.
<i>Ohio</i>	{ Sherrard Clemens, Chester D. Hubbard.
<i>Page</i>	Peter B. Borst.

<i>Patrick</i>	Samuel G. Staples.
<i>Pendleton</i>	Henry H. Masters.
<i>Pocahontas</i>	Paul McNeil.
<i>Petersburg</i>	Thomas Branch.
<i>Pittsylvania</i>	{ William T. Sutherland,
	{ William M. Tredway.
<i>Pleasants and Ritchie</i>	Cyrus Hall.
<i>Preston</i>	{ William G. Brown,
	{ James C. McGrew.
<i>Prince Edward</i>	John T. Thornton.
<i>Prince William</i>	Eppa Hunton.
<i>Princess Anne</i>	Henry A. Wise.
<i>Prince George and Surry</i>	Timothy Rives.
<i>Pulaski</i>	Benjamin F. Wysor.
<i>Putnam</i>	James W. Hoge.
<i>Randolph and Tucker</i>	John N. Hughes.
<i>Rappahannock</i>	Horatio G. Moffet.
<i>Richmond City</i>	{ William H. Mactarland,
	{ Marmaduke Johnson,
	{ George W. Randolph.
<i>Richmond County & Westmoreland</i>	John Critcher.
<i>Roanoke</i>	George P. Tayloe.
<i>Rockbridge</i>	{ Samuel McD. Moore,
	{ James B. Dorman.
<i>Rockingham</i>	{ Samuel A. Coffman,
	{ John F. Lewis,
	{ Algernon S. Gray.
<i>Russell and Wise</i>	William B. Aston.
<i>Scott</i>	Colbert C. Fugate.
<i>Shenandoah</i>	{ Samuel C. Williams,
	{ Raphael M. Conn.
<i>Smyth</i>	James W. Sheffey.
<i>Southampton</i>	John J. Kindred.
<i>Spotsylvania</i>	John L. Marye, Sr.
<i>Taylor</i>	John S. Burdett.
<i>Tazewell</i>	{ William P. Cecil,
	{ Samuel L. Graham.
<i>Upshur</i>	George W. Berlin.
<i>Warren</i>	Robert H. Turner.
<i>Washington</i>	{ Robert E. Grant,
	{ John A. Campbell.
<i>Wayne</i>	Burwell Spurlock.
<i>Wetzel</i>	Leonard S. Hall.
<i>Wood</i>	John J. Jackson.
<i>Wythe</i>	Robert C. Kent.

The certificates of election produced are herewith filed, except those filed in the office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth.

JOHN D. SHARP is returned elected from the county of Lee, but his seat in the Convention is contested by M. B. D. LANE, of said county of Lee, and his petition and notice of contest have been referred to the Committee for examination and decision, which contest has not yet been finally acted upon by the Committee.

The Committee therefore report that the said JOHN D. SHARP having the official return of election for said county of Lee is *prima facie* entitled to occupy a seat in the Convention, until otherwise ordered by the Convention, on the final decision of said contest.

The Committee will report upon said contest as soon as circumstances will allow.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

A. F. HAYMOND,
Chairman of the Committee of Elections.

Mr. HAYMOND from the same committee, presented the following ordinance, which was adopted:

AN ORDINANCE TOUCHING CONTESTED ELECTIONS.

Whereas, The General Assembly, on the 14th day of January, 1861, passed an act entitled "an act for electing members of a Convention and to convene the same;" and, *whereas*, by the eighth section of said act it is provided that "in the case of a contested election, the same shall be governed in all respects by the existing laws in regard to contested elections in the House of Delegates, unless otherwise ordered by the Convention;" and, *whereas*, it seems to the Convention that the said existing laws in regard to contested elections in the House of Delegates are not suitable or proper for the government of the Convention in cases of contested elections, the Convention deems it necessary to prescribe proper rules for cases of contested elections for seats therein: It is therefore,

Ordained by the Convention, That the existing laws in regard to contested elections in the House of Delegates shall not be applied to, or govern in, cases of contested elections for seats in this Convention.

It is further ordained by the Convention, That any person contesting the election of another as a member of this Convention, shall, within a reasonable time after the day on which the election was had, give to the other notice thereof in writing, and a list of the votes he disputes, with the objections to each, and of the votes improperly rejected, for which he will contend. If he object to the legality of the election, or eligibility of the person elected, the notice shall set forth the objections; and the person whose election is contested shall, within a reasonable time after receiving such notice, deliver to his adversary a like list of the votes which he disputes, with his objections, if any he has, to the eligibility of the contesting party. Each party shall append to the list of votes he intends to dispute or claim, an oath to the following effect: "I do swear that I have reason to believe the persons whose names are above mentioned, are not legally qualified (or are qualified, as the case may be,) to vote in the county of —, (or corporation or district of —.)"

The contesting party and the person whose right is contested shall respectively begin to take depositions within a reasonable time after the delivery of the notice aforesaid by the contesting party; and they shall finish taking the same in

a reasonable time after delivery of such notice. The word reasonable, as used in this ordinance, shall be construed with reference to the circumstances attending each case, the condition of the parties, and the fact that this ordinance has not been adopted until now, so as to prevent, as far as practicable, surprise to the parties. This ordinance shall apply to contests now pending, as well as those which may hereafter be commenced.

Mr. CONRAD, from the Committee on Federal Relations, submitted the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, That the Committee on Federal Relations have leave to sit during the sessions of this Convention, until further order.

Mr. WOODS submitted the following resolutions, which were ordered to be referred to the Committee on Federal Relations:

1. *Resolved*, That the allegiance which the citizens of Virginia owe to the Federal Government of the United States of America, is subordinate to that due to Virginia, and may therefore be lawfully withdrawn by her whenever she may deem it her duty to do so.

2. That in case the State of Virginia should exercise this authority, her citizens would be in duty bound to render allegiance and obedience to *her* alone.

3. That Virginia recognizes no authority in any government, State or Federal, to coerce *her*, or any of her citizens to render allegiance to the government of the United States after she may, in the exercise of her sovereign power, have withdrawn from it; and that she will regard any attempt at coercion as equivalent to a declaration of war against her, to be resisted at "every hazard, and to the last extremity."

4. That the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas, having severally formally withdrawn the allegiance of their respective people from the United States of America, a faithful, earnest desire to avert civil war, and the sound conservative sentiment of the whole country, alike indicate to the government of the United States the *necessity* and *policy* of acknowledging their independence.

Mr. CARLILE submitted the following resolution:

Resolved, That when the Convention adjourns to-day it will adjourn to meet on Monday next.

Mr. FISHER moved to amend the resolution by striking out "Monday" and inserting "Saturday," and the question being put was decided in the affirmative.

The resolution as amended was then adopted.

On motion of Mr. HALL, of Wetzel, the Convention adjourned.

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SATURDAY, February 23d, 1861.

The Convention assembled at 12 o'clock, M.

Prayer by the Rev. Mr. NOLLEY, of the Methodist Church.

On motion of Mr. MONTAGUE the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That the several railroad companies in this State be requested to report to the Convention as soon as practicable, the number of negroes carried over their roads *en route* for any Southern States within the years 1855 to 1861, inclusive.

On motion of Mr. TREDWAY, the following resolution, offered by him on the 7th day of the session, was taken up and adopted:

Resolved, That a select committee of five be appointed with instructions to inquire and report as speedily as practicable, whether any movement of arms or men has been made by the General Government, to any fort or arsenal in, or bordering upon Virginia, indicating a preparation for attack or coercion.

Mr. FISHER submitted the following resolution, which was ordered to be referred to the Committee on Federal Relations.

Resolved, That this Convention does not wish to inaugurate a National Convention, and would not rely on such a body to afford redress for the grievances and wrongs of which the South complain, nor give such guarantees as would satisfy the people of this State that their honor and interest would obtain an effectual protection from such a Convention; but, on the contrary, that the people of the South might reasonably apprehend that such a body would reorganize the judiciary system of the United States, and make the Judges elective by the whole people of the Union, as Mr. Seward has declared his party would do as soon as they acquired the power, and that such a body would make other innovations upon the now recognized rights of the minority section.

Mr. WHITFIELD submitted the following resolutions, which were ordered to be referred to the Committee on Federal Relations:

Resolved, That the election of Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency of the United States, and the apprehensions entertained as to the policy of his administration, together with the withdrawal of the seceded States from the Union, having placed Virginia in great peril and embarrassment, the Convention should deliberate coolly and calmly upon the course she is to pursue for the future.

Resolved, That if the Peace Congress should fail in its mission; or if the guarantees which may be adopted by it, and assented to by this Convention, be not ratified within _____, by the people of the North, Virginia, coöperating with the border slave States, will unite with the seceded States, provided the latter have not incorporated in their Constitution provisions prejudicial to her interests.

Resolved, That while we tender our warm sympathies to our Southern sisters, and feel embittered by the wrongs and injuries received from the North, this Convention should, nevertheless, look first to the interests of Virginia, and by conciliation and compromise pursue that course which will produce harmony and prevent discord among ourselves.

Resolved, That in the judgment of this Convention, this Commonwealth should resist, with all her means, any attempt to coerce a seceded State.

Resolved, That if the force of events shall present the alternative to Virginia, of uniting either with the North or the South, in the opinion of this Convention her true position will be with the latter.

Mr. WILSON submitted the following resolutions, which were ordered to be referred to the Committee on Federal Relations:

Resolved, That we, the people of Virginia, in Convention assembled, do adhere with patriotic devotion to the Union of these States, and that we will do as long as the same can be perpetuated consistently with full security of all our constitutional rights, and the maintenance of the equality of all the States.

Resolved, That it is inexpedient and improper for the General Government to increase its forces at the forts, arsenals and dock yards within the limits of Virginia, or to do any act looking to warlike preparations against this State.

Mr. SHARP submitted the following resolutions, which were ordered to be referred to the Committee on Federal Relations:

1. *Be it Resolved, as the sense of this body*, That the Constitution of Government and the Union, founded and established by our forefathers, having been the silent, yet prolific source of prosperity, peace and happiness to all the people of the United States, and of prosperity, peace and happiness, only, from its foundation to the present time, and will be for all time to come to our posterity, if we are but true to the great trust reposed in us, as freemen, should not be broken up and destroyed, except for grave and weighty causes of intolerable, oppressive and insufferable grievances, and only then after all peaceful and constitutional means of redress have been tried and have failed.

2. *Resolved*, That without expressing an opinion as to whether or not a State has the constitutional right to secede from the Union, yet this body deprecates its exercise on the part of any State as an act of political suicide, that would aggravate, an hundred fold, every grievance complained of rather than remedy a single one.

3. *Resolved*, That though we believe that a government, without the constitutional right and power to enforce all its laws made in pursuance of the Constitution establishing it, and to hold all its property, every where, to the extent of its limits and jurisdiction, is worthless and equivalent to just no government at all; yet we would deprecate an attempt on the part of the Federal Government to execute its laws in the seceding States, or to retake, by force, the forts and other property of said Government in the seceding States, that have been captured by said States from said Government, as an act of policy, bad in its inevitable results,—an act unmistakeably calculated to produce civil war and sectional strife—the direst calamity that could possibly befall a people.

4. *Resolved*, That whilst we would deprecate, on the part of the Federal Government, any act, calculated, or intended to coerce the seceding States, or any of them, and to produce a state of civil war, and sectional strife: yet we would equally deprecate and condemn any attempt to take by force of arms, from the Federal Government, by the seceding States, or any of them, any fort, arsenal, navy yard, or other property, owned by, and in the possession of said Federal Government, as an act of war, on the part of said seceding State, or States, in which act said State, or States, would be the aggressor or aggressors, and that Virginia, under such circumstances would be under no obligation to, and would not assist or support such State, or States, in a war produced by such act.

5. *Resolved*, That the unhappy differences that now distract and divide the country, ought to be met in a spirit of fairness to all parties, and settled in the same spirit; and that in the opinion of this body, the Crittenden or Border State resolutions do present a basis of settlement that would be fair to all parties, and satisfactory to Virginia, and to the Border States of this Confederacy.

On motion of Mr. HALL, of Lancaster and Northumberland, the Convention adjourned.

MONDAY, February 25, 1861.

The Convention assembled at 12 o'clock, M.

Prayer by the Rev. Mr. MINNEGERODE, of the Episcopal Church.

The PRESIDENT announced the following committee, under the resolution of Mr. TREDWAY, adopted on Saturday, the eleventh day of the session: Messrs. Tredway, Bouldin, Pendleton, Wilson and Mallory, of Elizabeth City.

Mr. HAYMOND submitted the following resolution, which, on his motion, was laid upon the table, and ordered to be printed:

Resolved, That the Constitution of this State should be amended, and that this Convention will amend the Constitution wherein it is necessary and proper that it should be amended, and will submit the same, as amended, to the voters of the State for their adoption or rejection.

Mr. HALL, of Wetzell, submitted the following resolution, which, on motion of Mr. CHAMBLISS, was laid upon the table:

Resolved, That a committee of twenty-one be appointed by the Chair, to be styled the Committee on the State Constitution, and that they report to the Convention what amendments, if any, are necessary, at present, to be made to the present State Constitution.

Mr. CHAMBLISS presented a petition from Robert R. Collier, of the City of Petersburg, which, being read, Mr. NELSON moved that it be laid upon the table; and the question being put, was decided in the negative—yeas 18, nays 97.

On motion of Mr. CHAMBLISS, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are:

Messrs. Robert Y. Conrad,	Messrs. Hugh M. Nelson,
Jubal A. Early,	Edmund Pendleton,
James P. Holcombe,	George W. Randolph,
J. G. Holladay,	George W. Richardson,
John N. Hughes,	Thomas Sitlington,
John F. Lewis,	Valentine W. Southall,
Paul McNeil,	William White,
William H. Macfarland,	Williams C. Wickham,
Samuel McD. Moore,	Samuel Woods—18.

The names of those who voted in the negative are:

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. Alpheus F. Haymond,
Edw'd M. Armstrong,	James W. Hoge,
William B. Aston,	Chester D. Hubbard,

Messrs. John B. Baldwin,
Alfred M. Barbour,
George Baylor,
George W. Berlin,
Angus R. Blakey,
James Boisseau,
Peter B. Borst,
Wood Bouldin,
Thomas Branch,
George W. Brent,
William G. Brown,
John S. Burdett,
James Burley,
Benjamin W. Byrne,
Frederick M. Cabell,
John A. Campbell,
William P. Cecil,
John R. Chambliss,
Manilius Chapman,
Raphael M. Conn,
C. B. Conrad,
James H. Cox,
John Critcher,
W. H. B. Custis,
Harvey Deskins,
William H. Dulany,
John Echols,
Miers W. Fisher,
Thomas S. Flournoy,
William W. Forbes,
Colbert C. Fugate,
Samuel M. Garland,
H. L. Gillespie,
Samuel L. Graham,
Robert E. Grant,
Peyton Gravely,
Algernon S. Gray,
Fendall Gregory, Jr.
William L. Goggin,
John Goode, Jr.
Thomas F. Goode,
F. L. Hale,
Addison Hall,
Cyrus Hall,
L. S. Hall,
Allen C. Hammond,

Messrs. George W. Hull,
Lewis D. Isbell,
Marmaduke Johnson,
Robert C. Kent,
John J. Kindred,
Walter D. Leake,
Charles K. Mallory,
James B. Mallory,
James Marshall,
John L. Marye, Sr.
Thomas Maslin,
Henry H. Masters,
Horatio G. Moffett,
Robert L. Montague,
Edmund T. Morris,
Jeremiah Morton,
William J. Neblett,
Logan Osburn,
William C. Parks,
George McC. Porter,
David Pugh,
Timothy Rives,
Peter Saunders, Sr.
William C. Scott,
John T. Seawell,
John D. Sharp,
James W. Sheffey,
Charles R. Slaughter,
Burwell Spurlock,
Samuel G. Staples,
Alex. H. H. Stuart,
Chapman J. Stuart,
James M. Strange,
William T. Sutherlin,
Campbell Tarr,
George P. Tayloe,
William M. Tredway,
Robert H. Turner,
Franklin P. Turner,
Edward Waller,
Robert H. Whitfield,
Waitman T. Willey,
Samuel C. Williams,
Benjamin Wilson,
Benj. F. Wysor—97.

The petition was then, on motion of Mr. CHAMBLISS, ordered to be referred to the Committee on Federal Relations.

Mr. JOHNSON from the Committee on Compensation of Officers, presented the following report, which was read and adopted:

The Committee on compensation of officers, respectfully recommend to the Convention, the adoption of the following resolution:

Resolved, That the allowance to the officers of this Convention for their services during its session shall be, to the President, in addition to his mileage as a member of the Convention, eight dollars per day—to the Secretary, including the pay for his assistants, one hundred dollars per week—to the Sergeant-at-Arms, thirty dollars per week—to each of the Door Keepers, twenty-eight dollars per week—and to each of the Pages, fourteen dollars per week—and that John D. Smith, for superintending and keeping in order the Mechanics' Institute, during the session of the Convention therein, and for the employment of servants to aid him in doing so, be allowed five dollars per day.

Mr. MOORE submitted the following resolutions:

1. *Resolved*, That the conduct of the so-called free States, in resisting the execution of the fugitive slave law—in refusing to give up criminals fleeing from justice—and in seeking to deprive the Southern States of any portion of the common territory of the nation, and of their citizens, in circulating incendiary pamphlets among us—in furnishing arms to bands of assassins to invade our borders and murder our people, with other flagrant wrongs, is such as to require prompt reparation of the injuries inflicted, and justify Virginia in demanding, as she does demand, full and ample security that those wrongs shall not be repeated.

2. *Resolved*, That Virginia can never consent to become a member of any Confederacy, by the Constitution of which, the reopening of the African slave trade is not prohibited.

3. *Resolved*, That Virginia will not become a member of any Confederacy the government of which, except under extraordinary circumstances, is to be supported by direct taxation.

4. *Resolved*, That this Convention doth approve of the amendment to the Constitution of the United States proposed by the Crittenden resolutions; and declare its readiness to accept the same as a satisfactory adjustment of existing controversies between the Northern and Southern States.

5. *Resolved*, That in the event of the amendments referred to, or other equivalent amendments to the Constitution of the United States, not being adopted, Virginia will be ready to enter into a compact with such States as will agree to adopt said amendments, by which the present government of the United States shall be declared to be dissolved, as to the States so agreeing, and that they will thenceforth constitute a new Confederacy under the Constitution so amended, from which all the States not so agreeing shall be excluded.

Pending the consideration of the above resolution, some disorder occurred in the galleries, which were cleared by order of the PRESIDENT. One of the offenders being arrested by the Sergeant-at-Arms, on motion of Mr. CONRAD, of Frederick, the person under arrest was discharged from custody.

On motion of Mr. GOODE, of Mecklenburg, the resolutions offered by Mr. MOORE, were laid upon the table.

Mr. BURDETT submitted the following resolution, which, on motion of Mr. WICKHAM, was laid upon the table:

Resolved, That in view of the scene of disturbance that has just occurred to our deliberations, a committee be appointed to take into consideration the

expediency of adjourning from this place to Staunton, or some other place, at which the sessions of this Convention can be held without being interrupted by outside pressure.

On motion of Mr. SHEFFEY, the Convention adjourned.

TUESDAY, February 26, 1861.

The Convention assembled at 12 o'clock, M.

Prayer by the Rev. Mr. MINNEGERODE, of the Episcopal Church.

On motion of Mr. BROWN, of Preston, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That the Auditor of Public Accounts be requested to furnish to the Convention a statement showing the aggregate number of persons returned delinquent by the Sheriffs of the different Counties of the Commonwealth, for the non-payment of taxes, for the year 1860; also, the aggregate amount of taxes on such delinquent lists.

On motion of Mr. GOGGIN, the resolutions submitted yesterday by Mr. MOORE, were taken up, and pending their further consideration,

On motion of Mr. DORMAN, the Convention adjourned.

WEDNESDAY, February 27, 1861.

The Convention assembled at 12 o'clock, M.

Prayer by the Rev. Mr. MINNEGERODE, of the Episcopal Church.

On motion of Mr. HALL, of Marion, ordered that the Journal of the 20th inst. be corrected by recording his name with those who voted in the affirmative upon the motion of Mr. PRICE to reconsider the vote by which the resolution, authorizing the contract with the proprietors of the Richmond Enquirer, was adopted.

On motion of Mr. CONRAD, of Frederick, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That the Clerk of the Committee on Federal Relations be allowed, as compensation for his services, at the rate of twenty-eight dollars per week.

Mr. WILSON submitted the following resolution, which, on motion of Mr. BRANCH, was laid upon the table:

Resolved, That the Auditor of Public Accounts be requested to report to this Convention whether any loss has been sustained to this State, from the manner

in which the Commissioners of the Board of Public Works have disposed of the bonds of the State; if so, what the loss is, of what it consisted, and when it occurred. And that he be also requested to report to this Convention the amount levied by each county of the State for the year 1860, for the compensation of justices of the peace. Also, the amount paid to jurors for services rendered in the county courts from the State and county treasuries during the same period.

Mr. MORRIS submitted the following resolution, which, on motion of Mr. HAYMOND, was laid upon the table:

Resolved, That each member of this Convention be entitled to receive for distribution one hundred copies of the daily proceedings of the body, instead of the number now provided for by the contract with the reporters of the Convention.

The PRESIDENT presented a communication from the Executive of the Commonwealth, transmitting a report from the Adjutant General in response to a resolution of the Convention calling for information concerning the militia and volunteers of the State, &c., which, on motion of Mr. FISHER, was laid upon the table, and, with the accompanying document, ordered to be printed. [Doc. VII.]

The PRESIDENT presented a copy of the contract entered into with the proprietors of the Richmond Enquirer, under the resolution adopted by the Convention on the 20th instant; and ordered the same to be filed in the office of the Secretary of the Convention.

The resolutions submitted on Munday last, by Mr. MOORE, being the unfinished business, were taken up, and pending their further consideration,

On motion of Mr. PATRICK, the Convention adjourned.

13

THURSDAY, February 28, 1861.

The Convention assembled at 12 o'clock, M.

Prayer by the Rev. Dr. BURROWS of the Baptist Church.

Mr. RICHARDSON submitted the following resolution, which, on motion of Mr. EARLY, was laid upon the table:

Resolved, That in furtherance of the resolution adopted by this Convention on the 20th inst., seeking information of the Governor regarding the militia, the Adjutant General of the State be and he is hereby requested to communicate to this body, as speedily as is compatible with a thorough report on the subject, how many, and what kind of arms are in the possession of the State undistributed, and the number and kind of additional companies which can and will probably shortly be armed. Also at what points, in his judgment, having due reference to the localities of the different companies and to economy in time and money, the whole volunteer force of the State can be best assembled in bodies sufficiently large to be instructed in battalion evolutions, in the evolutions of the

line, in siege, garrison and camp duties, and all other duties incident to the respective arms of the service, and any other information in his reach calculated to throw light on the means necessary to put the Commonwealth in a complete state of preparation against attack.

The resolutions submitted on Monday last by Mr. MOORE, being the unfinished business, were taken up, and pending their further consideration,

On motion of Mr. EARLY, the Convention adjourned.

14

FRIDAY, March 1, 1861.

The Convention assembled at 12 o'clock, M.

Mr. TYLER, the delegate from Charles City, James City and New Kent, appeared and took his seat.

Prayer by the Rev. Dr. BURROWS, of the Baptist Church.

Mr. GARLAND submitted the following resolution, which was ordered to be referred to the Committee on Federal Relations:

Resolved, That an Ordinance should be passed by this Convention, submitting to the qualified voters of this State, the question whether Virginia shall remain attached to the Northern Confederacy, or whether she shall secede and unite her destiny with the States of the Southern Confederacy.

Mr. FISHER submitted the following resolution, which, on motion of Mr. PRICE, was laid upon the table:

Resolved, That the Commissioners to the Peace Congress from this State, be requested to make their report to this Convention, in person, at their convenience.

Mr. ECHOLS submitted the following resolutions, which were ordered to be referred to the Committee on Federal Relations:

1. *Resolved*, That in the present political complications of our country, it is the duty of the Congress of the United States to recognize the separate and independent nationality of the States that have united themselves under the name of the Confederate States of America.

2. *Resolved*, That concurrently with such recognition a treaty should be made between the two governments, which treaty should, among other things, provide for, first, the perpetual prohibition of the African Slave Trade, and second, the Free Navigation of the Mississippi River.

Mr. BOISSEAU submitted the following resolutions, which, were ordered to be referred to the Committee on Federal Relations:

1. *Resolved*, That the Union was formed by the voluntary co-partnership of the States, the equal and sovereign parties to the compact of Union, known as the Constitution; that the Federal Government is the creature and common agent of the States, created by them for certain purposes specified in the Constitution, and having no powers except those delegated; that when the people of Virginia

in Convention assembled, ratified the Constitution of the United States, they declared that the powers which they thereby granted might be resumed by them whenever the same should be perverted to their injury or oppression; and the people of Virginia, and not the Federal Government, are the judges of the necessity which may compel them to resume those powers.

2. *Resolved*, That the occasion has now arisen which justifies the people of Virginia in resuming the said powers, and when they resume the same, they will then, as a free and independent State, have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which an independent State may of right do; and no Government or people on earth will have any right to collect revenue in any form or under any disguise or evasion on her soil, or to interfere in any way with her commerce; nor to hold any forts, magazines, arsenals or dock yards in her limits; but the State will account with the United States for their rights of property in the same, on just, fair and equitable terms.

Mr. DORMAN submitted the following resolutions, which were ordered to be referred to the Committee on Federal Relations.

1. *Resolved*, That the Federal Union was made by the people of the several States, and can rightfully be dissolved, by the power alone that made it.

2. *Resolved*, That Virginia should use her best efforts to procure a direct vote of the people of all the States, including those which have seceded from the Union, upon the alternative proposition of disunion or adjustment on the basis of the Peace Conference proposition—and that she will thereafter coöperate with such States as concur with her in the result of their votes.

On motion of Mr. HUGHES, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed to confer with the editors of the Richmond Enquirer to ascertain whether the proceedings of this Convention could be published upon a separate sheet without any other matter.

The President announced the following committee, in accordance with the foregoing resolution: Messrs. Hughes, Wickham and Richardson.

Mr. BURLEY presented the proceedings of a meeting held in Marshall County, Virginia, which were read, and on his motion, ordered to be referred to the Committee on Federal Relations:

The PRESIDENT presented a statement from the Auditor of Public Accounts, in response to a resolution adopted on the 26th instant, showing the aggregate number of persons returned delinquent by the sheriffs for the non-payment of taxes, etc., which, on motion of Mr. BROWN, was laid upon the table, and ordered to be printed. [Doc. No. VIII.]

Mr. WISE presented the following communication, which was read, and on his motion, ordered to be entered on the Journal:

RICHMOND, Va., February 28th, 1861.

Dear Sir,—Happening to be in the hall of the Convention on Monday last, when the alleged disturbance took place in the gallery, and being complicated in the matter, I deem it proper that I should be put right. Permit me, therefore, to ask you to do me the favor, to lay the facts before the Convention, so far as they relate to me. When the President gave the order to clear the gallery, I was standing quietly in the lower part of the hall, assigned to visitors by the Conven-

tion, and remained there until the Sergeant-at-Arms had cleared the gallery, and the greater part of the apartment, where I was standing. When he approached me, I motioned him to stand off, and remarked in a distinct, respectful tone of voice, "Mr. President, this is not the gallery." Mr. Sheffey immediately submitted a motion, that "it is necessary for the preservation of the dignity, and decorum of this body, that scenes of this character should be repressed, and therefore, moved that the Sergeant-at-Arms do take the gentleman who made the disturbance into custody, and bring him to the bar of this body." Then for the first time the President gave the order to clear the lobby. I trust my views of dignity and decorum, are not below the highest standard of the highest rank. But my views of truth, and honor, and justice, are deeper and stronger than any notion I may have about dignity. Being the "gentleman" referred to in the motion of Mr. Sheffey, it makes me the promoter of the disturbance, as it stands recorded in Monday's proceedings, *while in fact I had nothing to do with it*, I did not participate in the applause, that caused the gallery to be cleared, in the slightest degree, though I heartily approved the sentiment, which was applauded. The statement that appears in the proceedings, that I left when the motion was made, is a mistake. I would have died on the spot, rather than leave before the matter was disposed of; and when I was taken before the Convention by the Sergeant-at-Arms, (whom I exempt from censure) I was discharged on the alleged ground that "it was the first case of disorder that had occurred," without the investigation which the rule required, and which I had a right to demand, in view of the censure embodied in the resolution of Mr. Sheffey.

Very truly, yours,

FRANKLIN THOMAS.

Hon. Henry A. Wise.

Mr. SHEFFEY submitted the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Commissioners of Virginia to the late Peace Conference at Washington be requested, at as early a period as may be agreeable to them after they shall have reported according to the provisions of the act of Assembly appointing them, to explain severally before the Convention their views of the action of said Conference and of its result; and that Commissioners Hon. William C. Rives, Hon. John W. Brockenbrough and Hon. James A. Seddon, be invited by the President to occupy seats in this Convention.

Mr. PRICE submitted the following amendment, by way of substitute:

Resolved, That the President of this Convention be instructed to invite the Hon. William C. Rives, the Hon. James A. Seddon, the Hon. John Brockenbrough, and the Hon. John Robertson, to occupy seats upon this floor.

The question, being on the adoption of the amendment, was put and determined in the affirmative—yeas 71, nays 50.

On motion of Mr. EARLY, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. Chester D. Hubbard,
William B. Aston,	George W. Hull,
John B. Baldwin,	John J. Jackson,
Alfred M. Barbour,	Marmaduke Johnson,
James Barbour,	Peter C. Johnston,
George Baylor,	John F. Lewis,
George W. Berlin,	William McComas,

Messrs. Caleb Boggess,
 Thomas Branch,
 William G. Brown,
 John S. Burdett,
 James Burley,
 Benjamin W. Byrne,
 John A. Campbell,
 Allen T. Caperton,
 John A. Carter,
 Samuel A. Coffman,
 Robert Y. Conrad,
 James H. Couch,
 James H. Cox,
 John Critcher,
 Marshall M. Dent,
 Harvey Deskins,
 James B. Dorman,
 William H. Dulany,
 Jubal A. Early,
 Napoleon B. French,
 Colbert C. Fugate,
 H. L. Gillespie,
 Robert E. Grant,
 Peyton Gravely,
 Algernon S. Gray,
 Addison Hall,
 Ephraim B. Hall,
 Alpheus F. Haymond,
 James W. Hoge,

Messrs. James C. McGrew,
 Paul McNeil,
 William H. Macfarland,
 Thomas Maslin,
 Henry H. Masters,
 Horatio G. Moffett,
 Samuel McD. Moore,
 Hugh M. Nelson,
 Spicer Patrick,
 George McC. Porter,
 Wm. Ballard Preston,
 Samuel Price,
 David Pugh,
 Peter Saunders, Sr.
 Robert E. Scott,
 William C. Scott,
 John D. Sharp,
 Thomas Sitlington,
 Valentine W. Southall,
 John M. Speed,
 Burwell Spurlock,
 Alex. H. H. Stuart,
 Chapman J. Stuart,
 Campbell Tarr,
 George P. Tayloe,
 William White,
 Williams C. Wickham,
 W. T. Willey—71.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. Edw'd M. Armstrong, Messrs. Lewis D. Isbell,
 George Blow, Jr. Robert C. Kent,
 James Boisseau, John R. Kilby,
 Peter B. Borst, John J. Kindred,
 Wood Bouldin, James Lawson,
 Frederick M. Cabell, Walter D. Leake,
 William P. Cecil, James B. Mallory,
 John R. Chambliss, John Q. Marr,
 Manilius Chapman, Robert L. Montague,
 Raphael M. Conn, Edmund T. Morris,
 C. B. Conrad, Jeremiah Morton,
 Richard H. Cox, William J. Neblett,
 Miers W. Fisher, George W. Randolph,
 Samuel M. Garland, George W. Richardson,
 Samuel L. Graham, John T. Seawell,
 Fendall Gregory, Jr. James W. Sheffield,

Messrs. William L. Goggin,
 John Goode, Jr.
 Thomas F. Goode,
 F. L. Hale,
 Cyrus Hall,
 L. S. Hall,
 Lewis E. Harvie,
 James P. Holcombe,
 Eppa Hunton,

Messrs. James M. Strange,
 John T. Thornton,
 Robert H. Turner,
 Franklin P. Turner,
 John Tyler,
 Samuel C. Williams,
 Benjamin Wilson,
 Henry A. Wise,
 Samuel Woods—50.

The resolution as amended was then adopted.

The resolutions submitted by Mr. MOORE, on Monday last, being the unfinished business, were taken up, and pending their further consideration,

On motion of Mr. HALL, of Marion, the Convention adjourned.

15

SATURDAY, March 2, 1861.

The Convention assembled at 12 o'clock, M.

Prayer by the Rev. Dr. BURROWS, of the Baptist Church.

Mr. TURNER, of Jackson, submitted the following resolutions, which, on his motion, were laid upon the table:

1. *Resolved*, That it is expedient and proper that the 23d section of the 4th article of the Constitution of this State shall be so modified, that slaves, like other property, shall be taxed without exemption, and according to value, and that no exemption of any property from taxation shall be had without the vote of a majority of all the members elected to each house of the General Assembly.

2. *Resolved*, That a committee, to consist of thirteen members, to be selected from the different sections of the State, be appointed, who shall report to this Convention such amendments to the Constitution of the State as will effect the object indicated in the foregoing resolution.

Mr. WICKHAM submitted the following resolution:

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed by the President of the Convention to whom shall be referred the contract between the said President and the proprietors of the Richmond Enquirer in regard to the publication of the debates of the Convention. The said committee shall have power to send for persons and papers, and shall make report to this Convention.

Mr. FISHER moved to lay the resolution on the table, and the question being put, was decided in the negative—yeas 30, nays 62.

On motion of Mr. BURDETT, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. James Boisseau,
John R. Chambliss,
Raphael M. Conn,
Richard H. Cox,
Miers W. Fisher,
William W. Forbes,
Samuel M. Garland,
Samuel L. Graham,
John Goode, Jr.
Thomas F. Goode,
F. L. Hale,
L. S. Hall,
Lewis E. Harvie,
Eppa Hunton,
Lewis D. Isbell,

Messrs. Robert C. Kent,
John J. Kindred,
John Q. Marr,
Horatio G. Moffett,
Robert L. Montague,
Jeremiah Morton,
William J. Neblett,
George W. Randolph,
George W. Richardson,
James W. Sheffey,
John T. Thornton,
William M. Tredway,
Robert H. Turner,
Franklin P. Turner,
Benjamin Wilson—30.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. William B. Aston,
George Baylor,
George W. Berlin,
Caleb Boggess,
Wood Bouldin,
Thomas Branch,
John S. Burdett,
James Burley,
Benj. W. Byrne,
John A. Campbell,
John A. Carter,
James H. Couch,
James H. Cox,
W. H. B. Custis,
Harvey Deskins,
James B. Dorman,
Jubal A. Early,
Colbert C. Fugate,
H. L. Gillespie,
Robert E. Grant,
Peyton Gravely,
William L. Goggin,
Addison Hall,
Cyrus Hall,
E. B. Hall,
Alpheus F. Haymond,

Messrs. John R. Kilby,
James Lawson,
James C. McGrew,
Paul McNeil,
James B. Mallory,
James Marshall,
John L. Marye, Sr.
Thomas Maslin,
Henry H. Masters,
Hugh M. Nelson,
Logan Osburn,
Spicer Patrick,
Edmund Pendleton,
George McC. Porter,
Samuel Price,
Timothy Rives,
Peter Saunders, Sr.
William C. Scott,
John D. Sharp,
Thomas Sitlington,
John M. Speed,
Burwell Spurlock,
Alex. H. H. Stuart,
Chapman J. Stuart,
George W. Summers,
Campbell Tarr,

Messrs. James W. Hoge,
 Chester D. Hubbard,
 George W. Hull,
 John J. Jackson,
 Marnaduke Johnson,

Messrs. George P. Tayloe,
 William White,
 Williams C. Wickham,
 Samuel Woods,
 Benj'n F. Wysor—62.

Mr. HAYMOND presented depositions, papers, &c., connected with the contested election from the County of Lee, which, on his motion, were ordered to be referred to the Committee of Elections.

Mr. GOODE, of Bedford, submitted the following preamble and resolution, which were ordered to be referred to the Committee on Federal Relations:

Whereas, the people of Virginia, in Convention assembled, did declare and make known, when they assented to and ratified the Constitution of the United States, on the 25th of June, 1788, that the powers granted under the said Constitution might be resumed whenever the same should be perverted to their injury or oppression; and whereas, the said powers have been perverted to the injury and oppression of the people of Virginia; and whereas, the very moderate and reasonable demands, known as the Crittenden propositions, with certain essential modifications, which were presented by the General Assembly of this Commonwealth as a *final* effort to restore the integrity of the Union, have been deliberately rejected by our Northern confederates,

Resolved, That every consideration of duty, interest, honor and patriotism requires that an Ordinance should now be adopted by this Convention, and submitted to the people for ratification, by which Virginia shall resume all the powers delegated by her to the Federal Government, and declare her connexion with that Government dissolved.

Mr. FISHER submitted the following resolutions, which were ordered to be referred to the Committee on Federal Relations:

1. *Resolved*, That, in the opinion of this Convention, any attempt on the part of the Federal Government to collect revenue on goods in transit to any port or ports in any of the States which have withdrawn from the Confederacy of the United States of America, or any attempt to take the forts, arsenals, dock yards, or munitions of war in possession of any of the said States that have withdrawn from the Federal Union, would be the initiation of civil war, and that this Commonwealth will not be an indifferent spectator in such war, but will take part in the same to the full extent of her military ability in behalf of her Southern slaveholding sisters that have seceded from the Federal Union.

2. *Resolved*, further, in the opinion of this Convention, That it is the duty of the Federal Government, at the earliest practicable moment, to enter into negotiation with the authorities of the Southern Confederacy for the transfer of Fort Sumpter and Fort Pickens to said Confederacy, and for an equitable division of the public property and public burdens of the United States of America, at the time of the withdrawal of the States of the said Southern Confederacy from the union between them.

The resolutions submitted on Monday last, by Mr. MOORE, being the unfinished business, were taken up, and pending their further consideration,

On motion of Mr. TREDWAY, the Convention adjourned.

16

MONDAY, March 4, 1861.

The Convention assembled at 12 o'clock, M.

Prayer by the Rev. Dr. READ, of the Presbyterian Church.

Mr. BROWN submitted the following resolution, which, on his motion, was laid upon the table:

Resolved, That the Hon. Robert M. T. Hunter and the Hon. James M. Mason failed to reflect the opinions and wishes of the people of Virginia in their recent opposition in the Senate of the United States, to a reference of the report of the Peace Conference to the consideration of the States of this Confederacy, with a view of having the amendments proposed in said report adopted, as part of the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. CHAMBLISS submitted the following preamble and resolutions, which were ordered to be referred to the Committee on Federal Relations:

Whereas, in the controversies with the mother country, growing out of the efforts of the latter to tax the colonies without their consent, it was Virginia, who by the resolutions against the stamp act, gave the example of the first authoritative resistance, by a legislative body, to the British government, and so imparted the first impulse to the revolution.

Virginia declared her independence before any of the colonies, and gave the first written constitution to mankind.

By her instructions her representatives in the general congress introduced a resolution to declare the colonies independent States; and the declaration itself was written by one of her sons.

She furnished to the confederate States the father of his country, under whose guidance independence was achieved, and the rights and liberties of each State, it was hoped, perpetually established.

She stood undismayed through the long night of the revolution, breasting the storm of war, and pouring out the blood of her sons like water on almost every battle field, from the ramparts of Quebec to the sands of Georgia.

By her own unaided efforts the Northwestern territory was conquered, whereby the Mississippi, instead of the Ohio river, was recognized as the boundary of the United States, by the treaty of peace.

To secure harmony, and as an evidence of her estimate of the value of the union of the States, she ceded to all, for their common benefit, this magnificent region—an empire in itself.

When the articles of confederation were shown to be inadequate to secure peace and tranquility at home and respect abroad, Virginia first moved to bring about a more perfect union.

At her instance the first assemblage of commissioners took place at Annapolis, which ultimately led to the meeting of the convention which formed the present Constitution.

This instrument itself was in a great measure the production of one of her sons, who has been justly styled the Father of the Constitution.

The government created by it was put into operation with her Washington, the Father of his country, at its head—her Jefferson, the author of the declaration of independence, in his cabinet—her Madison, the great advocate of the Constitution, in the legislative hall.

Under the leading of Virginia statesmen the revolution of 1798 was brought about; Louisiana was acquired; and the second war of independence was waged.

Throughout the whole progress of the republic she has never infringed on the rights of any State, or asked, or received an exclusive benefit.

On the contrary, she has been the first to vindicate the equality of all the States, the smallest as well as the greatest.

But claiming no exclusive benefit for her efforts and sacrifices in the common cause, she had a right to look for feelings of fraternity and kindness for her citizens, from the citizens of other States, and equality of rights for her citizens, with all others; that those for whom she had done so much, would abstain from actual aggressions upon her soil, or if they could not be prevented, would show themselves ready and prompt in punishing the aggressors; and that the common government; to the promotion of which she contributed so largely for the purpose of "establishing justice and insuring domestic tranquillity," would not, whilst the forms of the Constitution were observed, be so perverted in spirit as to inflict wrong and injustice, and produce universal insecurity.

These reasonable expectations have been grievously disappointed.

Owing to a spirit of pharasaical fanaticism prevailing in the North in reference to the institution of slavery, incited by foreign emissaries, and fostered by corrupt political demagogues in search of power and place, a feeling has been aroused between the people of the two sections of what was once a common country, which of itself would almost preclude the administration of a united government in harmony.

For the kindly feelings of a kindred people, we find substituted distrust, suspicion and mutual aversion.

For a common pride in the name of American, we find one section even in foreign lands pursuing the other with revilings and reproach.

For the religion of a Divine Redeemer of all, we find a religion of hate against a part.

And in all the private relations of life, instead of fraternal regard, a "consuming hate," which has but seldom characterized warring nations.

This feeling has prompted a hostile incursion upon our own soil, and an apotheosis of the murderers, who were justly condemned and executed.

It has shown itself in the legislative halls, by the passage of laws to obstruct a law of Congress, passed in pursuance of a plain provision of the Constitution.

It has been manifested by the industrious circulation of incendiary publications, sanctioned by leading men, occupying the highest stations in the gift of the people, to produce discord and division in our midst, and incite to midnight murder, and every imaginable atrocity against an unoffending community.

It has displayed itself in a persistent denial of the equal rights of the citizens of each State to settle with their property in the common territory acquired by the blood and treasure of all.

It is shown in their openly avowed determination to circumscribe the institution of slavery within the territory of the States now recognizing it, the inevitable effect of which would be to fill the present slaveholding States with an ever increasing negro population, resulting in the banishment of our own non-slaveholding population in the first instance, and the eventual surrender of our country to a barbarous race, or what seems to be desired, an amalgamation with the African.

And it has at last culminated in the election, by a sectional majority of the free States alone, to the first office in the republic, of the author of the sentiment, that there is an "irrepressible conflict," between free and slave labor, and that there must be universal freedom or universal slavery—a sentiment which inculcates, as a necessity of our situation, warfare between the two sections of our country, without cessation or intermission, until the weaker is reduced to subjection.

In view of this state of things, we are not inclined to rebuke or censure the people of any of our sister States in the South, suffering from injury, goaded by insults, and threatened with such outrages and wrongs, for their bold determination to relieve themselves from injustice and oppression, by resorting to their ultimate and sovereign right to dissolve the compact which they had formed, and to provide new guards for their future security.

Nor have we any doubt of the right of any State, there being no common umpire between coequal sovereign States, to judge for itself, on its own responsibility, as to the mode and measure of redress.

The States, each for itself, exercise this sovereign power when they dissolved their connection with the British empire.

They exercised the same power when nine of the States seceded from the con-

federation, and adopted the present Constitution, though two States at first rejected it.

The articles of confederation stipulated that those articles should be inviolably observed by every State, and that the Union should be perpetual, and that no alteration should be made, unless agreed to by Congress, and confirmed by every State.

Notwithstanding this solemn compact, a portion of the States did, without the consent of the others, form a new compact; and there is nothing to show, or by which it can be shown, that this right has been, or can be diminished, so long as the States continue sovereign.

The confederation was assented to by the legislature for each State.

The Constitution, by the people of each State, for such State alone.

One is as binding as the other, and no more so.

The constitution, it is true, established a government, and it operates directly on the individual—the confederation was a league operating primarily on the States. But each was adopted by the State for itself—in the one case, by the Legislature, acting for the State—in the other, “by the people, not as individuals composing one nation, but as composing the distinct and independent States to which they respectively belong.”

The foundation, therefore, on which it was established, was *federal*, and the State, in the exercise of the same sovereign authority by which she ratified for herself, may for herself abrogate and annul.

The operation of its powers, whilst the State remains in the confederacy, is *national*; and consequently, a State remaining in the confederacy and enjoying its benefits, cannot, by any mode of procedure, withdraw its citizens from the obligation to obey the Constitution, and the laws passed in pursuance thereof.

But when a State does secede, the Constitution and laws of the United States cease to operate therein. No power is conferred on Congress to enforce them. Such authority was denied to the Congress, in the Convention which framed the Constitution, because it would be an act of war of nation against nation—not the exercise of the legitimate power of a government to enforce its laws on those subject to its jurisdiction.

The assumption of such a power would be the assertion of a prerogative claimed by the British government, to legislate for the colonies in all cases whatever. It would constitute of itself a dangerous attack on the rights of the States, and should be promptly repelled.

These principles, resulting from the nature of our system of confederate States, cannot admit of question in Virginia.

Our people in Convention, by thier act of ratification, declared and made known that the powers granted under the Constitution, being derived from the people of the United States, may be resumed by them whenever they shall be perverted to their injury and oppression.

From what people were these powers derived? Confessedly, from the people of each State acting for themselves. By whom were they to be resumed or taken back? By the people of the State who were then granting them away. Who were to determine whether the powers granted had been perverted to their injury or oppression? Not the whole people of the United States, for there could be no oppression of the whole with their own consent; and it could not have entered into the conception of the Convention that the powers granted could not be resumed until the oppressor himself united in such resumption.

They asserted the right to resume, in order to guard the people of Virginia, for whom alone the Convention could act, against the oppression of an irresponsible and sectional majority—the worst form of oppression with which an angry Providence has ever afflicted humanity.

Whilst, therefore, we regret that any State should, in a matter of common grievance, have determined to act for herself, without consulting with her sister States equally aggrieved, we are nevertheless constrained to say that the occasion justifies and loudly calls for action of some kind.

The election of a President, by a sectional majority, as the representative of the principles referred to, clothed with the patronage and power incident to the office, including the authority to appoint all the postmasters and other officers charged with the execution of the laws of the United States, is itself a standing menace to the South—a direct assault upon her institutions—an incentive to rob-

bery and insurrection—requiring from our own immediate local government, in its sovereign character, prompt action to obtain additional guarantees for equality and security in the Union, or to take measures for protection and security without it.

And the Conference lately held in Washington City having failed to accomplish, to the satisfaction of this Convention, the objects of its mission:

Therefore, this Convention declares—

1st. That the compromise agreed upon by the majority of the Conference at Washington fails to give assurance of that equitable, satisfactory, just and final settlement of the slavery controversy which the slaveholding States have the right to demand.

2d. That the dignity and honor of Virginia forbid that she should offer any other propositions for adjusting the pending difficulties between the North and the South.

3d. That the time has come when Virginia should resume her sovereignty, withdraw from the Federal Compact, and adopt, in concert with the other Southern States, *or alone*, such measures as may seem most expedient to protect the rights and insure the safety of her citizens.

Mr. MALLORY, of Brunswick, submitted the following resolution, which was ordered to be referred to the Committee on Federal Relations:

Resolved, That the States of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, Maryland and Delaware, ought to meet in convention, with a view to concerted and united action, to determine where they will go—whether with the North or the South—or whether they will establish a central confederacy.

The PRESIDENT announced the following committee, in accordance with the resolution submitted by Mr. WICKHAM, on Saturday, the 2d inst.: Messrs. Wickham, Richardson, Hughes, Staples and Dent.

Mr. GOODE, of Bedford, submitted the following resolution:

Resolved, That ten thousand copies of the addresses delivered before this body, by the Hon. Fulton Anderson, Commissioner from Mississippi, the Hon. Henry L. Benning, Commissioner from Georgia, and the Hon. John S. Preston, Commissioner from South Carolina be printed and distributed equally among the members of this Convention for circulation among the people of this State.

Mr. HALL, of Marion, moved to lay the resolution upon the table; and the question being put, was decided in the affirmative—yeas 65, nays 43.

On motion of Mr. GOODE, of Bedford, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Prest.</i>)	Messrs. John R. Kilby,
William B. Aston,	John F. Lewis,
John B. Baldwin,	William McComas,
Alfred M. Barbour,	James C. McGrew,
George Baylor,	James B. Mallory,
George W. Berlin,	James Marshall,
Caleb Boggess,	Thomas Maslin,

Messrs. Thomas Branch,
 William G. Brown,
 John S. Burdett,
 James Burley,
 Allen T. Caperton,
 John S. Carlile,
 John A. Carter,
 Samuel A. Coffman,
 C. B. Conard,
 James H. Couch,
 W. H. B. Custis,
 Marshall M. Dent,
 Harvey Deskins,
 James B. Dorman,
 Jubal A. Early,
 Colbert C. Fugate,
 H. L. Gillespie,
 Peyton Gravely,
 Algernon S. Gray,
 Addison Hall,
 Ephraim B. Hall,
 James W. Hoge,
 Chester D. Hubbard,
 John N. Hughes,
 George W. Hull,
 John J. Jackson,

Messrs. Henry H. Masters,
 Horatio G. Moffett,
 Samuel McD. Moore,
 Hugh M. Nelson,
 Logan Osburn,
 Spicer Patrick,
 Edmund Pendleton,
 George McC. Porter,
 Samuel Price,
 David Pugh,
 Timothy Rives,
 Peter Saunders, Sr.
 John D. Sharp,
 Thomas Sitlington,
 Burwell Spurlock,
 Alex. H. H. Stuart,
 Chapinan J. Stuart,
 George W. Summers.
 Campbell Tarr,
 George P. Tayloe,
 William M. Tredway,
 William White,
 Waitman T. Willey,
 Benjamin Wilson,
 Benj. F. Wysor—65.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. William M. Ambler,
 Edward M. Armstrong,
 James Boisseau,
 Peter B. Borst,
 Wood Bouldin,
 John A. Campbell,
 John R. Chambliss,
 Raphael M. Conn,
 Richard H. Cox,
 John Echols,
 William W. Forbes,
 Napoleon B. French,
 Samuel L. Graham,
 Robert E. Grant,
 William L. Goggin,
 John Goode, Jr.
 Thomas F. Goode,
 Cyrus Hall,

Messrs. Marmaduke Johnson.
 Robert C. Kent,
 John J. Kindred,
 James Lawson,
 Walter D. Leake,
 Paul McNeil,
 John Q. Marr,
 John L. Marye, Sr.
 Robert L. Montague,
 Edmund T. Morris,
 Jeremiah Morton,
 William J. Neblett,
 George W. Randolph,
 George W. Richardson,
 James W. Sheffey,
 John M. Speed,
 Samuel G. Staples,
 John T. Thornton,

Messrs. Lewis E. Harvie,
Alpheus F. Haymond,
Eppa Hunton,
Lewis D. Isbell,

Messrs. Franklin P. Turner,
Williams C. Wickham,
Samuel Woods—43.

Subsequently, on motion of Mr. BRANCH, the resolution was taken up and amended by striking out the words "ten thousand."

The question being on filling the blank in the resolution,

Mr. MORTON moved that the words "nine thousand" be inserted.

Mr. MORRIS moved that the words "five thousand" be inserted.

Mr. BRANCH moved that the words "three thousand and forty" be inserted.

Mr. EARLY moved that the words "the usual number of" be inserted.

The motion submitted by Mr. BRANCH was agreed to, and the resolution, as amended, adopted.

The resolutions submitted by Mr. MOORE, on Monday last, being the unfinished business, were then taken up, and pending their further consideration,

On motion of Mr. ECHOLS, the Convention adjourned.





17

TUESDAY, March 5, 1861.

The Convention assembled at 12 o'clock, M.

Mr. FLEMING B. MILLER, a delegate from the counties of Botetourt and Craig, appeared and took his seat.

Prayer by the Rev. Dr. READ, of the Presbyterian Church.

The resolutions offered by Mr. MOORE, on the 25th ult., were ordered to be referred to the Committee on Federal Relations.

Mr. Cox, of Chesterfield, submitted the following resolution:

♥ *Resolved*, That the Committee on Federal Relations be instructed to report without delay, a plan for a Convention of all the border slave States at the earliest practicable day; also to report on the subject of coercion by the Federal Government of the seceded States.

Mr. LEAKE moved to amend by striking out all after the word "Resolved," and inserting the following:

That the Committee on Federal Relations be instructed to bring in an ordinance setting forth the following facts and determinations of Virginia in connection with the present threatening aspect of public affairs: That as Virginia was the foremost to make sacrifices for the Union under the Constitution, so, to preserve it, she has practised the greatest self-denials: never seeking or receiving an exclusive benefit, she has never infringed the rights of any State or section: zealous of the integrity of the Constitution, and the equality of the States, she has lived up to the obligations imposed upon her by the Federal compact. That on the other hand, the Northern section has disregarded many of its obligations, and attempted to set aside some of the compromises made between the two great sections of the Confederacy, without which no union could ever have been formed; hatred has been substituted for that fraternity upon which these compromises rested for vitality; and power is claimed for a sectional majority utterly at war with the spirit and letter of the compact, and subversive of our safety, our well-being and our rights. Equality of rights in the enjoyment of the common property is denied us, aggressions are made upon our soil, the powers of a common government are claimed as the lawful means for our oppression, and the hedging in our rights. All this opposition to our civilization, all this hatred of our domestic institutions, and all this enmity to our peace, are banded together in the formation and upholding of a great sectional party, that has elected a President upon the principle of avowed hostility to the institutions of the South, and upon the pledge to use the powers of the Government for their ultimate extinguishment, forgetful that the Union was formed for "establishing justice and ensuring domestic tranquility." These violations of the integrity of the compact, have given rise to other great evils now impending over us, which menace the first principles, the very foundations of free institutions, and which threaten the overthrow of the rights of sovereign States. They have given rise to the claim of right upon the part of sovereign States in one section to coerce sovereign States of another section into a union to which they will not assent, and to the assertion of the doctrine that resistance to violations of the terms of our federal compact is treason to the claims of a sectional majority; and which have led to the armed occupation of the seat of the common Government by an armed force with friendly purposes towards the one section, with hostile feelings towards the other; and which, too, have led the authorities at Washington to make the fortresses of Virginia to frown upon her while she was showing a determination to exhaust all the resources of conciliation and compromise. These outrages of a sectional majority have broken the Constitution, driven seven

States out of the Union, dissolved the Union of our fathers, and is now substituting another Union in its place. Virginia is no party to any such new Union; and she demands a re-construction to secure her and the whole South from any future outrage. In this re-construction she ought to stand with the South in the assertion of her rights, and she ought to occupy no position in connection with the North, in the state of things brought about by Northern aggressions, which would cripple her power for her own defence, and prevent her from aiding in maintaining the rights and the equality of all the States. And that the said committee especially set forth the fact, that in consequence of the secession of Southern States, and the hopeless condition of New England fanaticism, the blind hate of Black Republicanism, and the coercive policy indicated by the President of a dismembered Union, there is no hope of an amendment of the Constitution that can be satisfactory to Virginia, in the constitutional way, and that the only mode, in the circumstances which now surround us, to secure any Union in which the rights of Virginia would be safe and protected, is for Virginia to re-assume all the powers she delegated to the Federal Government, and to declare her independence; and then to call into a Convention all the slaveholding States, to determine what shall be the new construction necessary for their rights and protection in a Confederacy of slave States alone, or of the slave States and such free States as are willing to come into a Union under this new construction, with the slave States.

Mr. HARVIE moved to amend the amendment by striking out all after the word "instructed," and inserting the following—"to report forthwith the following:"

Whereas, it is now plain that it is the purpose of the Chief Executive of the United States to plunge the country into civil war by using the power "to hold, occupy and possess the property and places belonging to the government, and to collect the duties on imports," in all the States, as well those that have withdrawn from as those that have remained in the Union; and whereas, the State of Virginia will resist such exercise of power with all her means; therefore,

Be it resolved, That the Legislature of the State be requested to make all needful appropriations of means and provide the necessary forces to resist and repel any attempt on the part of the Federal authorities to "hold, occupy and possess the property and places" of the United States in any of the States that have withdrawn or may withdraw from the Union, or to collect the duties on imports," in the same.

Pending the consideration of the amendment submitted by Mr. HARVIE,

On motion of Mr. EARLY, the Convention adjourned.

18

WEDNESDAY, March 6, 1861.

The Convention assembled at 12 o'clock, M.

Prayer by the Rev. Dr. HOGE, of the Presbyterian Church.

Mr. OSBURN submitted the following preamble and resolutions, which were ordered to be referred to the Committee on Federal Relations:

Whereas, the Government of the United States having been created and established, for the purpose of forming a more perfect Union (than existed under the articles of confederation) and adopted by all of the original States, with ample provisions for amendments to the same; but without any for its disintegration; Therefore,

1. *Resolved*, That a resort to State secession, or a resumption of the original rights of the States by an ordinance of secession, is not only unauthorized by the letter and spirit of the Constitution: but is contrary to, and subversive of the fundamental principles upon which it was founded; wholly at variance with the legitimate objects of its creation, and can only be justified as a revolutionary means of obtaining redress, when every peaceable, honorable and constitutionable expedient has been exhausted and failed.

2. *Resolved*, That an ordinance of secession cannot restore to the seceding State its original sovereignty, until its secession has been assented to by a convention of the remaining States, called for the purpose thereof.

3. *Resolved*, That with a view of preserving peace and to prevent the collision of arms and effusion of blood, it would be both politic and wise to waive the unquestionable right on the part of the General Government to collect the revenue, and protect the public property within the limits of the seceding State, or States, during the adjustment of the pending difficulties, holding them severally responsible for the safety of the same, and to either repeal or suspend the laws of the Federal Government therein until their independence may be assented to and their rights duly acknowledged.

4. *Resolved*, That the preservation of this Government cannot be maintained by force or coercion: that, therefore, this Convention earnestly recommends to both the Federal Government, and the Government of the seceded States, to carefully abstain from any aggressive measures or policy towards the other.

Mr. GOGGIN submitted the following resolutions, which were ordered to be referred to the Committee on Federal Relations:

1. *Resolved*, That any attempt on the part of the General Government to use coercive measures for the collection of revenue from imports at or near any of the ports within the States which have seceded, will be regarded by Virginia as furnishing just cause of apprehension of danger to the whole South, Virginia inclusive.

2. *Resolved*, That in the event aforesaid, Virginia however sincere may be her attachment to the Union as it was, will deem it her duty to aid in repelling any such attempt.

3. *Resolved*, That in the hope of restoring harmony to all parts of the Union, and before determining to secede from it, but especially in order to secure the coöperation of the Border Slave States in any course she may pursue, the State of Virginia earnestly requests the speedy coöperation of the said States in effecting with her a plan by which she, with all the said States, may unite themselves with the Confederate States of the South.

4. *Resolved*, That in the formation of such a Union, Virginia would have a due regard to all the States, and that in such Union she should still cherish the hope

of reforming "the United States of America," upon the basis of the present Constitution so modified as to protect the rights of persons, property, and territory in all time.

5. *Resolved*, That all fortified or other places in Virginia now, belonging to the General Government, in the event of the separation of said State from the Union, may and ought to be resumed by her as necessary for the defence of her citizens and their property in particular "*localities*," as well as for purposes of general defence.

6. *Resolved*, That while Virginia maintains this position, and while she yet remains a member of the Union, during her deliberations, she will assume no hostile attitude to the General Government, but will be prepared at all times to repel any assaults which may be made upon her.

Mr. GRANT submitted the following resolutions, which were ordered to be referred to the Committee on Federal Relations:

1. *Resolved*, That we the people of Virginia, in Convention assembled, deeply regret the condition in which our country is placed, imperiling as it does, the peace, prosperity and perpetuity of one of the noblest governments ever adopted by man.

2. *Resolved*, That Virginia has ever been inclined to a peaceful and amicable adjustment of the difficulties that have so long menaced and threatened the destruction of our institutions, and has ever exerted her power and influence to that end. But notwithstanding all her efforts, the future is still dark and portentous, scarcely a ray of hope illumines it.

3. *Resolved*, That from the tone and temper of the Inaugural Address of the recently inaugurated President, (Abraham Lincoln) that he, in that address, declares his right to coerce the seceded States, and makes it a matter of policy, subject only to his discretion, whether he will attempt it or not.

4. *Resolved*, That we, the people of Virginia, in Convention assembled, in the event that any attempt is made to coerce any of our sister States of the South, that Virginia will not submit to any such attempt, but will make common cause with them, and resist coercion with all her power, to the last extremity.

5. *Resolved*, That the honor, institutions, and interests of Virginia are closely allied and identified with those of all the Southern States; but more directly at this time with the border slave States, and in view of effecting united action on the part of said States, and of ultimate union of the whole South; we the people of Virginia, through our representatives in Convention assembled, doth earnestly request the States of Delaware, Maryland, North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, and Arkansas, to meet the Commissioners which shall be appointed by Virginia, in the city of Knoxville, by the _____ day of _____ to advise and consult what is best to be done under existing circumstances, and let the result of their deliberations be referred, for ratification, either to Conventions of the several States, or the Legislatures thereof; and that this Convention proceed to appoint Commissioners on the part of Virginia, and take the necessary steps to secure the coöperation of the aforesaid States in the proposed Conference.

Mr. HAYMOND presented a supplementary report from the Committee of Elections, concerning the vote on the question of referring the action of the Convention, &c., to the people.—[Doc. No. IX.]

Mr. TREDWAY presented a report from the Committee appointed under the resolution adopted on the 23d ult., "to inquire whether any movement of arms or men has been made by the General Government to any fort or arsenal in or bordering upon Virginia," &c.; and moved that the report and accompanying letter, from the Secretary of War, be laid upon the table, and printed. [Doc. No. X.]

Mr. EARLY moved that ten thousand copies of the report be printed for distribution; and the question being put, was decided in the negative.

The motion submitted by Mr. TREDWAY was then agreed to.

The PRESIDENT presented a communication from the Executive of the Commonwealth, transmitting a report from the Commissioners appointed to represent this Commonwealth in the Conference which convened in Washington City, on the 4th day of February, 1861; which, on motion of Mr. SUMMERS, was laid upon the table, and ordered to be printed. [Doc. No. XI.]

Mr. SUMMERS presented a communication from the Hon. John W. Brockenbrough, one of said Commissioners, addressed to the "Hon. John Tyler, Ex-President of the United States, and the Hon. George W. Summers;" which, on his motion, was laid upon the table, and ordered to be printed. [Doc. No. XII.]

The amendment submitted yesterday, by Mr. HARVIE, being the unfinished business, was taken up, and pending the further consideration thereof,

Mr. CARLILE moved that the Convention adjourn until tomorrow, at 12 o'clock; and the question being put, was decided in the affirmative—yeas 73, nays 42.

On motion of Mr. NEBLETT, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. Marmaduke Johnson,
William B. Aston,	Robert C. Kent,
Alfred M. Barbour,	John F. Lewis,
George Baylor,	James C. McGrew,
George W. Berlin,	Paul McNeil,
Caleb Boggess,	James Marshall,
Wood Bouldin,	John Q. Marr,
Thomas Branch,	Henry H. Masters,
George W. Brent,	Horatio G. Moffett,
William G. Brown,	Hugh M. Nelson,
John S. Burdett,	Johnson Orrick,
James Burley,	William C. Parks,
Frederick M. Cabell,	Spicer Patrick,
John A. Campbell,	Edmund Pendleton,
John S. Carlile,	George McC. Porter,
C. B. Conrad,	David Pugh,
James H. Couch,	George W. Randolph,
W. H. B. Custis,	Peter Saunders, Sr.
Marshall M. Dent,	William C. Scott,
Harvey Deskins,	John D. Sharp,
James B. Dorman,	Thomas Sitlington,
William H. Dulany,	Charles R. Slaughter,

Messrs. Jubal A. Early,
 Thomas S. Flournoy,
 William W. Forbes,
 Colbert C. Fugate,
 H. L. Gillespie,
 Peyton Gravely,
 John Goode, Jr.
 Ephraim B. Hall,
 Allen C. Hammond,
 Alpheus F. Haymond,
 James W. Hoge,
 James P. Holcombe,
 Chester D. Hubbard,
 John N. Hughes,
 George W. Hull,

Messrs. Burwell Spurlock,
 Samuel G. Staples,
 Alex. H. H. Stuart,
 Chapman J. Stuart,
 George W. Summers,
 William T. Sutherlin,
 Campbell Tarr,
 George P. Tayloe,
 John T. Thornton,
 William M. Tredway,
 John Tyler,
 William White,
 Benjamin Wilson,
 Samuel Woods—73.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. William M. Ambler,
 Edward M. Armstrong,
 James Boisseau,
 Peter B. Borst,
 Allen T. Caperton,
 William P. Cecil,
 John R. Chambliss,
 Manilius Chapman,
 Samuel A. Coffman,
 Raphael M. Conn,
 James H. Cox,
 Richard H. Cox,
 John Critcher,
 John Echols,
 Napoleon B. French,
 Samuel L. Graham,
 Robert E. Grant,
 Fendall Gregory, Jr.
 William L. Goggin,
 Thomas F. Goode,
 Addison Hall,

Messrs. Cyrus Hall,
 L. S. Hall,
 Eppa Hunton,
 John R. Kilby,
 John J. Kindred,
 James Lawson,
 Walter D. Leake,
 Thomas Maslin,
 Charles K. Mallory,
 Edmund T. Morris,
 Jeremiah Morton,
 William J. Neblett,
 George W. Richardson,
 James W. Sheffey,
 John M. Speed,
 James M. Strange,
 Robert H. Turner,
 Franklin P. Turner,
 Edward Waller,
 Robert H. Whitfield,
 S. C. Williams—42.

The Convention then adjourned.

19

THURSDAY, March 7, 1861.

The Convention assembled at 12 o'clock, M.

Prayer by the Rev. Dr. MOORE of the Presbyterian Church.

Mr. BROWN submitted the following resolution:

Resolved, That the President of the Convention appoint a committee of members, to be styled the "Committee on Finance," whose duty it shall be to take into consideration all subjects to it referred in relation to State and county taxation.

Mr. ECHOLS moved to lay the resolution on the table, and the question being put, was decided in the affirmative—nays 69, nays 41.

On motion of Mr. BROWN, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. J. G. Holladay,
William M. Ambler,	Eppa Hunton,
William B. Aston,	Marmaduke Johnson,
Angus R. Blakey,	Robert C. Kent,
James Boisseau,	John R. Kilby,
Peter B. Borst,	John J. Kindred,
Wood Bouldin,	Walter D. Leake,
Thomas Branch,	Charles K. Mallory,
George W. Brent,	James Marshall,
Frederick M. Cabell,	John Q. Marr,
John A. Campbell,	John L. Marye, Sr.
William P. Cecil,	Horatio G. Moffett,
John R. Chambliss,	Edmund T. Morris,
Manilius Chapman,	Jeremiah Morton,
Raphael M. Conn,	Hugh M. Nelson,
James H. Couch,	William C. Parks,
James H. Cox,	David Pugh,
Richard H. Cox,	George W. Randolph,
W. H. B. Custis,	George W. Richardson,
William H. Dulany,	Peter Saunders, Sr.
Jubal A. Early,	John T. Seawell,
John Echols,	Charles R. Slaughter,
Miers W. Fisher,	John M. Speed,
Thomas S. Flournoy,	Burwell Spurlock,
William W. Forbes,	Samuel G. Staples,
Samuel L. Graham,	James M. Strange,
Robert E. Grant,	William T. Sutherland,
Algernon S. Gray,	George P. Tayloe,
Fendall Gregory, Jr.	John T. Thornton,

Messrs. William L. Goggin, Thomas F. Goode, Addison Hall, Allen C. Hammond, James W. Hoge, James P. Holcombe,	Messrs. Robert H. Turner, John Tyler, Edward Waller, William White, R. H. Whitfield—69.
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The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. Ed'd M. Armstrong, Alfred M. Barbour, George Baylor, George W. Berlin, Caleb Boggess, William G. Brown, John S. Burdett, James Burley, John S. Carlile, Samuel A. Coffman, C. B. Conrad, Marshall M. Dent, Harvy Deskins, Colbert C. Fugate, H. L. Gillespie, Peyton Gravely, Cyrus Hall, E. B. Hall, L. S. Hall, Alphens F. Haymond, Chester D. Hubbard,	Messrs. John N. Hughes, George W. Hull, James Lawson, John F. Lewis, James C. McGrew, Paul McNeil, Henry H. Masters, Johnson Orrick, Logan Osburn, Spicer Patrick, Edmund Pendleton, George McC. Porter, John D. Sharp, Thomas Sitlington, Chapman J. Stuart, George W. Summers, Campbell Tarr, Franklin P. Turner, Benjamin Wilson, Samuel Woods—41.
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Mr. NELSON submitted the following resolution, which was ordered to be referred to the Committee on Federal Relations:

Resolved by the Convention of Virginia, That Virginia disapproves of, and earnestly protests against any attempt on the part of the Federal Government to repossess itself of the property and places belonging to the Government, and to collect the duties on imports within the limits of the seceding States.

Mr. HUGHES presented a report from the Committee to “confer with the Editors of the Richmond *Enquirer*, to ascertain whether the proceedings of the Convention could be published upon a separate sheet, without any other matter;” which, on motion, was laid upon the table, and ordered to be printed. [Doc. No. XIII.]

The amendment submitted by Mr. HARVIE on Tuesday last, being the unfinished business, was taken up, and pending the further consideration thereof,

On motion of Mr. BRENT, the Convention adjourned.

20

FRIDAY, March 8, 1861.

The Convention assembled at 12 o'clock, M.

Prayer by the Rev. Dr. MOORE, of the Presbyterian Church.

Mr. EARLY presented the following correspondence, which was read, and at his request, entered upon the Journal:

RICHMOND, March 6, 1861, }
American Hotel, 46. }

Sir,—After your remarks in the Convention to-day, in which you undertook to comment on what you supposed to be my position heretofore, and the position which I had taken in the remarks I had just submitted to the Convention, and after you had referred to some letters you had received from my county, indicating a change in the sentiments of my constituents—when I obtained the floor, I made use of the following remarks, which I repeat almost *verbatim*:

“The gentleman from Bedford, whose impatience is so great, whose steam has been up so high, that he has not been content with the opportunities afforded him on this floor to let it off, but has taken one or more occasions to let off some of it in the streets; has thought proper to step between my constituents and myself, and informs this Convention and the country that he has received letters from my home, showing a great change in the sentiments of my constituents, and that they are very impatient at the delay which I have been favoring. Now, I presume the gentleman has not undertaken to give this information to the Convention and the country unless he is willing to give up his authority for the statement, and I call upon him for it.”

You asked at this point if I wished an answer then, to which I replied that I did. In a very excited manner you proceeded to comment on the remarks I had made, and said, as near as I can recollect—“When the gentleman from Franklin says that I have sought opportunities to let off steam in the streets, he makes a statement which is utterly without foundation,” or, “which has no foundation in fact.” I do not recollect exactly the precise expression, but this is the substance. You coupled your remarks with the declaration that you held yourself responsible to me for what you had said, either on the floor or elsewhere. This renders it necessary for me to enquire of you whether, in what you did say, you meant to convey the idea that I had stated a falsehood or been guilty of a misrepresentation? I also enquire if you intended the expression that you held yourself responsible to me on the floor or elsewhere, in an offensive sense?

Your ob't serv't,

J. A. EARLY.

This note will be handed to you by my friend Thos. James Deane, Esq.

J. A. EARLY.

JOHN GOODE, JR., Esq.

EXCHANGE HOTEL, March 7, 1861.

Sir,—Your note of yesterday was handed to me at a late hour in the afternoon by your friend, Thomas James Deane, and I take the earliest opportunity allowed me to reply.

In the remarks submitted by you to the Convention, on yesterday, I understood you to say, in substance, that I had not been content with the opportunities afforded me on that floor to let off steam (as you chose to characterize my speeches,) but that I had *sought* opportunities to let it off in the streets, &c. So understanding you, I replied that such a statement was wholly without foundation in fact—and that I had addressed no people in this city until *they* had *sought me* at my lodgings and *called for me* in a manner which I could not decline obeying. From your remarks, as cited by you in your note and the report of the same in the *Enquirer*, of this morning, I find that I misapprehended your language, and that

you did not say, as I then understood you to say, that I had "sought opportunities," &c. I was thus led to say, that the statement made by you (as I understood it) was without foundation in fact. It is but just for me to add, that I did not design to impute to you falsehood or wilful misrepresentation, but simply to deny the truth of your statement, as I understood it at the time. My remark, "that I hold myself responsible for what I say here or elsewhere," was intended to declare my purpose to vindicate my personal and representative rights whenever, wherever, however, and by whomsoever assailed, and was not intended to be offensive to yourself or to any other person.

Your obedient servant,

JOHN GOODE, JR.

This note will be handed you by my friend, E. C. Burks, Esq.

JOHN GOODE, JR.

Maj. J. A. EARLY.

RICHMOND, March 7, 1861.

Sir,—Your note of this morning was handed to me by your friend, Mr. E. C. Burks, immediately after the adjournment of the Convention to-day, and in reply thereto, I will say, that understanding you to disclaim any intention on your part to impute to me falsehood or wilful misrepresentation in what you said in the Convention on yesterday, and also to disclaim any purpose of being personally offensive to me in the expression you used as specified in my note of yesterday, I have no hesitation in declaring that I did not intend to be personally offensive to you in the remarks I made which led to your response—my sole purpose being to indicate my sense of the precipitancy with which I thought you were disposed to act in contradistinction to the disposition to delay which you imputed to me.

I think I may add that there was nothing in our previous intercourse, to produce the impression that I had a different purpose, and I was pained to perceive the evident misapprehension under which you labored at the time. I am sorry to hear of the indisposition under which you labor.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

J. A. EARLY.

JOHN GOODE, JR., Esq.

Mr. CAMPBELL presented the proceedings of a meeting held at Goodson, Washington County, Virginia; which, on his motion, were laid upon the table.

Mr. WYSON submitted the following Ordinance, which, on his motion, was referred to the Committee on Federal Relations:

AN ORDINANCE dissolving all political connection now existing between the State of Virginia and other States, composing the American Union, and establishing the separate independence of the former:

We, the people of the State of Virginia in Convention assembled, having been called together, to consider the present distracted and unhappy relations, existing between the slaveholding and non-slaveholding members of the Federal Union, and to provide suitable and adequate remedies for the evils which flow from those relations, do most solemnly declare, that, whilst we have always kept and performed all the covenants of the Constitution of the United States on our part, truly, fully and in good faith; our non-slaveholding confederates have not only failed and refused to keep the same, and still continue so to refuse; but they have palpably violated them, both in their letter and spirit, in repeated instances, wherein their faithful performance was of the most essential and vital consequence to our peace, our safety and our happiness.

In proof of this, we submit to the candid and impartial judgment of mankind, the following plain recital of facts:

The people of these States have, for the last thirty years or more, assailed negro slavery—an institution recognized by the Constitution of the United States, and of vital importance to the social and industrial systems, of this and the other

Southern States; without scruple as to the means or mode of attack; and without regard to the consequences to us.

They have, during this whole period, abusing the great rights of freedom of speech and of the press, continued to agitate and discuss, this social and domestic relation of *ours*, not *theirs*, on the hustings, in the pulpit, in the halls of legislation of individual States, and of Congress—through the political press, through books, pamphlets, and the drama, to our great annoyance and injury; and against our repeated remonstrances, and our entreaties that these unfriendly acts should be forborne.

They have prostituted the mail service of the United States, designed to facilitate friendly, social and commercial correspondence, to the unholy purpose of distributing incendiary publications among our people, thereby disturbing our peace, rendering our slaves discontented and unhappy, and inciting them to insurrection, and rebellion against their masters.

They have, for the same unholy purposes, sent emissaries and incendiaries among us.

They have encouraged and promoted the invasion of our soil by lawless men, armed against our peace, our property and our lives, and have by public ovations converted into heroes and martyrs the murderers of our people.

A majority of these States have persistently refused to comply with the provision of the Federal Constitution for the rendition of fugitives from labor, and have by legislative enactments impeded, hindered and prevented the execution of the fugitive slave law, made in pursuance of that provision, and several of said States have refused to surrender fugitives from justice, in cases where the crime imputed to the fugitive, consisted in a violation of our rights with respect to slaves.

These States have with one voice denied to this, and the other slaveholding States, an equal participation in the common territory of the United States, with the avowed object of confining slavery within its present limits, and of "placing it in the course of ultimate extinction."

And finally, they have set up over us an absolute despotism, consisting in the unchecked will of a mere sectional and numerical majority, which has seized upon the powers of government and holds them for our present injury and ultimate destruction.

By these means, the powers granted by the Constitution, have been perverted to our injury and oppression, and a foreign rule has been established for the control of our interests, the subversion of our rights, and our complete subjugation to absolute power. And, whereas, when the people of Virginia, in Convention assembled, assented to and ratified the Constitution of the United States, they did declare and make known, "that the powers granted under the Constitution, being derived from the people of the United States, may be resumed by them, whensoever the same shall be perverted to their injury or oppression, and that every power not granted thereby remains with them and at their will." Now, therefore, we, the people of the State of Virginia, conscious of the right, and hoping under God, to maintain it, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained, that the ordinance adopted by us, in Convention, on the twenty-fifth day of June, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, whereby the Constitution of the United States of America was ratified, and, also, all acts and parts of acts of the General Assembly of this State, ratifying amendments of the said Constitution are hereby repealed, rescinded, and abrogated.

We do further declare and ordain that the union now subsisting between the State of Virginia and other States, under the name of the United States of America, is hereby dissolved, and that the State of Virginia is in the full possession and exercise of all those rights of sovereignty which belong and appertain to a free and independent State.

We do further declare and ordain, that the effect of the foregoing ordinance, shall be, to absolve each and every citizen of this Commonwealth, wherever residing, from all duty of obedience to the authority of the Federal Government, whether civil or military.

We do further declare and ordain, that the Governor, by and with the advice and consent of the Lieutenant Governor and Attorney General, shall have power, in addition to the purposes for which he may now embody the militia of the

Commonwealth, to embody them to repel any and every attempt, by force, to intimidate or coerce the people of this State, to submit, against their will, to the authority of the Federal Government.

Provided, that the foregoing ordinances shall not take effect or be of any force until the same shall have been submitted to and ratified by the votes of a majority of the people of this State, at a poll thereon, to be taken on the day of , in the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one, in pursuance of a schedule hereafter to be enacted.

The amendment submitted by Mr. Harvie, on Tuesday, being the unfinished business, was taken up, and pending the further consideration thereof,

On motion of Mr. HARVIE, the Convention adjourned.

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MONDAY, March 11, 1861.

The Convention assembled at 12 o'clock, M.

Prayer by the Rev. Mr. PETERKIN, of the Episcopal Church.

Mr. McGREW submitted the following resolution:

Resolved, That the thanks of the people of Virginia be, and they are hereby most cordially tendered to the Hon. John J. Crittenden, for his recent able, zealous and patriotic efforts in the Senate of the United States, to bring about a just and honorable adjustment of our national difficulties.

Mr. WISE moved to lay the resolution upon the table, and the resolution being put, was determined in the negative—yeas 23, nays 93.

On motion of Mr. BROWN, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. Angus R. Blakey,	Messrs. Jeremiah Morton,
James Boisseau,	Johnson Orrick,
Peter B. Borst,	George W. Randolph,
Wood Bouldin,	John T. Seawell,
Raphael M. Coun,	Charles R. Slaughter,
Miers W. Fisher,	John M. Speed,
Samuel L. Graham,	James M. Strange,
Eppa Hunton,	John T. Thornton,
Lewis D. Isbell,	Robert H. Turner,
Walter D. Leake,	Henry A. Wise,
William H. Macfarland,	Samuel Woods—23.
Fleming B. Miller,	

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>),	Messrs. Marmaduke Johnson,
William B. Aston,	Peter C. Johnston,
John B. Baldwin,	James Lawson,
Alfred M. Barbour,	John F. Lewis,
James Barbour,	William McComas,
George Baylor,	James C. McGrew,
George W. Berlin,	Paul McNeil,
George Blow, Jr.	James B. Mallory,
Caleb Boggess,	James Marshall,
Thomas Branch,	John Q. Marr,
George W. Brent,	John L. Marye, Sr.
William G. Brown,	Thomas Maslin,
James C. Bruce,	Henry H. Masters,
John S. Burdett,	Horatio G. Moffett,
James Burley,	Samuel McD. Moore,
Allen T. Caperton,	Hugh M. Nelson,
John A. Carter,	Logan Osburn,

Messrs. Manilius Chapman,
 Sherrard Clemens,
 Samuel A. Coffman,
 C. B. Conrad,
 Robert Y. Conrad,
 James H. Couch,
 John Critcher,
 W. H. B. Custis,
 Marshall M. Dent,
 Harvey Deskins,
 William H. Dulany,
 Jubal A. Early,
 John Echols,
 William W. Forbes,
 Colbert C. Fugate,
 Samuel M. Garland,
 H. L. Gillespie,
 Robert E. Grant,
 Peyton Gravely,
 Algernon S. Gray,
 William L. Goggin,
 Addison Hall,
 Ephraim B. Hall,
 Allen C. Hammond,
 Alpheus F. Haymond,
 James W. Hoge,
 J. G. Holladay,
 John N. Hughes,
 George W. Hull,
 John J. Jackson,

Messrs. William C. Parks,
 Spicer Patrick,
 Edmund Pendleton,
 George McC. Porter,
 Wm. Ballard Preston,
 Samuel Price,
 David Pugh,
 Timothy Rives,
 Peter Saunders, Sr.
 Robert E. Scott,
 John D. Sharp,
 James W. Sheffey,
 Thomas Sillington,
 Valentine W. Southall,
 Burwell Sparlock,
 Samuel G. Staples,
 Alex. H. H. Stuart,
 Chapman J. Stuart,
 George W. Summers,
 William T. Sutherland,
 Campbell Tarr,
 George P. Tayloe,
 John Tyler,
 Edward Waller,
 Robert H. Whirfield,
 Williams C. Wickham,
 Waitman T. Willey,
 Benjamin Wilson,
 Benj. F. Wysor—43.

Mr. LEAKE moved to amend the resolution by adding thereto the following:

But this Convention does not mean hereby to approve or disapprove of the measures proposed by the Peace Conference.

The question being put, was determined in the negative.

The question recurring on agreeing to the resolution was put, and determined in the affirmative—yeas 108, nays 16.

On motion of Mr. WISE, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. John Jamney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. John J. Kindred,
William B. Aston,	James Lawson,
John B. Baldwin,	John F. Lewis,
Alfred M. Barbour,	William McComas,
James Barbour,	James C. McGrew,

Messrs. George Baylor,
George W. Berlin,
George Blow, Jr.
Caleb Boggess,
Wood Bouldin,
Thomas Branch,
George W. Brent,
William G. Brown,
James C. Bruce,
John S. Burdett,
James Burley,
Frederick M. Cabell,
Allen T. Caperton,
John A. Carter,
Manilius Chapman,
Sherrard Clemens,
Samuel A. Coffinan,
C. B. Conrad,
Robert Y. Conrad,
James H. Couch,
John Critcher,
W. H. B. Custis,
Harvey Deskins,
James B. Dorman,
William H. Dulany,
Jubal A. Early,
John Echols,
William W. Forbes,
Napoleon B. French,
Colbert C. Fugate,
Samuel M. Garland,
H. L. Gillespie,
Robert E. Grant,
Peyton Gravely,
Algernon S. Gray,
William L. Goggin,
Cyrus Hall,
Ephraim B. Hall,
L. S. Hall,
Allen C. Hammond,
Alpheus F. Haymond,
James W. Hoge,
J. G. Holladay,
John N. Hughes,
George W. Hull,
John J. Jackson,
Marmaduke Johnson,

Messrs. Paul McNeil,
Wm. H. Macfarland,
James B. Mallory,
James Marshall,
John Q. Marr,
John L. Marye, Sr.
Thomas Maslin,
Henry H. Masters,
Fleming B. Miller,
Horatio G. Moffett,
Samuel McD. Moore,
Hugh M. Nelson,
Johnson Orrick,
Logan Osburn,
William C. Parks,
Spicer Patrick,
Edmund Pendleton,
George McC. Porter,
Wm. Ballard Preston,
Samuel Price,
David Pugh,
Timothy Rives,
Peter Saunders, Sr.
Robert E. Scott,
William C. Scott,
John D. Sharp,
James W. Sheffey,
Thomas Sitlington,
Charles R. Slaughter,
Valentine W. Southall,
John M. Speed,
Burwell Spurlock,
Samuel G. Staples,
Alex. H. H. Stuart,
Chapman J. Stuart,
George W. Summers,
William T. Sutherlin,
Campbell Tarr,
George P. Tayloe,
John T. Thornton,
Franklin P. Turner,
John Tyler,
Edward Waller,
Robert H. Whitfield,
Williams C. Wickham,
Waitman T. Willey,
Benjamin Wilson,

Messrs. Peter C. Johnston, Messrs. Samuel Woods,
 Robert C. Kent, Benj. F. Wysor—108.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. Angus R. Blakey,	Messrs. Walter D. Leake,
Peter B. Borst,	Jeremiah Morton,
William P. Cecil,	George W. Randolph,
Raphael M. Conn,	George W. Richardson,
Miers W. Fisher,	John T. Seawell,
Samuel L. Graham,	James M. Strange,
Eppa Hunton,	Robert H. Turner,
Lewis D. Isbell,	Henry A. Wise—16.

Mr. CLEMENS presented a statement from the Census Bureau, at the City of Washington, showing the population of the State of Virginia, according to the Eighth Census, taken June 1, 1860; which, on his motion was laid upon the table and ordered to be printed. [Doc. XIV.]

On motion of Mr. MACFARLAND, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That a Committee of three be appointed to audit claims against the Convention for services before its organization and to report thereon.

Mr. WICKHAM, from the Committee to whom was referred the contract with the proprietors of the Richmond *Enquirer* for the publication of the debates of the Convention, presented a report, which, on his motion, was laid upon the table.

Mr. BALDWIN presented a substitute for the report of the Committee on Federal Relations, which, on his motion, was laid upon the table, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. WICKHAM also presented a substitute for the report of the same Committee, which, on his motion, was laid upon the table, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. GRANT submitted the following resolution, which, on motion of Mr. STAPLES, was laid upon the table:

Resolved, That hereafter this Convention will meet at the hour of 11 o'clock, instead of the usual hour.

On motion of Mr. SUMMERS, the report from the Commissioners appointed to represent this Commonwealth, in the Conference, which convened in the City of Washington, on the 4th day of February, 1861, was taken up; and pending the consideration of same,

On motion of Mr. STAPLES, the Convention adjourned.

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TUESDAY, March 12, 1861.

The Convention assembled at 12 o'clock, M.

Prayer by the Rev. Mr. PETERKIN, of the Episcopal Church.

Mr. GOGGIN presented the following reports of the proceedings of public meetings, of citizens of the county of Bedford; which, on his motion, were referred to the Committee on Federal Relations; and, at his request entered upon the Journal:

At a meeting of a portion of the citizens of Bedford County, held at the Court House, on the 6th day of March, 1861:

On motion of William V. Jordan, Esq., Major Cornelius Pate was called to the Chair, and Joseph B. Layne, Esq., appointed Secretary.

The object of the meeting having been explained by John R. Thurman, Esq., on motion, it was

Resolved, That a Committee of seven be appointed to draft resolutions for the consideration of the meeting.

Whereupon, the following gentlemen were appointed a Committee:—John R. Thurman, James M. Carter, Wilson Wheeler, Dr. Robert A. Clement, Dr. Thomas M. Page, Joseph B. Layne and William V. Jordan, who, after a short retirement, reported the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

Whereas, Every effort to secure the just rights of the South has failed, and a Black Republican President has been inaugurated upon principles hostile to the equality of the States, who declares his purpose of coercing such States as refuse submission to his rule: Therefore,

Be it Resolved, That we will resist any, and every attempt at coercion, and respectfully request our Delegates in the Convention to use every means in their power to dissolve the connection of Virginia with the Federal Government.

On motion, it was

Resolved, That these proceedings be published in the County papers, and a copy thereof sent to our Delegates in the State Convention.

On motion, the meeting adjourned.

CORNELIUS PATE, *Chairman*.

JOSEPH B. LAYNE, *Secretary*.

At a meeting of a portion of the citizens of the County of Bedford, State of Virginia, held at Emaus, in said County, on Friday, the 8th inst., Capt. S. P. A. Moorman was called to the Chair, and A. M. Whitten appointed Secretary.

The object of the meeting was explained by the Chair, in a few appropriate and patriotic remarks, which were also sustained by Messrs. T. H. Nauer, A. W. Robertson, A. M. Whitten, Wesley Peters, and others.

The Committee appointed to draft resolutions, reported the following, with the accompanying preamble, which were adopted without a dissenting voice.

Whereas, Every effort to secure the just rights of the South have failed, and a Black Republican has been inaugurated upon principles hostile to the South; who declares his purpose of coercing such States as refuse submission to his rule; therefore,

Be it Resolved, That we will promptly resist every, and by all of the means in our power, any attempt at coercion; that our rights as freemen and citizens of Virginia, are now imperilled by delay; therefore, we earnestly request our Delegates in the Convention, to use every means in their power, to dissolve the present odious connection of Virginia with the Federal Government.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be published in the County papers, and a copy thereof be sent to our Delegates, in the State Convention.

On motion, the meeting adjourned.

S. P. A. MOORMAN, *Chairman*.

A. M. WHITTEN, *Secretary*.

Mr. SHEFFEY presented the following report of the proceed-

ings of a public meeting of citizens of the county of Smyth; which, on his motion, was referred to the Committee on Federal Relations, and at his request entered on the Journal:

At a large and respectable meeting of a portion of the citizens of Smyth county, held at Marion, pursuant to notice, on Saturday, March 9th, 1861, on motion, Adam Rosenbam was called to the chair, and George W. Henderlite and D. D. Hull appointed Secretaries.

On motion, the Chair appointed William Farmer, W. F. Hurst, W. D. Strother, E. L. Watson and E. A. Scott, a committee to draft resolutions expressive of the sense of this meeting. On motion, James H. Gilmore was added to the committee.

On motion, the meeting took a recess until 2 o'clock P. M., to allow the said committee time to report.

At 2 o'clock P. M., the meeting was again called to order, when the committee submitted the following preamble and resolutions:

Whereas, Abraham Lincoln has clearly indicated in his inaugural address that he intends to make the attempt to coerce the Southern States that have seceded, by holding, occupying and possessing the property and places claimed by the Government in those States; and whereas, the citizens of Virginia stand ready at all times to resist such attempt at all hazard, and to cast in their fortunes, in such an event, with their sister States of the South, and believing that the time has now come when they must either take their stand with the States of the Northern portion of the Confederacy, or with the Confederate States of the South—Therefore, be it

1. *Resolved*, That the honor, the duty, and the interests of Virginia, imperatively demand that she should immediately resume all her rightful sovereignty, and stand prepared for war.

2. *Resolved*, That the time for adjustment in the Union has passed; that we regard it the imperative duty of the Virginia Convention now to pass an ordinance of secession, without further consultation or coöperation with other States, and that a general Convention of the Border slave States, will be only productive of a delay that may be fatal to the best interests of our people.

3. *Resolved*, That any guarantee which will fail to bring back the seceded States, ought not to be accepted by Virginia.

4. *Resolved*, That our highest respect is due to South Carolina, and the rest of the seceded States. We honor them for their wisdom, their decisive boldness, and their humane forbearance.

5. *Resolved*, That we regard any attempt to interfere with the present system of taxation upon slave property at this crisis, as ill-timed and ill-advised.

6. *Resolved*, That to Virginia, if she properly regards her honor and her plighted faith, we owe our lasting fealty, and to her and the rest of the gallant South, we pledge "our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor."

7. *Resolved*, That we do not regard these resolutions as necessarily instructions to our delegate in Convention, for we feel confident from his course so far, that his action will correspond thereto.

8. *Resolved*, That a copy of the foregoing preamble and resolutions be forwarded immediately to our delegate in Convention, with the request that he will lay them before that body.

After several spirited and patriotic addresses, the said preamble and resolutions were, on motion, unanimously adopted.

On motion,

Resolved, That these proceedings be forwarded to the "Marion Visitor" and Richmond papers for publication.

On motion, the meeting adjourned *sine die*.

ADAM ROSENBAM, *Chairman*.

G. W. HENDERLITE, }
D. D. HULL, } *Secretaries*.

The PRESIDENT announced the following committee in accordance with the resolution adopted yesterday, concerning

"claims against the Convention for services before its organization?" Messrs. Macfarland, Cox, of Chesterfield, and Leake.

Mr. TARR submitted the following preamble and resolutions, which were ordered to be referred to the Committee on Federal Relations:

Whereas, a number of the Southern States of this Union having seceded therefrom, and an attempt to retake the forts and other property of the United States, now in possession of said States, by the Federal Government, in the present critical condition of the country would, it is believed, seriously endanger the peaceful relations now existing between the remaining Southern States and the General Government itself, and will tend to, if it does not produce civil war; therefore,

Resolved, That this Convention, to avoid a conflict, and restore harmony between the Federal Government and the seceding States, would earnestly recommend, both to the said Government and the said States, that the relations now subsisting between them should be maintained, with the hope that an amicable adjustment can be effected, and that the Federal Government, with a view to the attainment of that object, although the right unquestionably exists, should not attempt forcibly to retake the forts, arsenals, and other public property of the United States, now in possession of the said States, until an effort shall have been made for adjustment by the State of Virginia in Convention assembled.

Resolved, That whilst we deprecate any action on the part of the Federal Government that may lead to a collision between itself and the seceding States, yet the withdrawal of the said States from the Union having been made in violation of the Constitution of the United States, and without the consent of Virginia, involving as it does, the peace and security of the entire Union, does not warrant, and ought not to receive the sanction of Virginia.

On motion of Mr. FLOURNOY, ordered that leave be granted to record his name in the affirmative on the question of agreeing to the resolution of thanks to Hon. John J. Crittenden, adopted yesterday.

The PRESIDENT presented the following communication from Mr. CARLILE, which was read and ordered to be laid upon the table:

MARCH 12, 1861.

Sir,—I am anxious that the cause of my absence from the Convention on yesterday, when the resolution of thanks to Mr. Crittenden was voted upon, shall be made known to my constituents, who, with me, love to honor the man who has so signalized himself by a life devoted to the best interests of his *whole country*, as to have earned for himself the proud title of "the Patriot Statesman." His efforts to place before the people the measures of adjustment recommended by the Peace Conference, have met the hearty approval of the great body of the people in my portion of the State, and the people of Harrison would expect my vote to be recorded in favor of the resolution referred to. It would have been so recorded—for from my heart I thank him—had I not been prevented from attending the Convention by a return of inflammatory rheumatism with which I was attacked shortly after my arrival in this city.

Very respectfully,

JOHN S. CARLILE.

Hon. JOHN JANNEY, *President of Convention*.

The report from the Commissioners appointed to represent this Commonwealth in the Conference which convened in the City of Washington, on the 4th day of February 1861, being the unfinished business, was taken up, and pending the further consideration thereof,

On motion of Mr. TYLER, the Convention adjourned.

23

WEDNESDAY, March 13, 1861.

The Convention assembled at 12 o'clock, M.

Prayer by the Rev. Mr. BAKER of the Episcopal Church.

Mr. WOODS presented the proceedings of a meeting held in the county of Barbour, which were read, and on his motion, referred to the Committee on Federal Relations.

Mr. MORRIS presented the proceedings of a meeting held in the county of Caroline, which were read, and on his motion, referred to the Committee on Federal Relations.

The report from the Commissioners appointed to represent this Commonwealth in the Conference which convened in the City of Washington, on the 4th day of February 1861, being the unfinished business, was taken up, and pending the further consideration thereof,

On motion of Mr. SHEFFEY, the Convention adjourned.

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THURSDAY, March 14, 1861.

The Convention assembled at 12 o'clock, M.

Prayer by the Rev. Mr. BAKER, of the Episcopal Church.

Mr. NEBLETT presented a report of the proceedings of a meeting held in the county of Lunenburg, which, on his motion, was referred to the Committee on Federal Relations.

Mr. KENT presented a report of the proceedings of a meeting held in the county of Wythe, which, on his motion, was referred to the Committee on Federal Relations.

The report from the Commissioners appointed to represent this Commonwealth in the Conference which convened in the City of Washington, on the 4th day of February 1861, being the unfinished business, was taken up, and after further consideration,

On motion of Mr. CONRAD, of Frederick, was referred to the Committee on Federal Relations.

Mr. CONRAD, of Frederick, submitted the following resolution:

Resolved, That the report of the Committee on Federal Relations, with the minority reports from said Committee, be made the order of the day, in Committee of the Whole, to-morrow, at half past 12 o'clock, and continue so from day to day, until otherwise ordered.

Mr. SHEFFEX moved to amend the resolution by striking out "to-morrow," and inserting "Monday next," and the question being put, was decided in the negative.

The resolution was then adopted.

Mr. RICHARDSON moved to take up a resolution offered by him on the 28th day of February last, seeking information regarding the militia, &c.; and the question being put, it appeared that no quorum was present.

On motion of Mr. BURDETT, the Convention adjourned.

25
FRIDAY, March 15, 1861.

The Convention assembled at 12 o'clock, M.

Prayer by the Rev. Mr. NOLLEY, of the Methodist Church.

Mr. FISHER presented a report of the proceedings of a meeting, held in the county of Northampton, which was read, and on his motion, referred to the Committee on Federal Relations.

Mr. GOODE, of Mecklenburg, presented a report of the proceedings of a meeting held in the county of Mecklenburg, which was read, and on his motion referred to the Committee on Federal Relations.

Mr. WYSON read for the information of the Convention, a report of the proceedings of a meeting held in the county of Pulaski.

Mr. FORBES presented the report of the proceedings of a meeting held in the county of Buckingham, which was read, and on his motion referred to the Committee on Federal Relations.

Mr. RICHARDSON moved to take up a resolution offered by him on the 28th day of February last, seeking information regarding the militia, &c., and the question being put, was decided in the negative.

In accordance with a resolution adopted yesterday, the Convention resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, and the PRESIDENT called Mr. SOUTHALL to the Chair. After some time passed in Committee of the Whole, the PRESIDENT resumed the Chair, and Mr. SOUTHALL reported that the Committee had risen without coming to any conclusion upon the matter referred to them.

On motion of Mr. HALL, of Lancaster and Northumberland, the Convention adjourned.

26

MONDAY, March 18, 1861.

The Convention assembled at 10½ o'clock, A. M.

Prayer by the Rev. Mr. BROWN, of the Presbyterian Church.

The resolutions submitted by Mr. WILLEY, on Saturday last, being the unfinished business, were taken up.

On motion of Mr. CLEMENS, a call of the House was ordered, to ascertain if a quorum was present.

The roll was accordingly called, and the following members responded:

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. George W. Hull,
William M. Ambler,	Eppa Hunton,
Edward M. Armstrong,	Lewis D. Isbell,
William B. Aston,	John J. Jackson,
Alfred M. Barbour,	Marmaduke Johnson,
George Baylor,	Robert C. Kent,
George W. Berlin,	John R. Kilby,
Caleb Boggess,	Walter D. Leake,
Peter B. Borst,	James C. McGrew,
Wood Bouldin,	Paul McNeil,
William G. Brown,	James B. Mallory,
John S. Burdett,	Thomas Maslin,
James Burley,	Henry H. Masters,
Benj. W. Byrne,	Horatio G. Moffett,
John A. Campbell,	Edmund T. Morris,
Allen T. Caperton,	William J. Neblett,
John A. Carter,	Johnson Orrick,
John R. Chambliss,	Logan Osburn,
Sherrard Clemens,	William C. Parks,
Raphael M. Conn,	Spicer Patrick,
James H. Couch,	George McC. Porter,
Harvey Deskins,	David Pugh,
Jubal A. Early,	George W. Richardson,
Miers W. Fisher,	Peter Saunders, Sr.
Thomas S. Flourney,	William C. Scott,
Napoleon B. French,	John T. Seawell,
Colbert C. Fugate,	John D. Sharp,
Samuel M. Garland,	Charles R. Slaughter,
H. L. Gillespie,	John M. Speed,
Robert E. Grant,	Burwell Spurlock,
Peyton Gravely,	Chapman J. Stuart,
Fendall Gregory, Jr.	James M. Strange,

Messrs. William L. Goggin,
 Thomas F. Goode,
 Addison Hall,
 Cyrus Hall,
 Ephraim B. Hall,
 Allen C. Hammond,
 Alpheus F. Haymond,
 James P. Holcombe,
 J. G. Holladay,
 Chester D. Hubbard,
 John N. Hughes,

Messrs. William T. Suthrelin,
 Campbell Tarr,
 George P. Tayloe,
 Robert H. Turner,
 Franklin P. Turner,
 Robert H. Whitfield,
 Williams C. Wickham,
 Benjamin Wilson,
 Samuel Woods,
 Benj. F. Wysor—85.

A quorum being present,

On motion of Mr. CLEMENS, all further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

The motion of Mr. SLAUGHTER, to lay the resolutions submitted by Mr. WILLEY upon the table, was withdrawn.

Pending the further consideration of said resolutions, the Convention, in pursuance of the order of the day, resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, Mr. SOUTHALL in the chair. After some time passed in Committee of the Whole, the President resumed the chair, and Mr. SOUTHALL reported that the Committee had made some progress upon the matter referred to them, but had come to no conclusion thereupon.

The PRESIDENT presented a communication from a committee on behalf of a "Conference Convention" of citizens of the State of Maryland, which was read, and on motion of Mr. FISHER, was ordered to be printed and referred to the Committee on Federal Relations.

Mr. DORMAN submitted the following resolution, which was ordered to be referred to the Committee on Federal Relations:

Resolved, That the Committee on Federal Relations inquire into the expediency of amendments to the Constitution of the United States, being submitted by this State, to the other States of the Union, providing and declaring, (first,) that Electors of President and Vice-President, shall be chosen on the District system; and, (second,) that persons of African blood, in whole or in part, are not and shall not be citizens of the United States, or citizens within the meaning of the 2d section of the 4th article of the Federal Constitution; and, further, whether such amendments should form part of any *ultimatum* laid down by Virginia or the Border States of the South, or should be submitted separately and distinct from such *ultimatum*.

On motion of Mr. HAYMOND, the Convention adjourned.

27

TUESDAY, March 19, 1861.

The Convention assembled at 10½ o'clock, A. M.

Prayer by the Rev. Mr. WOODBRIDGE, of the Episcopal Church.

Mr. HALL, of Wetzel, submitted the following resolution, which, on motion of Mr. CONRAD, of Frederick, was laid upon the table:

Resolved, That the Committee on Federal Relations are hereby requested to report the Constitution of the Confederate States of the South, as Virginia's ultimatum, and that they recommend the same to the Northern States of this Confederacy, for their adoption or rejection, and in order to give them time to act on the same, this Convention will adjourn to meet again on the first Monday in October, 1861.

Mr. CONRAD, of Frederick, presented a report from the Committee on Federal Relations, proposing amendments to the Constitution of the United States, which, on his motion, was ordered to be printed, and referred to the Committee of the Whole.

Mr. HULL submitted the following resolution, which, on motion of Mr. EARLY, was laid upon the table:

Resolved, That in future, until otherwise ordered, this Convention shall meet as at present, at 10½ o'clock, A. M., remain in session until 2½ P. M.; then take a recess, and again assemble at a quarter to 8 P. M.

Mr. BRANCH presented the following communication and report of a meeting held in the City of Petersburg, which, on his motion, were referred to the Committee on Federal Relations, and ordered to be entered in the Journal:

PETERSBURG, March 15, 1861.

THOMAS BRANCH, Esq.—*Dear Sir*:—As Chairman of a meeting of citizens of Petersburg, held on Monday night last, I beg leave to communicate to you a copy of the proceedings of the meeting, which you will find in the enclosed slip from the *Daily Express*, and to inform you that at the polls held on Wednesday, yesterday, and to-day, in pursuance of the resolution of the meeting, the vote resulted as follows:

Whole number of votes cast.....	1,641
For the resolutions of Charles F. Collier, Esq.....	879
For the substitute of Col. George W. Bolling.....	762

Majority117

In further compliance with the terms of the fourth resolution of Mr. Collier, I beg leave to request that you will communicate to the Convention the proceedings of the meeting, and the result of the popular vote.

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

WILLIAM T. JOYNES.

P S.—I enclose also a copy of the notice published each day of the voting.

W. T. J.

MEETING OF THE CITIZENS OF PETERSBURG.

In pursuance of the annexed call, published in the daily papers of Monday, the 11th inst., a large concourse of the citizens of Petersburg, met at Phoenix Hall, on the evening of that day, at 8 o'clock, P. M.

To THE VOTERS OF PETERSBURG.—All true lovers of Constitutional Liberty, and of the Union, as our fathers formed it, are requested to meet at Phoenix Hall, on Monday night, at 8 o'clock, in order to instruct our Delegate in the State Convention, now assembled, to go for *immediate secession*. Let there be a grand rally of the people.

MANY CITIZENS.

The meeting was organized by the election of William T. Joynes as Chairman, and A. F. Crutchfield and John Lyon, Secretaries.

Mr. C. F. Collier offered the following resolutions:

1. *Resolved*, As the opinion of this meeting, which is one of the largest ever assembled in this city, That the point of substantial dispute, from which all minor disputes radiate as from a common centre, between the slaveholding and the non-slaveholding States, is *whether negroes are property*; and that the observance, in all legislation by the General Government and by the States, of the constitutional fact, in our complex system, as we understand it, that negro slaves are property, is the orbit in which the Federal Union, now in the darkness of disaffection and disloyalty, must henceforth move, in order to make that Union again illustrious with the beams of the old time brotherhood; and that that orbit alone, and no other, is competent to make the wasting powers of that Union and the drooping prospects of the whole country revive and rejoice.

2. *Resolved*, That in the opinion of this meeting, the Convention now deliberating in Richmond, ought to propose to be ratified by the people, an ordinance to the following effect: That, whereas, the non-slaveholding States have refused to accord much less in the way of compromise than the slaveholding States are entitled to, as is evidenced by the refusal of Congress to accept the proposals of the Peace Conference; now, therefore, we, the people of Virginia, will resist the authority of the Union over us; and do ordain that the powers thereto formerly delegated be resumed; and do declare this State absolved from any allegiance to that Union; and, furthermore, that we, the people of Virginia, never will re-unite in any Confederacy with those States, or any of them, except on the basis that negroes held to service are property, as well as persons, and that the element of property in them must be treated as other property in the territories, and especially in the matter of the delivery of fugitives from labor, when escaped into any of those States or into any territory.

3. *Resolved*, That such ordinance might appropriately prescribe some period, with short interval, but ample, within which this our demand must be acceded to, in the way of amendment to the Constitution of the United States, by the non-slaveholding States; so that the attention of THE PEOPLE of those States shall be drawn to the point on which alone future fraternity is possible; but be it understood that this leaving of the door open for overtures from the people of those States, is only intended as a condition of re-union subsequent to secession or revolution, and not as a condition precedent.

4. *Resolved*, That whilst we do not deem it indispensable, as the action of the Convention must come back to us, that we shall send up instructions, in mandatory form, to our delegate, Mr. Branch, yet we hereby request him to present our proceedings to that body; and, therefore, it is ordered that a copy be certified to him for that purpose, and that he be requested to take heed thereto.

Mr. Geo. W. Bolling offered the following as a substitute for Mr. Collier's resolutions:

Resolved, That having full confidence in the intelligence, patriotism and firmness of our delegate in the Convention, for the protection of Southern rights and honor, it is inexpedient to instruct him on any question now pending before the Convention.

Mr. Collier's resolutions were advocated by himself, Mr. R. R. Collier and Hon. R. A. Pryor

Mr. Bolling's substitute was advocated by himself and Mr. John Lyon.

During Mr. Lyon's speech he gave way to Mr. Pryor, who moved that the resolutions and substitute be laid on the table and that the meeting adjourn

Mr. C. F. Collier and R. R. Collier, each, with the consent of the meeting, made a few remarks by way of explanation.

Mr. Pryor subsequently withdrew his motion.

Mr. R. R. Collier then offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the resolutions offered to this meeting by Chas. F. Collier, Esq. and the substitute therefor offered by Col. Geo. W. Bolling, be published in the newspapers of this city to-morrow, (Tuesday,) and the next day, (Wednesday,) and the next day, (Thursday;) and that a poll be opened at the Court-house, on each of those days, at which the legally qualified voters of the city may vote *aye* or *no* on the said resolutions of Mr. Collier, and *aye* or *no* on the substitute of Col. Bolling.

Which was adopted.

On motion, the meeting adjourned.

WM. T. JOYNES, *Chairman*.

A. F. CRUTCHFIELD, }
JOHN LYON, } *Secretaries*.

On motion of Mr. CONRAD, of Frederick, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That from and after to-day, until further order, this Convention will resolve itself into Committee of the Whole, upon the reports from the Committee on Federal Relations, at the hour of 11 o'clock, A. M.

In pursuance of the order of the day, the Convention resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, Mr. SOUTHALL in the chair. After some time passed in Committee of the Whole, the PRESIDENT resumed the chair, and Mr. SOUTHALL reported that the Committee had made some progress with the matter referred to them, but had come to no conclusion thereupon.

The resolutions submitted by Mr. WILLEY, on Saturday last, being the unfinished business, were taken up, and pending the further consideration thereof,

On motion of Mr. TURNER, of Jackson, the Convention adjourned.

28
WEDNESDAY, March 20, 1861.

The Convention assembled at 10½ o'clock, A. M.

Prayer by Rev. Mr. WOODBRIDGE, of the Episcopal Church.

On motion of Mr. BROWN, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That the ayes and noes may be taken in Committee of the Whole, in the same manner as in the Convention.

Mr. SPEED submitted the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Committee on Federal Relations be instructed to inquire into the expediency of reporting to the Convention two ordinances, to be submitted to a vote of the people for their approval or rejection, on the 4th Thursday in May next—one providing for a resumption by the State of the powers heretofore delegated to the General Government; and the other, as an alternative proposition, the series of amendments to the Constitution of the United States, which may be agreed on by the Convention to be submitted to the Northern States as an *ultimatum*, on the acceptance of which this State will continue in the Federal Union, with the *proviso*, that if not accepted by the day of , the Convention shall have authority to pass an ordinance of secession without referring it back to the people for their ratification.

Mr. EARLY moved to lay the resolution upon the table, and the question being put was decided in the negative—yeas 46, nays 61.

On motion of Mr. GOODE, of Mecklenburg, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. James W. Hoge,
William B. Aston,	Chester D. Hubbard,
George Baylor,	John N. Hughes,
George W. Berlin,	George W. Hull,
Caleb Boggess,	John J. Jackson,
George W. Brent,	Peter C. Johnston,
William G. Brown,	John F. Lewis,
James Burley,	James C. McGrew,
John A. Campbell,	Paul McNeil,
John S. Carlile,	Henry H. Masters,
John A. Carter,	Horatio G. Moffett,
C. B. Conrad,	Johnson Orrick,
James H. Couch,	Logan Osburn,
W. H. B. Custis,	Spicer Patrick,
Harvey Deskins,	George McC. Porter,
James B. Dorman,	David Pugh,

Messrs. Jubal A. Early,
Colbert C. Fugate,
H. L. Gillespie,
Peyton Gravely,
Addison Hall,
Ephraim B. Hall,
Allen C. Hammond,

Messrs. John D. Sharp,
Thomas Sitlington,
Samuel G. Staples,
Alex. H. H. Stuart,
Chapman J. Stuart,
William White,
W. T. Willey—46.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. William M. Ambler,
Edward M. Armstrong,
Angus R. Blakey,
George Blow, Jr.
Wood Bouldin,
William W. Boyd,
Thomas Branch,
James C. Bruce,
Allen T. Caperton,
John R. Chambliss,
Raphael M. Conn,
Robert Y. Conrad,
James H. Cox,
Richard H. Cox,
Miers W. Fisher,
Thomas S. Flournoy,
Samuel M. Garland,
Samuel L. Graham,
Robert E. Grant,
Fendall Gregory, Jr.
Cyrus Hall,
Alpheus F. Haymond,
James P. Holcombe,
Eppa Hunton,
Lewis D. Isbell,
Marmaduke Johnson,
Robert C. Kent,
John R. Kilby,
Walter D. Leake,
William McComas,

Messrs. James B. Mallory,
James Marshall,
John L. Marye, Sr.
Fleming B. Miller,
Robert L. Montague,
Edmund T. Morris,
Jeremiah Morton,
William J. Neblett,
Hugh M. Nelson,
William C. Parks,
Wm. Ballard Preston,
Samuel Price,
George W. Randolph,
George W. Richardson,
Robert E. Scott,
William C. Scott,
John T. Seawell,
James W. Sheffey,
Charles R. Slaughter,
Valentine W. Southall,
John M. Speed,
Burwell Spurlock,
James M. Strange,
William T. Sutherlin,
William M. Tredway,
Robert H. Turner,
Franklin P. Turner,
Robert H. Whitfield,
Benjamin Wilson,
Benj. F. Wysor—60.

The resolution was then adopted.

Mr. WILSON moved to postpone the execution of the order of the day, with the view of taking up the resolutions submitted by Mr. WILLEY, on Saturday last, and the question being put, was decided in the negative.

In pursuance of the order of the day, the Convention resolved

itself into a Committee of the Whole, Mr. SOUTHALL in the chair. After some time passed in Committee of the Whole, the PRESIDENT resumed the chair, and Mr. SOUTHALL reported that the Committee had made some progress upon the matter referred to them, but had come to no conclusion thereupon.

Mr. WICKHAM presented the proceedings of a meeting held in the county of Henrico, which, on his motion, was referred to the Committee on Federal Relations.

Mr. OSBURN presented the following report of the proceedings of a meeting held in the county of Jefferson, which, on motion was referred to the Committee on Federal Relations, and ordered to be entered in the Journal:

At a meeting of the citizens of Harper's Ferry and Bolivar, held at Camp-Hill School House, on Friday the 15th day of March, 1861, on motion, E. H. Chambers was called to the chair, and A. McCliesh appointed secretary.

On motion, it was

Resolved, That there is no change of public sentiment upon the subject of secession, so far as the people of Harper's Ferry and Bolivar are concerned, and that we fully endorse the resolutions adopted by the Convention held at Charlestown, on the 21st day of January, 1861, which nominated the Union candidates, Messrs. Osburn and Barbour.

On motion, it was

Resolved, That the position of our Senators in Congress and in the State Senate, does not reflect the true sentiments of their constituency; and that we regard their conduct as being in open rebellion to our interests as a people, and at war with the Constitution of our beloved country.

On motion, it was ordered that a copy of the proceedings of this meeting be sent to Messrs. Osburn and Barbour, delegates to the Virginia Convention.

The meeting then adjourned.

E. H. CHAMBERS, *Chairman*.

A. MCCLIESH, *Secretary*.

The resolutions submitted by Mr. WILLEY, on Saturday last, being the unfinished business, were taken up, and after the further consideration thereof,

Mr. GOODE, of Mecklenburg, moved to lay the resolutions upon the table, pending which,

On motion of Mr. BURDETT, the Convention adjourned.



29

THURSDAY, March 21, 1861.

The Convention assembled at 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ o'clock, A. M.

Prayer by the Rev. Dr. SEELY, of the Baptist Church.

Mr. WILSON submitted the following resolution, which, on his motion, was laid upon the table and ordered to be printed:

Resolved, That the Committee on Federal Relations be instructed to inquire into the expediency of providing for the Border State Conference, as recommended by the report of the majority of that Committee, and a Conference with the authorities of the Confederate States as recommended by one of the minority reports; and a Commission to each of the non-slaveholding States, to invite the authorities thereof, to initiate such proceedings as will be acceptable to the slaveholding States now in the Union, and of the Confederate States.

Mr. BOYD presented a substitute for the first section of the report of the Committee on Federal Relations, proposing amendments to the Constitution of the United States, which, on his motion, was ordered to be printed, and referred to the Committee of the Whole.

Mr. MARYE presented a report of the proceedings of a meeting held in the county of Spotsylvania, which was read, and referred to the Committee on Federal Relations.

The resolutions submitted by Mr. WILLEY, on Saturday, being the unfinished business, were taken up, and the motion of Mr. GOODE, of Mecklenburg, to lay them upon the table withdrawn.

In pursuance of the order of the day, the Convention then resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, Mr. SOUTHALL in the chair. After some time passed in Committee of the Whole, the PRESIDENT resumed the chair, and Mr. SOUTHALL reported that the Committee had made some progress with the matter referred to them, but had come to no conclusion thereupon.

On motion of Mr. HALL, of Marion, the Convention adjourned.

30

FRIDAY, March 22, 1861.

The Convention assembled at 10½ o'clock, A. M.

Prayer by Rev. Dr. JETER, of the Baptist Church.

Mr. MACFARLAND, from the Committee appointed under a resolution adopted on the 11th inst., presented the following report, which was read and adopted:

The Committee appointed to audit claims against the Convention for services before its organization, have according to order, had under consideration such claims as were brought to their notice, and beg leave to report the following resolutions for adoption by the Convention:

Resolved, That Robert B. Craddock be allowed the sum of sixteen dollars, for four days service as Door Keeper to the Convention.

Resolved, That Valentine Brown be allowed the sum of eight dollars for two days service as Door Keeper to the Convention.

Resolved, That Ritchie and Dunnivant be allowed the sum of sixteen dollars and fifty cents for printing five hundred rolls of members of the Convention.

The resolutions submitted on Saturday last, by Mr. WILLEY, being the unfinished business, were taken up, and pending the further consideration of the same, the hour arrived for the execution of the order of the day.

In pursuance of said order, the Convention then resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, Mr. SOUTHALL in the Chair. After some time passed in Committee of the Whole, the PRESIDENT resumed the Chair, and Mr. SOUTHALL reported that the Committee had made some progress with the matter referred to them, but had come to no conclusion thereupon.

On motion of Mr. HALL, of Lancaster, the Convention adjourned.



31

SATURDAY, March 23, 1861.

The Convention assembled at 10½ o'clock, A. M.

Prayer by the Rev. Mr. VAN DYKE, of the Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Mr. CONRAD submitted the following resolution:

Resolved, That on and after Monday next, and until further ordered, this Convention shall be called to order at 10 o'clock, A. M.; at half past 10 shall resolve itself into Committee of the Whole, upon the reports from the Committee on Federal Relations; at 2 o'clock said Committee of the Whole shall take a recess until 4 o'clock, when it shall resume its session.

Mr. PRICE demanded the previous question, which was sustained, and being put, was decided in the affirmative.

Mr. BOISSEAU presented a report of the proceedings of a meeting held in the county of Dinwiddie, which was read and ordered to be referred to the Committee on Federal Relations.

Mr. MORTON presented a report of the proceedings of a meeting held in the county of Greene, which was read and ordered to be referred to the Committee on Federal Relations.

Mr. MARYE presented a report of the proceedings of a meeting held in the county of Spotsylvania, which was read and ordered to be referred to the Committee on Federal Relations.

On motion of Mr. MONTAGUE, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That the Clerk of this Convention inquire into and report why the speeches of the Commissioners from South Carolina, Georgia and Mississippi have not been printed, as ordered by the Convention.

The resolutions submitted on Saturday last, being the unfinished business, were taken up, and pending the further consideration thereof, the hour arrived for the execution of the order of the day.

In pursuance of said order, the Convention then resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, Mr. SOUTHWALL in the chair. After some time passed in Committee of the Whole, the PRESIDENT resumed the chair, and Mr. SOUTHWALL reported that the Committee had made some progress with the matter referred to them, but had come to no conclusion thereupon.

Mr. BARBOUR, of Culpeper, presented a report of the proceedings of a meeting held in said county, which, on his motion, was read and laid upon the table.

Mr. DORMAN submitted the following resolutions, which, on motion of Mr. BROWN were laid upon the table:

Resolved, That this Convention recommends to the General Assembly the passage of a law imposing a license tax on the sale, by retail, within Virginia, of the products or manufactures of such Northern States as continue to retain offensive acts, of the character known as "Personal Liberty Bills," amongst their statutes; guarding, however, in such law against any infringement of the provisions of the Federal Constitution.

Resolved, That the President of the Convention cause copies of the foregoing resolution to be communicated forthwith to the two Houses of the General Assembly.

On motion of Mr. PRICE, the Convention adjourned.



32
MONDAY, March 25, 1861.

The Convention assembled at 10 o'clock, A. M.

Prayer by the Rev. Mr. SOLOMON, of the Disciples' Church.

The PRESIDENT presented the following report from the Secretary of the Convention, in response to a resolution adopted on Saturday last, calling for information in regard to the printing of the speeches of the Commissioners from South Carolina, Georgia and Mississippi, which was read and laid upon the table:

RICHMOND, March 25, 1861.

HON. JOHN JANNEY, *President of the Convention:*

Dear Sir,—In accordance with a resolution adopted by the Convention on Saturday last, directing "the Clerk to inquire into and report why the speeches of the Commissioners from South Carolina, Georgia and Mississippi, have not been printed as ordered by the Convention," I addressed a note to Wyatt M. Elliott, Esq., printer to the Convention, transmitting a copy of said resolution, and in response thereto, received from him the enclosed communication.

Respectfully,

JOHN L. EUBANK,
Secretary of Convention.

RICHMOND, VA., March 25, 1861.

Dear Sir,—I have your note enclosing resolution of inquiry, adopted by the Convention, in regard to delay in printing the speeches of the Southern Commissioners, ordered some time since.

In reply, I beg to say, that the small number of these speeches ordered to be printed, coupled with the fact that they had already been published in the newspapers, induced me to believe that the purpose of the Convention in printing was rather to preserve than to circulate, and hence the delay. Upon the first intimation that a different purpose influenced the Convention, and that they desired the prompt execution of the order, the work was put in hand, and will be delivered to-morrow and next day complete.

Respectfully,

W. M. ELLIOTT.

To JOHN L. EUBANK, Secretary of the Convention.

The resolutions submitted by Mr. WILLEY on Saturday the 16th inst., being the unfinished business, were taken up, and pending the further consideration thereof, the hour arrived for the execution of the order of the day.

In pursuance of said order, the Convention then resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, Mr. SOUTHWALL in the chair. After some time passed in Committee of the Whole, the PRESIDENT resumed the chair, and Mr. PRICE, who presided as chairman of the Committee of the Whole, at the afternoon session, reported that they had made some progress with the matter referred to them, but had come to no conclusion thereupon.

Mr. CARLILE moved that the Convention adjourn *sine die*.

Pending which, on motion of Mr. NELSON, the Convention adjourned.



APPENDIX TO THE JOURNAL,
COMMENCING WITH
A JOURNALIZED RECORD
OF THE
PROCEEDINGS
IN
COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE
UPON
FEDERAL RELATIONS.



PROCEEDINGS
IN
COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE.

FRIDAY, March 15, 1861. 25

The Committee of the Whole took up the report from the Committee on Federal Relations, and pending the consideration thereof,

On motion of Mr. RANDOLPH, the Committee rose.

THURSDAY, March 21, 1861. 29

Mr. CARLILE moved to amend the report of the Committee on Federal Relations, by striking out the whole report, and inserting in lieu thereof a proposition which is included among the documents hereto appended.

Pending the consideration thereof, on motion of Mr. CARLILE, the Committee rose.

MONDAY, March 25, 1861. 32

Mr. CLEMENS called for the division of the question, which was negatived.

The question upon the motion of Mr. CARLILE to amend the report of the Committee on Federal Relations, by striking out the whole report, and inserting in lieu thereof, the proposition submitted by him on the 21st inst., was put and decided in the negative—yeas 4, nays 116.

On motion of Mr. Scott, of Fauquier, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. James Burley,	Messrs. Chester D. Hubbard,
John S. Carlile,	George McC. Porter—4.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. Wm. M. Ambler,	Messrs. John J. Jackson,
Edward M. Armstrong,	Marmaduke Johnson,
William B. Aston,	Peter C. Johnston,
George Baylor,	John R. Kilby,
George W. Berlin,	John J. Kindred,
Angus R. Blakey,	James Lawson,
George Blow, Jr.	Walter D. Leake,
Caleb Boggess,	John F. Lewis,
James Boisseau,	William McComas,
Peter B. Borst,	James C. McGrew,
William W. Boyd,	Paul McNeil,
Thomas Branch,	Charles K. Mallory,
George W. Brent,	James B. Mallory,
William G. Brown,	James Marshall,
James C. Bruce,	John L. Marye, Sr.
John S. Burdett,	Thomas Maslin,
Benjamin W. Byrne,	Henry H. Masters,
Frederick M. Cabell,	Fleming B. Miller,
John A. Campbell,	Horatio G. Moffett,
Allen T. Caperton,	Edmund T. Morris,
John A. Carter,	Jeremiah Morton,
John R. Chambliss,	Samuel McD. Moore,
Manilius Chapman,	William J. Neblett,
Sherrard Clemens,	Hugh M. Nelson,
Samuel A. Coffman,	Johnson Orrick,
Raphael M. Conn,	Logan Osburn,
C. B. Conrad,	William C. Parks,
Robert Y. Conrad,	Edmund T. Pendleton,
James H. Cox,	Wm. Ballard Preston,
Richard H. Cox,	Samuel Price,
W. H. B. Custis,	David Pugh,
Harvey Deskins,	George W. Richardson,
William H. Dulany,	Robert E. Scott,
Jubal A. Early,	John T. Seawell,
John Echols,	John D. Sharp,
Miers W. Fisher,	James W. Sheffey,
William W. Forbes,	Thomas Sitlington,
Napoleon B. French,	John M. Speed,

Messrs. Samuel M. Garland,	Messrs. Burwell Spurlock,
H. L. Gillespie,	Samuel G. Staples,
Samuel L. Graham,	Alex. H. H. Stuart,
Peyton Gravely,	Chapman J. Stuart,
Algernon S. Gray,	James M. Strange,
William L. Goggin,	George W. Summers,
John Goode, Jr.,	William T. Sutherlin,
Thomas F. Goode,	George P. Tayloe,
Addison Hall,	John T. Thornton,
Cyrus Hall,	Franklin P. Turner,
Ephraim B. Hall,	John Tyler,
L. S. Hall,	Edward Waller,
Allen C. Hammond,	William White,
Lewis E. Harvie,	Robert H. Whitfield,
Alpheus F. Haymond,	Williams C. Wickham,
James W. Hoge,	Waitman T. Willey,
James P. Holcombe,	Samuel C. Williams,
J. G. Holladay,	Benjamin Wilson,
George W. Hull,	Henry A. Wise,
Lewis D. Isbell,	Samuel Woods—116.

On motion of Mr. NELSON, the Committee rose.

TUESDAY, March 26, 1861.

33

The consideration of the report of the Committee on Federal Relations was resumed.

While Mr. AMBLER was occupying the floor, having been recognized by the Chairman, Mr. PRICE, he was interrupted by the Chairman with an explanation of the question before the Committee, before concluding which,

Mr. NELSON claimed the floor under the practice of the Committee, he having submitted the motion for the Committee to rise at the close of the sitting of yesterday.

Mr. AMBLER propounded an interrogatory to the Chairman, and the Chairman having answered the same in part, decided that Mr. NELSON was entitled to the floor.

Mr. AMBLER appealed from this decision, and the question being put, "Shall the decision of the Chair stand as the judgment of the Committee?" was decided in the affirmative.

Mr. HALL, of Wetzel, moved to amend the report of the Committee by striking out all after the preamble, and inserting a proposition which is contained among the documents hereto appended.

Subsequently, Mr. HALL proposed to withdraw the proposition, but objection being made, the question was put on granting leave to Mr. HALL to withdraw the said proposition, and was decided in the negative.

Mr. FISHER moved that the Committee rise, and the question being put, was decided in the negative—yeas 37; nays 76.

On motion of Mr. FISHER, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. Wm. M. Ambler,
Angus R. Blakey,
James Boisseau,
Peter B. Borst,
William W. Boyd,
John R. Chambliss,
Samuel A. Coffman,
Raphael M. Conn,
Richard H. Cox,
Miers W. Fisher,
William L. Goggin,
John Goode, Jr.
L. S. Hall,
Lewis E. Harvie,
James P. Holcombe,
Eppa Hunton,
Lewis D. Isbell,
John R. Kilby,
John J. Kindred,

Messrs. James Lawson,
Walter D. Leake,
William H. Macfarland,
Charles K. Mallory,
John L. Marye, Sr.
Robert L. Montague,
Edmund T. Morris,
William J. Neblett,
George W. Randolph,
George W. Richardson,
John T. Scawell,
James M. Strange,
John T. Thornton,
Franklin P. Turner,
John Tyler,
Robert H. Whitfield,
Henry A. Wise,
Samuel Woods—37.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. E. M. Armstrong,
William B. Aston,
John B. Baldwin,
Alfred M. Barbour,
George W. Berlin,
George Blow, Jr.
Caleb Boggess,
George W. Brent,
William G. Brown,
John S. Burdett,
James Burley,
Benjamin W. Byrne,

Messrs. J. G. Holladay,
Chester D. Hubbard,
John N. Hughes,
George W. Hull,
John J. Jackson,
Marmaduke Johnson,
Peter C. Johnston,
John F. Lewis,
William McComas,
James C. McGrew,
Paul McNeil,
James B. Mallory,

Messrs. Frederick M. Cabell,	Messrs. James Marshall,
John A. Campbell,	Thomas Maslin,
Allen T. Caperton,	Henry H. Masters,
John A. Carter,	Horatio G. Moffet,
Manilius Chapman,	Hugh M. Nelson,
Sherrard Clemens,	Johnson Orrick,
C. B. Conrad,	Logan Osburn,
Robert Y. Conrad,	William C. Parks,
James H. Cox,	Edmund Pendleton,
Harvey Deskins,	George McD. Porter,
James B. Dorman,	Wm. Ballard Preston,
William H. Dulany,	Samuel Price,
Jubal A. Early,	David Pugh,
John Echols,	Robert E. Scott,
William W. Forbes,	John D. Sharp,
Napoleon B. French,	James W. Sheffey,
Colbert C. Fugate,	Thomas Sitlington,
Samuel M. Garland,	Charles R. Slaughter,
H. L. Gillespie,	Samuel G. Staples,
Peyton Gravely,	Chapman J. Stuart,
Algernon S. Gray,	William T. Sutherlin,
Addison Hall,	George P. Tayloe,
Ephraim B. Hall,	Edward Waller,
Allen C. Hammond,	William White,
Alpheus F. Haymond,	W. T. Willey—76.

Subsequently, Mr. WISE moved that the Committee rise, and the question being put, was decided in the negative—yeas 32; nays 63.

On motion of Mr. JACKSON, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. Wm. M. Ambler,	Messrs. Charles K. Mallory,
William W. Boyd,	James B. Mallory,
Manilius Chapman,	John L. Marye, Sr.
Samuel A. Coffman,	Edmund T. Morris,
Richard H. Cox,	Samuel McD. Moore,
Miers W. Fisher,	George W. Randolph,
Samuel M. Garland,	George W. Richardson,
William L. Goggin,	Robert E. Scott,
John Goode, Jr.	James W. Sheffey,
Thomas F. Goode,	John M. Speed,
L. S. Hall,	James M. Strange,
Lewis E. Harvie,	John T. Thornton,
John R. Kilby,	Franklin P. Turner,
James Lawson,	Robert H. Whitfield,
Walter D. Leake,	Henry A. Wise,
Wm. H. Macfarland,	Samuel Woods—32.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. E. M. Armstrong,
William B. Aston,
John B. Baldwin,
Alfred M. Barbour,
George W. Berlin,
Caleb Boggess,
William G. Brown,
John S. Burdett,
James Burley,
Benjamin W. Byrne,
Frederick M. Cabell,
John A. Campbell,
John A. Carter,
Sherrard Clemens,
C. B. Conrad,
Robert Y. Conrad,
James H. Cox,
W. H. B. Custis,
Harvey Deskins,
James B. Dorman,
Jubal A. Early,
John Echols,
Napoleon B. French,
Colbert C. Fugate,
H. L. Gillespie,
Peyton Gravely,
Addison Hall,
Ephraim B. Hall,
Allen C. Hammond,
Alpheus F. Haymond,
James W. Hoge,

Messrs. J. G. Holladay,
Chester D. Hubbard,
John N. Hughes,
George W. Hull,
John J. Jackson,
Marmaduke Johnson,
Peter C. Johnston,
John F. Lewis,
William McComas,
James C. McGrew,
Paul McNeil,
James Marshall,
Thomas Maslin,
Henry H. Masters,
Horatio G. Moffet,
Hugh M. Nelson,
Johnson Orrick,
Logan Osburn,
William C. Parks,
Edmund Pendleton,
George McC. Porter,
Wm. Ballard Preston,
Samuel Price,
David Pugh,
Timothy Rives,
John D. Sharp,
Charles R. Slaughter,
Chapman J. Stuart,
William T. Sutherland,
William White,
W. T. Willey—63.

After some time had elapsed, Mr. TURNER, of Jackson, moved that the Committee rise, and the question being put, was decided in the negative—yeas 32; nays 59.

On motion of Mr. TURNER, of Jackson, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. Wm. M. Ambler,
William W. Boyd,
Manilius Chapman,
Raphael M. Conn,
Richard H. Cox,
Miers W. Fisher,

Messrs. Wm. H. Macfarland,
Charles K. Mallory,
James B. Mallory,
John L. Marve, Sr.
Edmund T. Morris,
William J. Neblett,

29

TUESDAY, April 2, 1861.

The Convention assembled at 10 o'clock, A. M.

Prayer by the Rev. Mr. PETTIGREW, of the Disciples' Church.

The resolutions submitted by Mr. WILLEY, on the 16th ultimo, being the unfinished business, were taken up, and pending the further consideration thereof, the hour arrived for the execution of the order of the day.

In pursuance of said order the Convention resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, Mr. SOUTHALL in the chair, after some time passed in Committee of the Whole, the PRESIDENT resumed the chair, and Mr. SOUTHALL reported that the Committee had made some progress with the matter referred to them, but had come to no final conclusion thereupon.

Mr. EARLY presented a substitute for the report of the Committee on Federal Relations, which, on his motion, was ordered to be printed.

On motion of Mr. ECHOLS, the Convention adjourned.

44
FRIDAY, April 5, 1861.

The Convention assembled at 10 o'clock, A. M.

Prayer by the Rev. Mr. WALKER, of the Baptist Church.

The resolutions submitted by Mr. WILLEY, on the 16th ult., with the amendments proposed thereto, being the unfinished business, were taken up, and after the further consideration thereof,

Mr. SLAUGHTER moved that the resolutions and proposed amendments be laid upon the table.

The question being put, was decided in the negative—yeas 54; nays 73.

On motion of Mr. WILLEY, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. William M. Ambler,	Messrs. James B. Mallory,
Angus R. Blakey,	James Marshall,
George Blow, Jr.	John Q. Marr,
James Boisseau,	John L. Marye, Sr.
Peter B. Borst,	Horatio G. Moffet,
Wood Bouldin,	Robert L. Montague,
Thomas Branch,	Edmund T. Morris,
George W. Brent,	William J. Neblett,
James C. Bruce,	Hugh M. Nelson,
John A. Carter,	George W. Randolph,
John R. Chambliss,	Robert E. Scott,
Raphael M. Conn,	William C. Scott,
Miers W. Fisher,	John T. Seawell,
Thomas S. Flournoy,	Charles R. Slaughter,
Samuel M. Garland,	Valentine W. Southall,
Peyton Gravely,	John M. Speed,
John Goode, Jr.	James M. Strange,
Addison Hall,	William T. Sutherlin,
Allen C. Hammond,	John T. Thornton,
Lewis E. Harvie,	William M. Tredway,
James P. Holcombe,	Robert H. Turner,
Eppa Hunton,	John Tyler,
Lewis D. Isbell,	Edward Waller,
Robert C. Kent,	William White,
John R. Kilby,	Robert H. Whitfield,
Walter D. Leake,	Williams C. Wickham,
Charles K. Mallory,	Sam'l C. Williams—54.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. Chester D. Hubbard,
Edward M. Armstrong,	John N. Hughes,
William B. Aston,	George W. Hull,
Alfred M. Barbour,	John J. Jackson,
George Baylor,	Peter C. Johnston,
George W. Berlin,	James Lawson,
Caleb Boggess,	John F. Lewis,
William W. Boyd,	William McComas,
William G. Brown,	James C. McGrew,
John S. Burdett,	Paul McNeil,
James Burley,	Henry H. Masters,
Benjamin W. Byrne,	Jeremiah Morton,
John A. Campbell,	Samuel McD. Moore,
John S. Carlile,	Johnson Orrick,
William P. Cecil,	Logan Osburn,
Manilins Chapman,	William C. Parks,
Sherrard Clemens,	Spicer Patrick,
Samuel A. Coffman,	George McC. Porter,
C. B. Conrad,	Wm. Ballard Preston,
Robert Y. Conrad,	Samuel Price,
James H. Couch,	David Pugh,
W. H. B. Custis,	John D. Sharp,
Marshall M. Dent,	James W. Sheffield,
Harvey Deskins,	Thomas Sidlington,
Jubal A. Early,	Burwell Spurlock,
John Echols,	Samuel G. Staples,
Napoleon B. French,	Alex. H. H. Stuart,
Colbert C. Fugate,	Chapman J. Stuart,
H. L. Gillespie,	George W. Summers,
Samuel L. Graham,	Campbell Tarr,
Algernon S. Gray,	George P. Tayloe,
William L. Goggin,	Franklin P. Turner,
F. L. Hale,	Waitman T. Willey,
Cyrus Hall,	Benjamin Wilson,
Ephraim B. Hall,	Samuel Woods,
Alpheus F. Haymond,	Benj. F. Wysor—73.
James W. Hoge,	

The hour having arrived for the execution of the order of the day, the Convention, in pursuance of said order, resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, Mr. SOUTHALL in the chair. After some time passed in Committee of the Whole, the PRESIDENT resumed the chair, and Mr. SOUTHALL reported that the Committee had made some progress with the matter referred to them, but had come to no final conclusion thereupon.

On motion of Mr. STAPLES, the Convention adjourned.

43

SATURDAY, April 6, 1861.

The Convention assembled at 10 o'clock, A. M.

Prayer by the Rev. Mr. WALKER, of the Baptist Church.

Mr. BOULDIN presented a report of the proceedings of a meeting held in the county of Charlotte, which was read and ordered to be referred to the Committee on Federal Relations.

Mr. CHAMBLISS presented two memorials from the county of Norfolk, asking for the passage of an Ordinance of Secession, which were read, and ordered to be referred to the Committee on Federal Relations.

Mr. JOHNSON presented a memorial from citizens of the city of Richmond, asking for the passage of an Ordinance of Secession, which was read, and ordered to be referred to the Committee on Federal Relations.

Mr. MACFARLAND presented a resolution adopted by a meeting of citizens of Richmond, remonstrating against the memorial presented by Mr. JOHNSON.

In pursuance of the order of the day the Convention resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, Mr. SOUTHALL in the chair. After some time passed in Committee of the Whole, the PRESIDENT resumed the chair, and Mr. SOUTHALL reported that the Committee had made some progress with the matter referred to them but had come to no final conclusion thereupon.

Mr. PRESTON submitted the following preamble and resolution:

Whereas, in the opinion of this Convention, the uncertainty which prevails in the public mind as to the policy which the General Government intends to pursue toward the seceded States is extremely injurious to the industrial and commercial interests of the country; tends to keep up an excitement which is unfavorable to the adjustment of pending difficulties, and threatens a disturbance of the public peace; therefore,

Resolved, That a committee of three delegates be appointed by this Convention to wait upon the President of the United States, present to him this preamble and resolution, and respectfully ask of him to communicate to this Convention the policy which the authorities of the Federal Government intend to pursue in regard to the Confederate States.

Mr. CARLILE raised a question of order, viz: "that no business was in order until the resolutions submitted by Mr. WILLEY on the 16th ultimo, with the amendments proposed thereto, were disposed of," which point of order the PRESIDENT overruled.

Mr. EARLY raised a question of order, viz: "that it is not competent to consider the preamble and resolution submitted by Mr. PRESTON, without first discharging the Committee on Federal Relations," which the President also overruled.

Mr. CARLILE moved that the Convention adjourn, which was negatived.

Mr. CARLILE moved to amend the preamble by inserting after the word "States," the following: "And as to the policy which the seceded States intend to pursue towards the General Government," and the question being put, was decided in the negative.

Mr. CARLILE moved to amend the resolution by adding thereto the following: "And that a like Committee be appointed to wait upon the seceded States, and report to this Convention what policy they intend to pursue towards the General Government;" and the question being put, was decided in the negative.

Mr. MARR called the previous question, which was seconded, and pending the further consideration thereof,

On motion of Mr. DOEMAN, the Convention adjourned.

68
SATURDAY, April 13, 1861.

The Convention assembled at 10 o'clock, A. M.

Prayer by the Rev. Mr. BOSSERMAN, of the Universalist Church.

Mr. WISE presented two propositions, (Plan No. I. and Plan No. II.,) to be severally proposed by him as substitutes for the entire report of the Committee on Federal Relations; which, on his motion, were ordered to be printed, and referred to the Committee of the Whole.

Mr. SPEED presented an amendment, by way of addition, to the entire report of the Committee on Federal Relations, which, on his motion, was ordered to be printed, and referred to the Committee of the Whole.

Mr. PARKS presented a memorial from citizens of the county of Grayson, asking for the passage of an ordinance of immediate secession, which was ordered to be referred to the Committee on Federal Relations.

Mr. CAMPBELL presented similar memorials, and also a remonstrance from citizens of the county of Washington, which were ordered to be referred to the same Committee.

Mr. WISE, by general consent, withdrew his appeal from the decision of the Chair, upon the question of order raised, yesterday, by Mr. MORRIS.

The PRESIDENT presented a communication from the Executive of the Commonwealth, transmitting the following telegram from the Governor of South Carolina:

CHARLESTON, S. C., April 12, 1861.

Governor Letcher.—Your telegram is received. It is true, and still continues. No damage done to any one on our side, or to our works. Great damage to Fort Sumter.

F. W. PICKENS.

The resolution submitted by Mr. PRICE, on yesterday, being the unfinished business, was taken up.

Mr. WISE moved a call of the House, to ascertain if a quorum was present.

The roll was called and the following members responded:

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. Eppa Hunton,
Wm. M. Ambler,	Lewis D. Isbell,
Edward M. Armstrong,	John J. Jackson,
William B. Aston,	Peter C. Johnston,
John B. Baldwin,	Robert C. Kent,
Alfred M. Barbour,	James Lawson,
James Barbour,	Walter D. Leake,

Messrs. George W. Berlin,
 Angus R. Blakey,
 George Blow, Jr.
 Caleb Boggess,
 Peter B. Borst,
 William W. Boyd,
 Thomas Branch,
 George W. Brent,
 William G. Brown,
 James C. Bruce,
 John S. Burdett,
 James Burley,
 Benjamin W. Byrne,
 Frederick M. Cabell,
 John A. Campbell,
 John S. Carlile,
 John A. Carter,
 William P. Cecil,
 John R. Chambliss,
 Manilius Chapman,
 Sherrard Clemens,
 Samuel A. Coffinan,
 Raphael M. Conn,
 C. B. Conrad,
 Robert Y. Conrad,
 James H. Couch,
 John Critcher,
 W. H. B. Custis,
 Marshall M. Dent,
 Harvey Deskins,
 Colbert C. Fugate,
 Samuel M. Garland,
 H. L. Gillespie,
 Samuel L. Graham,
 Peyton Gravely,
 William L. Goggin,
 John Goode, Jr.
 Thomas F. Goode,
 F. L. Hale,
 Ephraim B. Hall,
 Allen C. Hammond,
 Alpheus F. Haymond,
 James P. Holcombe,
 J. G. Holladay,
 Chester D. Hubbard,
 John N. Hughes,
 George W. Hull,

Messrs. John F. Lewis,
 William McComas,
 James C. McGrew,
 James B. Mallory,
 James Marshall,
 John Q. Marr,
 John L. Marye, Sr.
 Henry H. Masters,
 Fleming B. Miller,
 Horatio G. Moffett,
 Edmund T. Morris,
 Jeremiah Morton,
 Samuel McD. Moore,
 Hugh M. Nelson,
 Logan Osburn,
 William C. Parks,
 Spicer Patrick,
 Edmund Pedleton,
 George McC. Porter,
 Samuel Price,
 David Pugh,
 George W. Richardson,
 Timothy Rives,
 John D. Sharp,
 James W. Sheffey,
 Thomas Sitlington,
 Charles R. Slaughter,
 Valentine W. Southall,
 John M. Speed,
 Burwell Spurlock,
 Samuel G. Staples,
 Chapman J. Stuart,
 James M. Strange,
 Campbell Tarr,
 George P. Tayloe,
 Robert H. Turner,
 John Tyler,
 Edward Waller,
 William White,
 Robert H. Whitfield,
 Williams C. Wickham,
 Waitman T. Willey,
 Samuel C. Williams,
 Benjamin Wilson,
 Henry A. Wise,
 Benj. F. Wysor,

A quorum being present,

On motion of Mr. Wise, all further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

The hour having arrived for the execution of the order of the day, the Convention resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, Mr. SOUTHALL in the chair. After some time passed in Committee of the Whole, the PRESIDENT resumed the chair, and Mr. SOUTHALL reported that the Committee had made some progress with the matter referred to them, but had come to no conclusion thereupon.

The PRESIDENT presented the following communication from the Executive of the Commonwealth:

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, }
April 13, 1861. }

Gentlemen of the Convention,—Since your adjournment, this morning, I have received another dispatch from his Excellency, Governor Pickens, which is herewith communicated. I consider it a duty, to communicate any dispatch that may be sent to me, by the Governor of a State. In reply to the inquiry with which the dispatch closes, I have replied, “the Convention now in session will determine what Virginia will do.”

Respectfully,

JOHN LETCHER.

The telegram was read for the information of the Convention, as follows:

CHARLESTON, S. C., April 13, 1861.

To Governor Letcher:

I received your telegram. It is true Fort Sumter was bombarded all day yesterday, after refusing to evacuate, and four vessels were off the bar, with troops and supplies waiting the tide to come in, and the fort was in signal with them. President Lincoln sent a special messenger, and informed me in writing, that supplies would be put in, but asked no reply. Not a man at our batteries has been hurt, though the fort was furious in its fire on us. Our iron battery did great damage to the fort at the south wall. Our shells fall freely in the fort, it is not exactly known with what effect; it is supposed serious, as they are not firing this morning. Our Enfield battery dismounted three of his largest columbiads. We will take the fort, and can keep sixteen mortars, ten inch, all the time on it, besides heavy guns that will give no peace night nor day. We can sink the fleet if they attempt the channel. If they land elsewhere, we can whip them. I have here, now, near seven thousand of the best troops in the world, and a reserve of ten thousand on our rail roads. The war is commenced, and we will triumph or perish. This is my answer to you. Please let we know what will Virginia do. I telegraph you cordially.

F. W. PICKENS.

Mr. SPEED presented a report of the proceedings of a meeting held in the county of Campbell, which were ordered to be referred to the Committee on Federal Relations.

On motion of Mr. BALDWIN, the Convention adjourned.

Messrs. Thomas Maslin,
 Horatio G. Moffett,
 Samuel McD. Moore,
 Johnson Orrick,
 Logan Osburn,
 Spicer Patrick,
 Edmund Pendleton,
 Wm. Ballard Preston,
 Samuel Price,
 David Pugh,
 Timothy Rives,
 Robert E. Scott,
 William C. Scott,
 John D. Sharp,
 Thomas Sitlington,

Messrs. Charles R. Slaughter,
 Valentine W. Santhall,
 John M. Speed,
 Burwell Spurlock,
 Alex. H. H. Stuart,
 Chapman J. Stuart,
 George W. Summers,
 Campbell Tarr,
 George P. Tayloe,
 William M. Tredway,
 Edward Waller,
 Robert H. Whitfield,
 Waitman T. Willey,
 Benjamin Wilson—74.

Mr. FISHER moved to amend the said resolution, by striking out the words, “the people of each State agreed to associate with the people of the other States upon a footing of exact equality,” and inserting in lieu thereof, “each State acceded as a State, and is an integral party, and its co-States forming, as to itself, the other party.”

The question being put, was decided in the negative—yeas 14; nays 113.

On motion of Mr. Cox, of Chesterfield, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. Angus R. Blakey,
 James Boisseau,
 Raphael M. Conn,
 Richard H. Cox,
 Miers W. Fisher,
 Samuel L. Graham,
 Fendall Gregory, Jr.

Messrs. John Goode, Jr.
 Lewis D. Isbell,
 Robert C. Kent,
 Robert L. Montague,
 Edmund T. Morris,
 Henry A. Wise,
 Samuel Woods—14.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>),	Messrs. Marmaduke Johnson,
Wm. M. Ambler,	Peter C. Johnston,
Edward M. Armstrong,	John R. Kilby,
William B. Aston,	James Lawson,
John B. Baldwin,	John F. Lewis,
Alfred M. Barbour,	William McComas,
George Baylor,	James C. McGrew,
George W. Berlin,	Paul McNeil,
George Blow, Jr.	Charles K. Mallory,
Caleb Boggess,	James B. Mallory,
Peter B. Borst,	James Marshall,

Messrs. William W. Boyd,
 Thomas Branch,
 George W. Brent,
 William G. Brown,
 James C. Bruce,
 John S. Burdett,
 James Burley,
 Benjamin W. Byrne,
 Frederick M. Cabell,
 John A. Campbell,
 Allen T. Caperton,
 John S. Carlile,
 John A. Carter,
 John R. Chambliss,
 Manilius Chapman,
 Samuel A. Coffman,
 C. B. Conrad,
 Robert Y. Conrad,
 James H. Cox,
 James H. Couch,
 John Critcher,
 W. H. B. Custis,
 Harvey Deskins,
 James B. Dorman,
 William H. Dulany,
 Jubal A. Early,
 John Echols,
 Thomas S. Flournoy,
 Napoleon B. French,
 Colbert C. Fugate,
 Samuel M. Garland,
 H. L. Gillespie,
 Peyton Gravely,
 Algernon S. Gray,
 William L. Goggin,
 Thomas F. Goode,
 Ephraim B. Hall,
 Allen C. Hammond,
 Alpheus F. Haymond,
 James W. Hoge,
 J. G. Holladay,
 Chester D. Hubbard,
 John N. Hughes,
 George W. Hull,
 Eppa Hunton,
 John J. Jackson,

Messrs. John Q. Marr,
 John L. Marye, Sr.
 Thomas Maslin,
 Henry H. Masters,
 Fleming B. Miller,
 Horatio G. Moffet,
 Jeremiah Morton,
 Samuel McD. Moore,
 William J. Neblett,
 Johnson Orrick,
 Logan Osburn,
 William C. Parks,
 Spicer Patrick,
 George McC. Porter,
 Wm. Ballard Preston,
 Samuel Price,
 David Pugh,
 Timothy Rives,
 Robert E. Scott,
 William C. Scott,
 John T. Seawell,
 John D. Sharp,
 James W. Sheffey,
 Thomas Sitlington,
 Charles R. Slaughter,
 Valentine W. Southall,
 John M. Speed,
 Burwell Spurlock,
 Samuel G. Staples,
 Alex. H. H. Stuart,
 Chapman J. Stuart,
 James M. Strange,
 George W. Summers,
 William T. Sutherlin,
 Campbell Tarr,
 George P. Tayloe,
 John T. Thoruton,
 William M. Tredway,
 Robert H. Turner,
 Franklin P. Turner,
 Edward Waller,
 Robert H. Whitfield,
 Waitman T. Willey,
 Benjamin Wilson,
 Benj. F. Wysor—113.

The first resolution was then adopted.

Mr. WISE moved to amend the second resolution by inserting after the word "exists," in the second line, the following words, "and of the political system of the United States."

The question being put, was decided in the negative—yeas 37; nays 90.

On motion of Mr. WOODS, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. James Barbour,
Angus R. Blakey,
James Boisseau,
Peter B. Borst,
Thomas Branch,
Frederick M. Cabell,
John R. Chambliss,
Manilius Chapman,
Samuel A. Coffman,
Raphael M. Conn,
Richard H. Cox,
Miers W. Fisher,
William W. Forbes,
Samuel M. Garland,
Samuel L. Graham,
Fendall Gregory, Jr.
John Goode, Jr.
Eppa Hunton,
Lewis D. Isbell,

Messrs. Robert C. Kent,
John J. Kindred,
James Lawson,
Fleming B. Miller,
Robert L. Montague,
Edmund T. Morris,
Jeremiah Morton,
William J. Neblett,
William C. Parks,
George W. Richardson,
John T. Seawell,
James W. Sheffey,
John M. Speed,
James M. Strange,
Franklin P. Turner,
Robert H. Whitfield,
Henry A. Wise,
Samuel Woods—37.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. George W. Hull,
Edward M. Armstrong,	John J. Jackson,
William B. Aston,	Marmaduke Johnson,
John B. Baldwin,	Peter C. Johnston,
Alfred M. Barbour,	John R. Kilby,
George Baylor,	John F. Lewis,
George W. Berlin,	William McComas,
George Blow, Jr.	James C. McGrew,
Caleb Boggess,	Paul McNeil,
William W. Boyd,	Charles K. Mallory,
George W. Brent,	James B. Mallory,
William G. Brown,	James Marshall,
James C. Bruce,	John Q. Marr,
John S. Burdett,	John L. Marye, Sr.
James Burley,	Thomas Maslin,
Benj. W. Byrne,	Henry H. Masters,
John A. Campbell,	Horatio G. Moffett,

Messrs. Allen T. Caperton,
John S. Carlile,
John A. Carter,
C. B. Conrad,
Robert Y. Conrad,
James H. Couch,
James H. Cox,
John Critcher,
W. H. B. Custis,
Harvey Deskins,
James B. Dorman,
William H. Dulany,
Jubal A. Early,
John Echols,
Thomas S. Flournoy,
Napoleon B. French,
Colbert C. Fugate,
H. L. Gillespie,
Peyton Gravely,
Algernon S. Gray,
William L. Goggin,
Ephraim B. Hall,
Allen C. Hammond,
Alpheus F. Haymond,
James W. Hoge,
J. G. Holladay,
Chester D. Hubbard,
John N. Hughes,

Messrs. Samuel McD. Moore,
Johnson Orrick,
Logan Osburn,
Spicer Patrick,
George McC. Porter,
Wm. Ballard Preston,
Samuel Price,
David Pugh,
Timothy Rives,
Robert E. Scott,
William C. Scott,
John D. Sharp,
Thomas Sitlington,
Charles R. Slaughter,
Valentine W. Southall,
Burwell Spurlock,
Samuel G. Staples,
Alex. H. H. Stuart,
Chapman J. Stuart,
George W. Summers,
William T. Sutherlin,
Campbell Tarr,
George P. Tayloe,
John T. Thornton,
William M. Tredway,
Edward Waller,
Waitman T. Willey,
Benj. F. Wysor—99.

The second resolution was then adopted.

On motion of Mr. JACKSON, the Committee rose.

41

THURSDAY, April 4, 1861.

The consideration of the report of the Committee on Federal Relations was resumed.

The third resolution was read and adopted.

Mr. WISE, at 20 minutes past 12 o'clock, M., moved that the Committee rise.

The Chairman (Mr. SOUTHALL,) ruled the motion out of order, basing the decision upon his construction of a resolution adopted in Convention on the 23d ult.

Mr. WISE appealed from the decision of the Chair, and the question being, "Shall the decision of the Chair stand as the judgment of the Committee?" was put, and decided in the affirmative—yeas 85; nays 44.

On motion of Mr. PRICE, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. John J. Jackson,
William B. Aston,	Marmaduke Johnson,
Alfred M. Barbour,	Peter C. Johnston,
George Baylor,	John R. Kilby,
George W. Berlin,	John F. Lewis,
George Blow, Jr.	William McComas,
Caleb Boggess,	James C. McGrew,
Wood Bouldin,	Paul McNeil,
William W. Boyd,	William H. Macfarland,
Thomas Branch,	Charles K. Mallory,
George W. Brent,	James B. Mallory,
William G. Brown,	James Marshall,
John S. Burdett,	John Q. Marr,
Benjamin W. Byrne,	Henry H. Masters,
John A. Campbell,	Horatio G. Moffett,
Allen T. Caperton,	Samuel McD. Moore,
John S. Carlile,	Hugh M. Nelson,
John A. Carter,	Logan Osburn,
Manilius Chapman,	William C. Parks,
C. B. Conrad,	Spicer Patrick,
Robert Y. Conrad,	Edmund Pendleton,
James H. Couch,	George McC. Porter,
James H. Cox,	Wm. Ballard Preston,
John Critcher,	Samuel Price,
W. H. B. Custis,	David Pugh,
Marshall M. Dent,	Robert E. Scott,
Harvey Deskins,	John D. Sharp,
James B. Dorman,	James W. Sheffield,

Messrs. Jubal A. Early,
 John Echols,
 Thomas S. Flournoy,
 Napoleon B. French,
 Colbert C. Fugate,
 Samuel M. Garland,
 H. L. Gillespie,
 Peyton Gravely,
 William L. Goggin,
 Addison Hall,
 Ephraim B. Hall,
 Allen C. Hammond,
 Alpheus F. Haymond,
 James W. Hoge,
 Chester D. Hubbard,

Messrs. Thomas Sitlington,
 Charles R. Slaughter,
 Burwell Spurlock,
 Samuel G. Staples,
 Alex. H. H. Stuart,
 Chapman J. Stuart,
 George W. Summers,
 William T. Sutherlin,
 Campbell Tarr,
 George P. Tayloe,
 Edward Waller,
 Robert H. Whitfield,
 Williams C. Wickham,
 W. T. Willey—85.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. William M. Ambler,
 James Barbour,
 Angus R. Blakey,
 James Boisseau,
 Peter B. Borst,
 James C. Bruce,
 William P. Cecil,
 Samuel A. Coffman,
 Raphael M. Conn,
 Richard H. Cox,
 Miers W. Fisher,
 Samuel L. Graham,
 John Goode, Jr.
 Cyrus Hall,
 L. S. Hall,
 Lewis E. Harvie,
 James P. Holcombe,
 John N. Hughes,
 Eppa Hunton,
 Lewis D. Isbell,
 Robert C. Kent,
 John J. Kindred,

Messrs. James Lawson,
 Walter D. Leake,
 John L. Marye, Sr.
 Robert L. Montague,
 Edmund T. Morris,
 Jeremiah Morton,
 William J. Neblett,
 Johnson Orrick,
 George W. Randolph,
 George W. Richardson,
 John T. Seawell,
 John M. Speed,
 James M. Strange,
 John T. Thornton,
 William M. Tredway,
 Robert H. Turner,
 Franklin P. Turner,
 John Tyler,
 Benjamin Wilson,
 Henry A. Wise,
 Samuel Woods,
 Benj. F. Wysor—44.

Mr. WISE moved to amend the fourth resolution of the report of the Committee on Federal Relations, by striking out the word "United" from the third line, and inserting in lieu thereof the word "several." The question being put, was decided in the affirmative—yeas 68; nays 66.

On motion of Mr. SEAWELL, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. William M. Ambler,	Messrs. John R. Kilby,
James Barbour,	John J. Kindred,
Angus R. Blakey,	James Lawson,
George Blow, Jr.	Walter D. Leake,
James Boisseau,	William H. Macfarland,
Peter B. Borst,	Charles K. Mallory,
Wood Bouldin,	John Q. Marr,
William W. Boyd,	John L. Marye, Sr.
James C. Bruce,	Robert L. Montague,
Allen T. Caperton,	Edmund T. Morris,
William P. Cecil,	Jeremiah Morton,
Manilius Chapman,	William J. Neblett,
Samuel A. Coffman,	Johnson Orrick,
Raphael M. Coun,	William C. Parks,
C. B. Conrad,	Wm. Ballard Preston,
Richard H. Cox,	George W. Randolph,
Harvey Deskins,	George W. Richardson,
James B. Dorman,	John T. Seawell,
John Echols,	James W. Sheffey,
Miers W. Fisher,	Charles R. Slaughter,
Thomas S. Flournoy,	Valentine W. Southall,
Samuel M. Garland,	John M. Speed,
H. L. Gillespie,	James M. Strange,
Samuel L. Graham,	William T. Sutherlin,
John Goode, Jr.	John T. Thornton,
F. L. Hale,	William M. Tredway,
Cyrus Hall,	Robert H. Turner,
L. S. Hall,	Franklin P. Turner,
Allen C. Hammond,	John Tyler,
Lewis E. Harvie,	Robert H. Whitfield,
James P. Holcombe,	Benjamin Wilson,
Eppa Hunton,	Henry A. Wise,
Lewis D. Isbell,	Samuel Woods,
Robert C. Kent,	Benj. F. Wysor—68.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. Marmaduke Johnson,
William B. Aston,	Peter C. Johnston,
Alfred M. Barbour,	John F. Lewis,
George Baylor,	William McComas,
George W. Berlin,	James C. McGrew,
Caleb Boggess,	Paul McNeil,
Thomas Branch,	James B. Mallory,

Messrs. George W. Brent,
 William G. Brown,
 John S. Burdett,
 Benjamin W. Byrne,
 John A. Campbell,
 John S. Carlile,
 John A. Carter,
 Robert Y. Conrad,
 James H. Couch,
 James H. Cox,
 John Critcher,
 W. H. B. Custis,
 Marshall M. Dent,
 Jubal A. Early,
 Napoleon B. French,
 Colbert C. Fugate,
 Peyton Gravely,
 Algernon S. Gray,
 William L. Goggin,
 Addison Hall,
 Ephraim B. Hall,
 Alphens F. Haymond,
 James W. Hoge,
 Chester D. Hubbard,
 John N. Hughes,
 John J. Jackson,

Messrs. James Marshall,
 Henry H. Masters,
 Horatio G. Moffett,
 Samuel McD. Moore,
 Hugh M. Nelson,
 Logan Osburn,
 Spicer Patrick,
 Edmund Pendleton,
 George McC. Porter,
 Samuel Price,
 David Pugh,
 Robert E. Scott,
 William C. Scott,
 John D. Sharp,
 Thomas Sitlington,
 Burwell Spurlock,
 Samuel G. Staples,
 Alex. H. H. Stuart,
 Chapman J. Stuart,
 George W. Summers,
 Campbell Tarr,
 George P. Tayloe,
 Edward Waller,
 William White,
 Williams C. Wickham,
 W. T. Willey—66.

On motion of Mr. WISE, the resolution was further amended so as to cause the first seven lines to read as follows:

"4. The Territories of the United States constitute a trust to be administered by the General Government for the common benefit of the people of the *several* States, and any policy in respect to such Territories calculated to confer greater benefits on the people of *one or more of the* States, than on the people of *the other* States is contrary to equality and prejudicial to the rights of some for whose equal benefit the trust was created."

Mr. MORTON moved to amend the resolution further, by striking out the following clause:

"If the equal admission of slave labor and free labor into any Territory, excites unfriendly conflict between the systems, a fair partition of the Territories ought to be made between them, and each system ought to be protected within the limits assigned to it, by the laws necessary for its proper development."

The question being put, was determined in the negative—yeas 38; nays 91.

On motion of Mr. CONRAD, of Frederick, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. Wm. M. Ambler,
 James Barbour,

Messrs. Lewis E. Harvie,
 James P. Holcombe,

Messrs. Angus R. Blakey,
James Boisseau,
Peter B. Borst,
John S. Carlile,
William P. Cecil,
Manilius Chapman,
Samuel A. Coffman,
Raphael M. Conn,
James H. Cox,
Richard H. Cox,
Miers W. Fisher,
Samuel M. Garland,
Samuel L. Graham,
John Goode, Jr.
F. L. Hale,
Cyrus Hall,
L. S. Hall,

Messrs. Eppa Hunton,
Lewis D. Isbell,
Robert C. Kent,
John J. Kindred,
Walter D. Leake,
Robert L. Montague,
Edmund T. Morris,
Jeremiah Morton,
William J. Neblett,
George W. Randolph,
George W. Richardson,
John T. Seawell,
James M. Strange,
John T. Thornton,
Robert H. Turner,
Henry A. Wise,
Samuel Woods—3S.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (*Prest.*)
William B. Aston,
Alfred M. Barbour,
George Baylor,
George W. Berlin,
George Blow, Jr.
Caleb Boggess,
Wood Bouldin,
William W. Boyd,
Thomas Branch,
George W. Brent,
William G. Brown,
James C. Bruce,
John S. Burdett,
Benjamin W. Byrne,
John A. Campbell,
Allen T. Caperton,
John A. Carter,
C. B. Conrad,
Robert Y. Conrad,
James H. Couch,
John Criter,
W. H. B. Custis,
Marshall M. Dent,
Harvey Deskins,
James B. Dorman,
Jubal A. Early,

Messrs. James C. McGrew,
Paul McNeil,
William H. Macfarland,
Charles K. Mallory,
James B. Mallory,
James Marshall,
John Q. Marr,
John L. Marye, Sr.
Henry H. Masters,
Horatio G. Moffett,
Samuel McD. Moore,
Hugh M. Nelson,
Johnson Orrick,
Logan Osburn,
William C. Parks,
Spicer Patrick,
Edmund Pendleton,
George McC. Porter,
Wm. Ballard Preston,
Samuel Price,
David Pugh,
Robert E. Scott,
William C. Scott,
John D. Sharp,
James W. Sheffield,
Thomas Sitlington,
Charles R. Slaughter,

Messrs. John Echols,
 Thomas S. Flournoy,
 Napoleon B. French,
 Colbert C. Fugate,
 H. L. Gillespie,
 Peyton Gravely,
 William L. Goggin,
 Addison Hall,
 Ephraim B. Hall,
 Allen C. Hammond,
 Alphens F. Haymond,
 James W. Hoge,
 Chester D. Hubbard,
 John N. Hughes,
 Marmaduke Johnson,
 Peter C. Johnston,
 John R. Kilby,
 John F. Lewis,
 William McComas,

Messrs. Valentine W. Southall,
 John M. Speed,
 Burwell Spurlock,
 Samuel G. Staples,
 Alex. H. H. Stuart,
 Chapman J. Stuart,
 George W. Summers,
 William T. Sutherlin,
 Campbell Tarr,
 George P. Tayloe,
 William M. Tredway,
 Franklin P. Turner,
 John Tyler,
 Edward Waller,
 Robert H. Whitfield,
 Williams C. Wickham,
 Waitman T. Willey,
 Benj. Wilson—91.

The fourth resolution, as amended, was then adopted.

MR. FLOURNOY moved to amend the fifth resolution by striking out from the 9th and 10th lines, the words, "and to aid in suppressing domestic insurrection."

The question being put, was decided in the affirmative—yeas 68; nays 61.

On motion of Mr. GOODE, of Bedford, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. William M. Ambler,
 William B. Aston,
 James Barbour,
 Angus R. Blakey,
 James Boisseau,
 Peter B. Borst,
 Wood Bouldin,
 William W. Boyd,
 Thomas Branch,
 James C. Bruce,
 William P. Cecil,
 Manilius Chapman,
 Samuel A. Coffman,
 Raphael M. Conn,
 Richard H. Cox,
 John Echols,
 Miers W. Fisher,

Messrs. Robert C. Kent,
 John R. Kilby,
 John J. Kindred,
 James Lawson,
 Walter D. Leake,
 James B. Mallory,
 John Q. Marr,
 John L. Marye, Sr.
 Robert L. Montague,
 Edmund T. Morris,
 Jeremiah Morton,
 Samuel McD. Moore,
 William J. Neblett,
 William C. Parks,
 George W. Randolph,
 George W. Richardson,
 John T. Seawell,

Messrs. Thomas S. Flourney,	Messrs. James W. Sheffey,
Napoleon B. French,	Charles R. Slaughter,
Colbert C. Fugate,	Valentine W. Southall,
Samuel M. Garland,	John M. Speed,
H. L. Gillespie,	James M. Strange,
Samuel L. Graham,	William T. Sutherlin,
Peyton Gravely,	William M. Tredway,
John Goode, Jr.	Robert H. Turner,
F. L. Hale,	Franklin P. Turner,
Addison Hall,	John Tyler,
Cyrus Hall,	Edward Waller,
L. S. Hall,	Robert H. Whitfield,
Lewis E. Harvie,	Samuel C. Williams,
James P. Holcombe,	Benjamin Wilson,
Eppa Hunton,	Henry A. Wise,
Lewis D. Isbell,	Samuel Woods,
Peter C. Johnston,	Benj. F. Wysor—6S.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. Marmaduke Johnson,
Edward M. Armstrong,	John F. Lewis,
Alfred M. Barbour,	William McComas,
George Baylor,	James C. McGrew,
Caleb Boggess,	Paul McNeil,
George W. Brent,	William H. Macfarland,
William G. Brown,	James Marshall,
John S. Burdett,	Henry H. Masters,
James Burley,	Horatio G. Moffett,
Benjamin W. Byrne,	Hugh M. Nelson,
John A. Campbell,	Johnson Orrick,
Allen T. Caperton,	Logan Osburn,
John S. Carlile,	Spicer Patrick,
John A. Carter,	Edmund Pendleton,
C. B. Conrad,	George McC. Porter,
Robert Y. Conrad,	Wm. Ballard Preston,
James H. Couch,	Samuel Price,
John Critcher,	David Pugh,
W. H. B. Custis,	Robert E. Scott,
Harvey Deskins,	John D. Sharp,
James B. Dorman,	Thomas Sitlington,
Jubal A. Early,	Burwell Spurlock,
Algernon S. Gray,	Samuel G. Staples,
William L. Goggin,	Alex. H. H. Stuart,
Ephraim B. Hall,	Chapman J. Stuart,
Allen C. Hammond,	George W. Summers,
Alpheus F. Haymond,	Campbell Tarr,

Messrs. James W. Hoge,
Chester D. Hubbard,
John N. Hughes,
John J. Jackson,

Messrs. George P. Tayloe,
Williams C. Wickham,
Wait. T. Willey—61.

Mr. SPEED moved to amend the resolution further, by adding thereto the words, "and ought not to be tolerated by a free people."

The question being put was decided in the negative—yeas 53; nays 80.

On motion of Mr. MONTAGUE, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. Wm. M. Ambler,
James Barbour,
Angus R. Blakey,
James Boisseau,
Peter B. Borst,
Wood Bouldin,
Thomas Branch,
William P. Cecil,
Manilius Chapman,
Samuel A. Coffman,
Raphael M. Conn,
Richard H. Cox,
John Critcher,
John Echols,
Miers W. Fisher,
Samuel L. Graham,
John Goode, Jr.,
F. L. Hale,
Addison Hall,
Cyrus Hall,
L. S. Hall,
Lewis E. Harvie,
James P. Holcombe,
Eppa Hunton,
Lewis D. Isbell,
Marmaduke Johnson,
Robert C. Kent,

Messrs. John J. Kindred,
James Lawson,
Walter D. Leake,
Wm. H. Macfarland,
James B. Mallory,
John Q. Marr,
John L. Marye, Sr.
Robert L. Montagne,
Edmund T. Morris,
Jeremiah Morton,
William J. Neblett,
George W. Randolph,
George W. Richardson,
William C. Scott,
John T. Seawell,
James W. Sheffey,
John M. Speed,
James M. Strange,
Robert H. Turner,
Franklin P. Turner,
John Tyler,
Samuel C. Williams,
Benjamin Wilson,
Henry A. Wise,
Samuel Woods,
Benj. F. Wysor—53.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (*Prest.*) Messrs. John N. Hughes,
Edward M. Armstrong, John J. Jackson,

Messrs. William B. Aston,
 Alfred M. Barbour,
 George Baylor,
 George W. Berlin,
 George Blow, Jr.
 Caleb Boggess,
 William W. Boyd,
 George W. Brent,
 William G. Brown,
 James C. Bruce,
 John S. Burdett,
 James Burley,
 Benjamin W. Byrne,
 John A. Campbell,
 Allen T. Caperton,
 John S. Carlile,
 John A. Carter,
 C. B. Conrad,
 Robert Y. Conrad,
 James H. Couch,
 W. H. B. Custis,
 Marshall M. Dent,
 Harvey Deskins,
 James B. Dorman,
 Jubal A. Early,
 Thomas S. Flourney,
 Napoleon B. French,
 Colbert C. Fugate,
 Samuel M. Garland,
 H. L. Gillespie,
 Peyton Gravely,
 Algernon S. Gray,
 William L. Goggin,
 Ephraim B. Hall,
 Allen C. Hammond,
 Alpheus F. Haymond,
 James W. Hoge,
 Chester D. Hubbard,

Messrs. Peter C. Johnston,
 John R. Kilby,
 John F. Lewis,
 William McComas,
 James C. McGrew,
 James Marshall,
 Henry H. Masters,
 Horatio G. Moffett,
 Samuel McD. Moore,
 Hugh M. Nelson,
 Johnson Orrick,
 Logan Osburn,
 William C. Parks,
 Spicer Patrick,
 Edmund Pendleton,
 George McC. Porter,
 Wm. Ballard Preston,
 Samuel Price,
 David Pugh,
 Robert E. Scott,
 John D. Sharp,
 Thomas Sitlington,
 Charles R. Slaughter,
 Valentine W. Southall,
 Burwell Spurlock,
 Samuel G. Staples,
 Alex. H. H. Stuart,
 Chapman J. Stuart,
 George W. Summers,
 William T. Sutherland,
 Campbell Tarr,
 George P. Tayloe,
 William M. Tredway,
 Edward Waller,
 William White,
 Robert H. Whitfield,
 Williams C. Wickham,
 W. T. Willey—80.

Mr. BROWN moved to amend the resolution further, by striking out from the 5th line the words, "during its continuance; and upon the separation of the States," and inserting "and upon the Federal Government ceasing to execute the trust;" and the question being put, was decided in the negative.

Mr. CARLILE moved to amend, by striking out the whole of the fifth resolution, and the question being put, was decided in the negative—yeas 14; nays 114.

On motion of Mr. CARLILE, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. William G. Brown,	Messrs. John N. Hughes,
John S. Burdett,	John J. Jackson,
James Burley,	John F. Lewis,
John S. Carlile,	James C. McGrew,
Marshall M. Dent,	Spicer Patrick,
Jubal A. Early,	George McC. Porter,
Chester D. Hubbard,	Campbell Tarr—14.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. Peter C. Johnston,
Wm. M. Ambler,	Robert C. Kent,
E. M. Armstrong,	John R. Kilby,
William B. Aston,	John J. Kindred,
Alfred M. Barbour,	James Lawson,
James Barbour,	Walter D. Leake,
George Baylor,	William McComas,
Angus R. Blakey,	Paul McNeil,
George Blow, Jr.	Wm. H. Macfarland,
Caleb Boggess,	James B. Mallory,
James Boisseau,	James Marshall,
Peter B. Borst,	John Q. Marr,
Wood Bouldin,	John L. Marye, Sr.
William W. Boyd,	Henry H. Masters,
Thomas Branch,	Horatio G. Moffet,
George W. Brent,	Robert L. Montague,
James C. Bruce,	Edmund T. Morris,
Benjamin W. Byrne,	Jeremiah Morton,
John A. Campbell,	Samuel McD. Moore,
Allen T. Caperton,	William J. Neblett,
William P. Cecil,	Hugh M. Nelson,
Manilius Chapman,	Johnson Orrick,
Samuel A. Coffman,	Logan Osburn,
Raphael M. Conn,	William C. Parks,
C. B. Conrad,	Wm. Ballard Preston,
Robert Y. Conrad,	Samuel Price,
James H. Couch,	David Pugh,
Richard H. Cox,	George W. Randolph,
John Critcher,	George W. Richardson,
W. H. B. Custis,	Robert E. Scott,
Harvey Deskins,	William C. Scott,
James B. Dorman,	John T. Seawell,
John Echols,	James W. Sheffey,
Miers W. Fisher,	Thomas Sitlington,

Messrs. Thomas S. Flournoy,	Messrs. Charles R. Slaughter,
Napoleon B. French,	Valentine W. Southall,
Colbert C. Fugate,	John M. Speed,
Samuel M. Garland,	Burwell Spurlock,
H. L. Gillespie,	Samuel G. Staples,
Samuel L. Graham,	Alex. H. H. Stuart,
Peyton Gravely,	Chapman J. Stuart,
Algernon S. Gray,	George W. Summers,
William L. Goggin,	William T. Sutherlin,
John Goode, Jr.	George P. Tayloe,
F. L. Hale,	William M. Tredway,
Addison Hall,	Robert H. Turner,
Cyrus Hall,	Franklin P. Turner,
L. S. Hall,	John Tyler,
Allen C. Hammond,	Edward Waller,
Lewis E. Harvie,	Robert H. Whitfield,
Alpheus F. Haymond,	Williams C. Wickham,
James W. Hoge,	Waitman T. Willey,
James P. Holcombe,	Samuel C. Williams,
George W. Hull,	Benjamin Wilson,
Eppa Hunton,	Henry A. Wise,
Lewis D. Isbell,	Samuel Woods,
Marmaduke Johnson,	Benj. F. Wysor—114.

The resolution was then adopted.

Mr. WILSON moved that the Committee rise. Negative.

Mr. HARVIE moved to amend the sixth resolution, by striking out the whole, and inserting the following:

Resolved, That an ordinance resuming the powers delegated by Virginia to the Federal Government, and provision for submitting the same to the qualified voters of the Commonwealth for their adoption or rejection at the polls in the spring elections in May next, should be adopted by this Convention.

Mr. GOGGIN submitted an amendment to the proposed amendment, which he subsequently asked leave to withdraw, but objection being made, the question on granting leave was put, and decided in the affirmative.

The question recurred upon the amendment submitted by Mr. HARVIE, and being put, was decided in the negative—yeas 45; nays 89.

On motion of Mr. HARVIE, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. W. M. Ambler,	Messrs. John J. Kindred,
James Barbour,	James Lawson,
Angus R. Blakey,	Walter D. Leake,
James Boisseau,	James B. Mallory,

Messrs. Peter B. Borst,
 Wood Bouldin,
 Thomas Branch,
 William P. Cecil,
 Manilius Chapman,
 Raphael M. Conn,
 Richard H. Cox,
 Miers W. Fisher,
 Samuel M. Garland,
 Samuel L. Graham,
 William L. Goggin,
 John Goode, Jr.
 F. L. Hale,
 L. S. Hall,
 Lewis E. Harvie,
 James P. Holcombe,
 Eppa Hunton,
 Lewis D. Isbell,
 Robert C. Kent,

Messrs. Robert L. Montague,
 Edmund T. Morris,
 Jeremiah Morton,
 William J. Neblett,
 George W. Randolph,
 George W. Richardson,
 William C. Scott,
 John T. Seawell,
 James W. Sheffey,
 John M. Speed,
 James M. Strange,
 Robert H. Turner,
 Franklin P. Turner,
 John Tyler,
 Samuel C. Williams,
 Henry A. Wise,
 Samuel Woods,
 Benj. F. Wysor—45.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (*Pres't*)
 Ed'd M. Armstrong,
 William B. Aston,
 Alfred M. Barbour,
 George Baylor,
 George W. Berlin,
 George Blow, Jr.
 Caleb Boggess,
 William W. Boyd,
 George W. Brent,
 William G. Brown,
 James C. Bruce,
 John S. Burdett,
 James Burley,
 Benjamin W. Byrne,
 John A. Campbell,
 Allen T. Caperton,
 John S. Carlile,
 John A. Carter,
 Samuel A. Coffman,
 C. B. Conrad,
 Robert Y. Conrad,
 James H. Couch,
 John Critcher,
 W. H. B. Custis,

Messrs. Marmaduke Johnson,
 Peter C. Johnston,
 John R. Kilby,
 John F. Lewis,
 William McComas,
 James C. McGrew,
 Paul McNeil,
 William H. Macfarland,
 James Marshall,
 John Q. Marr,
 John L. Marye, Sr.
 Thomas Maslin,
 Henry H. Masters,
 Horatio G. Moffett,
 Samuel McD. Moore,
 Hugh M. Nelson,
 Johnson Orrick,
 Logan Osburn,
 William C. Parks,
 Spicer Patrick,
 Edmund Pendleton,
 George McC. Porter,
 Wm. Ballard Preston,
 Samuel Price,
 David Pugh,

Messrs. Marshall M. Dent,
 Harvey Deskins,
 James B. Dorman,
 Jubal A. Early,
 John Echols,
 Thomas S. Flournoy,
 Napoleon B. French,
 Colbert C. Fugate,
 H. L. Gillespie,
 Peyton Gravely,
 Algernon S. Gray,
 Addison Hall,
 Cyrus Hall,
 Ephraim B. Hall,
 Allen C. Hammond,
 Alpheus F. Haymond,
 James W. Hoge,
 Chester D. Hubbard,
 John N. Hughes,
 John J. Jackson,

Messrs. Timothy Rives,
 Robert E. Scott,
 John D. Sharp,
 Thomas Sitlington,
 Charles R. Slaughter,
 Valentine W. Southall,
 Burwell Spurlock,
 Samuel G. Staples,
 Alex. H. H. Stuart,
 Chapman J. Stuart,
 George W. Summers,
 William T. Sutherlin,
 Campbell Tarr,
 George P. Tayloe,
 William M. Tredway,
 Edward Waller,
 Robert H. Whitfield,
 Williams C. Wickham,
 W. T. Willey,
 Benj. Wilson—90.

On motion of Mr. PATRICK, the Committee rose.

42
 FRIDAY, April 5, 1861.

The consideration of the report of the Committee on Federal Relations was resumed.

On motion of Mr. CRITCHER, the sixth resolution was amended by striking out the words "cast off obedience to" in the third line, and inserting in lieu thereof, "dissolve their connection with."

Mr. MOORE moved to amend the resolution further, by striking out the word "wrongs," in the second line, and inserting in lieu thereof the word "causes." The question being put, was decided in the negative—yeas 26; nays 107.

On motion of Mr. HARVIE, the vote was recorded as follows:
 The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. George W. Berlin,
 Caleb Boggess,
 William G. Brown,
 John S. Burdett,

Messrs. Peter C. Johnston,
 John F. Lewis,
 James C. McGrew,
 Henry H. Masters,

Messrs. James Burley,
 John S. Carlile,
 Sherrard Clemens,
 C. B. Conrad,
 Marshall M. Dent,
 Jubal A. Early,
 Chester D. Hubbard,
 John N. Hughes,
 John J. Jackson,

Messrs. Samuel McD. Moore,
 Spicer Patrick,
 George McC. Porter,
 William C. Scott,
 John D. Sharp,
 Campbell Tarr,
 William White,
 Waitman T. Willey,
 Benjamin Wilson—26.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (*Pres't*)
 William M. Ambler,
 Edward M. Armstrong,
 William B. Aston,
 Alfred M. Barbour,
 James Barbour,
 George Baylor,
 Angus R. Blakey,
 George Blow, Jr.
 James Boisseau,
 Peter B. Borst,
 Wood Bouldin,
 William W. Boyd,
 Thomas Branch,
 George W. Brent,
 James C. Bruce,
 Benj. W. Byrne,
 John A. Campbell,
 John A. Carter,
 John R. Chambliss,
 Manilius Chapman,
 Samuel A. Coffman,
 Raphael M. Conn,
 Robert Y. Conrad,
 James H. Couch,
 Richard H. Cox,
 John Critcher,
 W. H. B. Custis,
 Harvey Deskins,
 John Echols,
 Miers W. Fisher,
 Thomas S. Flournoy,
 Napoleon B. French,
 Colbert C. Fugate,
 Samuel M. Garland,

Messrs. Robert C. Kent,
 John R. Kilby,
 James Lawson,
 Walter D. Leake,
 William McComas,
 Paul McNeil,
 William H. Macfarland,
 Charles K. Mallory,
 James B. Mallory,
 James Marshall,
 John Q. Marr,
 John L. Marye, Sr.
 Horatio G. Moffett,
 Robert L. Montague,
 Edmund T. Morris,
 Jeremiah Morton,
 William J. Neblett,
 Hugh M. Nelson,
 Johnson Orrick,
 Logan Osburn,
 William C. Parks,
 Edmund Pendleton,
 Wm. Ballard Preston,
 Samuel Price,
 David Pugh,
 George W. Randolph,
 Robert E. Scott,
 John T. Seawell,
 James W. Sheffey,
 Thomas Sitlington,
 Charles R. Slaughter,
 Valentine W. Southall,
 John M. Speed,
 Burwell Spurlock,
 Samuel G. Staples,

Messrs. H. L. Gillespie,
 Samuel L. Graham,
 Peyton Gravely,
 Algernon S. Gray,
 William L. Goggin,
 John Goode, Jr.
 F. L. Hale,
 Addison Hall,
 Ephraim B. Hall,
 L. S. Hall,
 Allen C. Hammond,
 Lewis E. Harvie,
 Alpheus F. Haymond,
 James W. Hoge,
 James P. Holcombe,
 George W. Hull,
 Eppa Hunton,
 Lewis D. Isbell,
 Marmaduke Johnson,

Messrs. Alex. H. H. Stuart,
 Chapman J. Stuart,
 James M. Strange,
 George W. Summers,
 William T. Sutherlin,
 George P. Tayloe,
 John T. Thornton,
 William M. Tredway,
 Robert H. Turner,
 Franklin P. Turner,
 John Tyler,
 Edward Waller,
 Robert H. Whitfield,
 Williams C. Wickham,
 Samuel C. Williams,
 Henry A. Wise,
 Samuel Woods,
 Benj. F. Wysor—197.

Mr. SUTHERLIN moved to amend the resolution further, by inserting after the word "hope," in the sixth line, the words "provided the authorities at Washington shall maintain peaceful relations with the seceded States."

Mr. SPEED moved to amend the proposed amendment by adding thereto the following: "and not seek to accumulate within the limits of any Southern State an amount of troops or munitions of war not required for purposes of external defence," and the question being put, was decided in the negative—yeas 61; nays 75.

On motion of Mr. SHEFFEY, the vote was recorded as follows:
 The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. William M. Ambler,
 James Barbour,
 Angus R. Blakey,
 James Boisseau,
 Peter B. Borst,
 Wood Bouldin,
 William P. Cecil,
 John R. Chambliss,
 Manilius Chapman,
 Samuel A. Coffman,
 Raphael M. Conn,
 Richard H. Cox,
 John Echols,
 Miers W. Fisher,

Messrs. Charles K. Mallory,
 James B. Mallory,
 John Q. Marr,
 John L. Marye, Sr.
 Robert L. Montague,
 Edmund T. Morris,
 Jeremiah Morton,
 William J. Neblett,
 Johnson Orrick,
 William C. Parks,
 George W. Randolph,
 George W. Richardson,
 William C. Scott,
 John T. Seawell,

Messrs. Samuel M. Garland,
 Samuel L. Graham,
 William L. Goggin,
 John Goode, Jr.
 F. L. Hale,
 Cyrus Hall,
 L. S. Hall,
 Allen C. Hammond,
 Lewis E. Harvie,
 James P. Holcombe,
 Eppa Hunton,
 Lewis D. Isbell,
 Robert C. Kent,
 John J. Kindred,
 James Lawson,
 Walter D. Leake,
 Paul McNeil,

Messrs. James W. Sheffey,
 Charles R. Slaughter,
 Valentine W. Southall,
 John M. Speed,
 Burwell Spurlock,
 James M. Strange,
 William T. Sutherlin,
 John T. Thornton,
 William M. Tredway,
 Robert H. Turner,
 Franklin P. Turner,
 John Tyler,
 Samuel C. Williams,
 Henry A. Wise,
 Samuel Woods,
 Benj. F. Wysor—61.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (*Pres't*)
 Edward M. Armstrong,
 William B. Aston,
 Alfred M. Barbour,
 George Baylor,
 George W. Berlin,
 George Blow, Jr.
 Caleb Boggess,
 William W. Boyd,
 Thomas Branch,
 George W. Brent,
 William G. Brown,
 James C. Bruce,
 John S. Burdett,
 James Burley,
 Benjamin W. Byrne,
 John A. Campbell,
 John S. Carlile,
 John A. Carter,
 Sherrard Clemens,
 C. B. Conrad,
 Robert Y. Conrad,
 James H. Couch,
 John Critcher,
 W. H. B. Custis,
 Marshall M. Dent,
 Harvey Deskins,

Messrs. James W. Hoge,
 Chester D. Hubbard,
 John N. Hughes,
 John J. Jackson,
 Marmaduke Johnson,
 Peter C. Johnston,
 John R. Kilby,
 John F. Lewis,
 William McComas,
 James C. McGrew,
 William H. Macfarland,
 James Marshall,
 Henry H. Masters,
 Horatio G. Moffett,
 Samuel McD. Moore,
 Hugh M. Nelson,
 Logan Osburn,
 Spicer Patrick,
 Edmund Pendleton,
 George McC. Porter,
 Wm. Ballard Preston,
 Samuel Price,
 David Pugh,
 Robert E. Scott,
 John D. Sharp,
 Thomas Sitlington,
 Samuel G. Staples,

Messrs. James B. Dorman,
 Jubal A. Early,
 Thomas S. Flournoy,
 Napoleon B. French,
 Colbert C. Fugate,
 H. L. Gillespie,
 Peyton Gravely,
 Algernon S. Gray,
 Addison Hall,
 Ephraim B. Hall,
 Alpheus F. Haymond,

Messrs. Alex. H. H. Stuart,
 Chapin J. Stuart,
 George W. Summers,
 Campbell Tarr,
 George P. Tayloe,
 Edward Waller,
 William White,
 Williams C. Wickham,
 Waitman T. Willey,
 Benjamin Wilson—75.

The question recurred upon the amendment submitted by Mr. SUTHERLIN, and being put, was decided in the negative.

Mr. CARLILE moved to amend the resolution further, by striking out the words "and lamenting the wrongs that have impelled some of the States to dissolve their connection with," and inserting in lieu thereof the words "caused by some of the States casting off their obedience to;" and the question being put was decided in the negative.

Mr. BOULDIN moved to amend the resolution further, by striking from the sixth line the words "indulge the hope," and inserting in lieu thereof, "earnestly desire;" and the question being put, was decided in the affirmative—years 133; days 5.

On motion of Mr. BROWN, the vote was recorded as follows:
 The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. John R. Kilby,
Edward M. Armstrong,	John J. Kindied,
William B. Aston,	James Lawson,
Alfred M. Barbour,	Walter D. Leake,
James Barbour,	John F. Lewis,
George Baylor,	William McComas,
Angus R. Blakey,	James C. McGrew,
George Blow, Jr.	Paul McNeil,
James Boisseau,	William H. Macfarland,
Peter B. Borst,	Charles K. Mallory,
Wood Bouldin,	James B. Mallory,
William W. Boyd,	James Marshall,
Thomas Branch,	John Q. Marr,
George W. Brent,	John L. Marye, Sr.
William G. Brown,	Thomas Maslin,
John S. Burdett,	Henry H. Masters,
James Burley,	Horatio G. Moffett,
Benjamin W. Byrne,	Robert L. Montague,
John A. Campbell,	Edmund T. Morris,
Allen T. Caperton,	Jeremiah Morton,

Messrs. John S. Carlile,
 John A. Carter,
 William P. Cecil,
 John R. Chambliss,
 Manilius Chapman,
 Sherrard Clemens,
 Samuel A. Coffman,
 Raphael M. Conn,
 C. B. Conrad,
 Robert Y. Conrad,
 James H. Couch,
 Richard H. Cox,
 John Critcher,
 W. H. B. Custis,
 Marshall M. Dent,
 Harvey Deskins,
 James B. Dorman,
 Jubal A. Early,
 John Echols,
 Miers W. Fisher,
 Thomas S. Flournoy,
 Napoleon B. French,
 Colbert C. Fugate,
 Samuel M. Garland,
 H. L. Gillespie,
 Samuel L. Graham,
 Peyton Gravely,
 William L. Goggin,
 John Goode, Jr.
 F. L. Hale,
 Addison Hall,
 Cyrus Hall,
 Ephraim B. Hall,
 L. S. Hall,
 Allen C. Hammond,
 Alphens F. Haymond,
 James W. Hoge,
 James P. Holcombe,
 Chester D. Hubbard,
 John N. Hughes,
 Eppa Hunton,
 Lewis D. Isbell,
 John J. Jackson,
 Marmaduke Johnson,
 Peter C. Johnston,
 Robert C. Kent,

Messrs. Samuel McD. Moore,
 Hugh M. Nelson,
 Johnson Orrick,
 Logan Osburn,
 William C. Parks,
 Spicer Patrick,
 Edmund Pendleton,
 George McC. Porter,
 Wm. Ballard Preston,
 Samuel Price,
 David Pugh,
 George W. Randolph,
 George W. Richardson,
 Robert E. Scott,
 William C. Scott,
 John T. Seawell,
 John D. Sharp,
 James W. Sheffield,
 Thomas Sillington,
 Charles R. Slaughter,
 Valentine W. Southall,
 John M. Speed,
 Burwell Spurlock,
 Samuel G. Staples,
 Alex. H. H. Stuart,
 Chapman J. Stuart,
 James M. Strange,
 George W. Summers,
 William T. Sutherlin,
 Campbell Tarr,
 George P. Tayloe,
 John T. Thorntou,
 William M. Tredway,
 Robert H. Turner,
 Franklin P. Turner,
 John Tyler,
 Edward Waller,
 William White,
 Robert H. Whitfield,
 Williams C. Wickham,
 Waitman T. Willey,
 Samuel C. Williams,
 Benjamin Wilson,
 Henry A. Wise,
 Samuel Woods,
 Benj. F. Wysor—132.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. William M. Ambler,	Messrs. Lewis E. Harvie,
George W. Berlin,	William J. Neblett—5.
Caleb Boggess,	

On motion of Mr. SPEED, the resolution was further amended in the seventh line, by striking out the word “preserved,” and inserting “reestablished.”

Mr. WISE moved to amend the resolution further, by striking out the whole, and inserting the following:

“Deeply affected by the present distracted condition of the country, and resisting the wrongs that have impelled some of the States to dissolve their connection with the Federal Government, but sensible of the blessings of the Union in its integrity, and impressed with the importance to the peace, prosperity and progress of the people of observing its faith, we indulge the earnest desire that an adjustment may be reached by which the Union and peace, prosperity and fraternal feelings throughout the land may be restored. Virginia should not offer or adopt any terms of adjustment which ought not to be acceptable to the seceded States and restore them to the Union.”

Mr. CARLILE demanded a division of the question, and it was put upon striking out, and decided in the negative—yeas 57; nays 83.

On motion of Mr. BROWN, the vote was recorded as follows:
The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. Wm. M. Ambler,	Messrs. John J. Kindred,
James Barbour,	Walter D. Leake,
Angus R. Blakey,	Charles K. Mallory,
James Boisseau,	James B. Mallory,
Peter B. Borst,	John Q. Marr,
Wood Bouldin,	John L. Marye, Sr.
Thomas Branch,	Robert L. Montague,
James C. Bruce,	Edmund T. Morris,
John S. Carlile,	Jeremiah Morton,
William P. Cecil,	William J. Neblett,
John R. Chambliss,	George W. Randolph,
Manilius Chapman,	George W. Richardson,
Samuel A. Coffman,	John T. Seawell,
Raphael M. Conn,	James W. Sheffey,
Richard H. Cox,	Charles R. Slaughter,
Miers W. Fisher,	John M. Speed,
Thomas S. Flournoy,	James M. Strange,
Samuel M. Garland,	William T. Sutherland,
Samuel L. Graham,	John T. Thornton,
William L. Goggin,	William M. Tredway,
John Goode, Jr.	Robert H. Turner,
F. L. Hale,	Franklin P. Turner,

Messrs. Cyrus Hall,
 L. S. Hall,
 Lewis E. Harvie,
 James P. Holcombe,
 Eppa Hunton,
 Lewis D. Isbell,
 Robert C. Kent,

Messrs. John Tyler,
 Samuel C. Williams,
 Benjamin Wilson,
 Henry A. Wise,
 Samuel Woods,
 Benj. F. Wysor—57.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. Marmaduke Johnson,
Edward M. Armstrong,	Peter C. Johnston,
William B. Aston,	John R. Kilby,
Alfred M. Barbour,	James Lawson,
George Baylor,	John F. Lewis,
George W. Berlin,	William McComas,
George Blow, Jr.	James C. McGrew,
Caleb Boggess,	Paul McNeil,
William W. Boyd,	William H. Macfarland,
George W. Brent,	James Marshall,
William G. Brown,	Thomas Maslin,
John S. Burdett,	Henry H. Masters,
James Burley,	Horatio G. Moffett,
Benjamin W. Byrne,	Samuel McD. Moore,
John A. Campbell,	Hugh M. Nelson,
Allen T. Caperton,	Johnson Orrick,
John A. Carter,	Logan Osburn,
Sherrard Clemens,	William C. Parks,
C. B. Conrad,	Spicer Patrick,
Robert Y. Conrad,	Edmund Pendleton,
James H. Couch,	George McC. Porter,
John Critcher,	Wm. Ballard Preston,
W. H. B. Custis,	Samuel Price,
Marshall M. Dent,	David Pugh,
Harvey Deskins,	Robert E. Scott,
James B. Dorman,	William C. Scott,
Jubal A. Early,	John D. Sharp,
John Echols,	Thomas Sitlington,
Napoleon B. French,	Valentine W. Southall,
Colbert C. Fugate,	Burwell Spurlock,
H. L. Gillespie,	Samuel G. Staples,
Peyton Gravely,	Alex. H. H. Stuart,
Algernon S. Gray,	Chapman J. Stuart,
Addison Hall,	George W. Summers,
Ephraim B. Hall,	Campbell Tarr,
Allen C. Hammond,	George P. Tayloe,
Alpheus F. Haymond,	Edward Waller,
James W. Hoge,	William White,

Messrs. J. G. Holladay,
Chester D. Hubbard,
John N. Hughes,
John J. Jackson,

Messrs. Robert H. Whitfield,
Williams C. Wickham,
Wait. T. Willey—83.

Mr. WISE then moved to amend the resolution further, by adding thereto, the following:

“But Virginia should not offer or adopt any terms of adjustment which ought not to be acceptable to the seceded States and restore them to the Union.”

The question being put, was decided in the negative—yeas 64; nays 74.

On motion of Mr. BOISSEAU, the vote was recorded as follows:
The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. Wm. M. Ambler,
James Barbour,
Angus R. Blakey,
James Boisseau,
Peter B. Borst,
Wood Bouldin,
Thomas Branch,
James C. Bruce,
William P. Cecil,
John R. Chambliss,
Manilius Chapman,
Samuel A. Coffman,
Raphael M. Conn,
Richard H. Cox,
John Critcher,
John Echols,
Miers W. Fisher,
Thomas S. Flournoy,
Napoleon B. French,
Samuel M. Garland,
Samuel L. Graham,
William L. Goggin,
John Goode, Jr.
F. L. Hale,
Addison Hall,
Cyrus Hall,
L. S. Hall,
James P. Holcombe,
Eppa Hunton,
Lewis D. Isbell,
Robert C. Kent,
John J. Kindred,

Messrs. James Lawson,
Walter D. Leake,
Paul McNeil,
Charles K. Mallory,
James B. Mallory,
John Q. Marr,
John L. Marye, Sr.
Robert L. Montague,
Edmund T. Morris,
Jeremiah Morton,
William J. Neblett,
Johnson Orrick,
William C. Parks,
George W. Randolph,
George W. Richardson,
William C. Scott,
John T. Seawell,
James W. Sheffey,
Charles R. Slaughter,
John M. Speed,
James M. Strange,
William T. Sutherlin,
John T. Thornton,
William M. Tredway,
Robert H. Turner,
Franklin P. Turner,
John Tyler,
Samuel C. Williams,
Benjamin Wilson,
Henry A. Wise,
Samuel Woods,
Benj. F. Wysor—64.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. John N. Hughes,
Edward M. Armstrong,	John J. Jackson,
William B. Aston,	Marmaduke Johnson,
Alfred M. Barbour,	Peter C. Johnston,
George Baylor,	John R. Kilby,
George W. Berlin,	John F. Lewis,
George Blow, Jr.	William McComas,
Caleb Boggess,	James C. McGrew,
William W. Boyd,	Wm. H. Macfarland,
George W. Brent,	James Marshall,
William G. Brown,	Thomas Maslin,
John S. Burdett,	Henry H. Masters,
James Burley,	Horatio G. Moffett,
Benjamin W. Byrne,	Samuel McD. Moore,
John A. Campbell,	Hugh M. Nelson,
Allen T. Caperton,	Logan Osburn,
John S. Carlile,	Spicer Patrick,
John A. Carter,	George McC. Porter,
Sherrard Clemens,	Wm. Ballard Preston,
C. B. Conrad,	Samuel Price,
Robert Y. Conrad,	David Pugh,
James H. Couch,	Robert E. Scott,
W. H. B. Custis,	John D. Sharp,
Marshall M. Dent,	Thomas Sitlington,
Harvey Deskins,	Valentine W. Southall,
James B. Dorman,	Burwell Spurlock,
Jubal A. Early,	Samuel G. Staples,
Colbert C. Fugate,	Alex. H. H. Stuart,
H. L. Gillespie,	Chapman J. Stuart,
Peyton Gravely,	George W. Summers,
Algernon S. Gray,	Campbell Tarr,
Ephraim B. Hall,	George P. Tayloe,
Allen C. Hammond,	Edward Waller,
Alpheus F. Haymond,	William White,
James W. Hoge,	Robert H. Whitfield,
J. G. Holladay,	Williams C. Wickham,
Chester D. Hubbard,	W. T. Willey—74.

The question recurred upon the adoption of the resolution as amended, and was decided in the affirmative—yeas 103; nays 31.

On motion of Mr. WICKHAM, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. James C. McGrew,
Edward M. Armstrong,	Paul McNeil,
Alfred M. Barbour,	William H. Macfarland,

Messrs. George Baylor,
George W. Berlin,
George Blow, Jr.
Caleb Boggess,
Wood Bouldin,
William W. Boyd,
Thomas Branch,
George W. Brent,
William G. Brown,
John S. Burdett,
James Burley,
Benjamin W. Byrne,
John A. Campbell,
Allen T. Caperton,
John A. Carter,
Sherrard Clemens,
Samuel A. Coffman,
C. B. Conrad,
Robert Y. Conrad,
James H. Couch,
John Critcher,
W. H. B. Custis,
Marshall M. Dent,
Harvey Deskins,
Jubal A. Early,
John Echols,
Thomas S. Flournoy,
Napoleon B. French,
Colbert C. Fugate,
Samuel M. Garland,
H. L. Gillespie,
Peyton Gravely,
Algernon S. Gray,
William L. Goggin,
Addison Hall,
Cyrus Hall,
Ephraim B. Hall,
Allen C. Hammond,
Alpheus F. Haymond,
James W. Hoge,
J. G. Holladay,
Chester D. Hubbard,
John N. Hughes,
John J. Jackson,
Marmaduke Johnson,
Peter C. Johnston,
John R. Kilby,

Messrs. Charles K. Mallory,
James B. Mallory,
James Marshall,
John Q. Marr,
John L. Marye, Sr.
Thomas Maslin,
Henry H. Masters,
Horatio G. Moffett,
Samuel McD. Moore,
Hugh M. Nelson,
Johnson Orrick,
Logan Osburn,
William C. Parks,
Spicer Patrick,
Edmund Pendleton,
George McC. Porter,
Wm. Ballard Preston,
Samuel Price,
David Pugh,
George W. Randolph,
George W. Richardson,
Robert E. Scott,
William C. Scott,
John D. Sharp,
James W. Sheffey,
Thomas Sitlington,
Charles R. Slaughter,
Valentine W. Southall,
John M. Speed,
Burwell Spurlock,
Samuel G. Staples,
Alex. H. H. Stuart,
Chapman J. Stuart,
George W. Summers,
William T. Sutherlin,
Campbell Tarr,
George P. Tayloe,
John T. Thornton,
William M. Tredway,
Robert H. Turner,
Franklin P. Turner,
John Tyler,
Edward Waller,
William White,
Robert H. Whitfield,
Williams C. Wickham,
Waitman T. Willey,

Messrs. John F. Lewis,
William McComas,

Messrs. Benjamin Wilson,
Samuel Woods—104.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. William M. Ambler,
James Barbour,
Angus R. Blakey,
James Boisseau,
Peter B. Borst,
James C. Bruce,
John S. Carlile,
William P. Cecil,
John R. Chambliss,
Manilius Chapman,
Raphael M. Conn,
Richard H. Cox,
Miers W. Fisher,
Samuel L. Graham,
John Goode, Jr.
F. L. Hale,

Messrs. James P. Holcombe,
Eppa Hunton,
Lewis D. Isbell,
Robert C. Kent,
John J. Kindred,
James Lawson,
Walter D. Leake,
Robert L. Montague,
Edmund T. Morris,
Jeremiah Morton,
William J. Neblett,
John T. Seawell,
James M. Strange,
Samuel C. Williams,
Henry A. Wise—31.

Mr. WISE moved to amend the resolution by striking out all between the word "Governments," in the second line, and the word "but," in the tenth line.

Mr. WILSON moved to amend the text of the resolution, by striking out "may," in the fourth line, and inserting "should." Negatived.

The question recurred upon the amendment submitted by Mr. WISE, and being put, was decided in the affirmative—yeas 68; nays 67.

On motion of Mr. WISE, the vote was recorded as follows:
The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. W. M. Ambler,
E. M. Armstrong,
Angus R. Blakey,
George Blow, Jr.
James Boisseau,
Peter B. Borst,
Wood Bouldin,
William W. Boyd,
Thomas Branch,
George W. Brent,
James C. Bruce,
William P. Cecil,
John R. Chambliss,
Manilius Chapman,

Messrs. John J. Kindred,
James Lawson,
Walter D. Leake,
Paul McNeil,
Wm. H. Macfarland,
Charles K. Mallory,
James B. Mallory,
John Q. Marr,
John L. Marye, Sr.
Robert L. Montague,
Edmund T. Morris,
Jeremiah Morton,
William J. Neblett,
Johnson Orrick,

Messrs. Samuel A. Coffman,
 Raphael M. Conn,
 Richard H. Cox,
 John Echols,
 Miers W. Fisher,
 Thomas S. Flournoy,
 Samuel M. Garland,
 Samuel L. Graham,
 Peyton Gravely,
 William L. Goggin,
 John Goode, Jr.
 F. L. Hale,
 Cyrus Hall,
 L. S. Hall,
 Lewis E. Harvie,
 James P. Holcombe,
 Eppa Hunton,
 Lewis D. Isbell,
 Robert C. Kent,
 John R. Kilby,

Messrs. William C. Parks,
 George W. Randolph,
 George W. Richardson,
 James W. Sheffey,
 Charles R. Slaughter,
 Valentine W. Southall,
 John M. Speed,
 James M. Strange,
 George P. Tayloe,
 John T. Thornton,
 Robert H. Turner,
 Franklin P. Turner,
 John Tyler,
 Edward Waller,
 Robert H. Whitfield,
 Samuel C. Williams,
 Benjamin Wilson,
 Henry A. Wise,
 Samuel Woods,
 Benj. F. Wysor—68.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (*Pres't*)
 William B. Aston,
 Alfred M. Barbour,
 George Baylor,
 George W. Berlin,
 Caleb Boggess,
 William G. Brown,
 John S. Burdett,
 James Burley,
 Benjamin W. Byrne,
 John A. Campbell,
 Allen T. Caperton,
 John S. Carlile,
 John A. Carter,
 Sherrard Clemens,
 C. B. Conrad,
 Robert Y. Conrad,
 James H. Couch,
 John Critcher,
 W. H. B. Custis,
 Marshall M. Dent,
 Harvey Deskins,
 James B. Dorman,
 Jubal A. Early,

Messrs. John N. Hughes,
 John J. Jackson,
 Marmaduke Johnson,
 Peter C. Johnston,
 William McComas,
 James C. McGrew,
 James Marshall,
 Thomas Maslin,
 Henry H. Masters,
 Horatio G. Moffett,
 Samuel McD. Moore,
 Hugh M. Nelson,
 Logan Osburn,
 Spicer Patrick,
 Edmund Pendleton,
 George McC. Porter,
 Wm. Ballard Preston,
 Samuel Price,
 David Pugh,
 Robert E. Scott,
 William C. Scott,
 John D. Sharp,
 Thomas Sitlington,
 Burwell Spurlock,

Messrs. Napoleon B. French,	Messrs. Samuel G. Staples,
Colbert C. Fugate,	Alex. H. H. Stuart,
H. L. Gillespie,	Chapman J. Stuart,
Addison Hall,	George W. Summers,
Ephraim B. Hall,	William T. Sutherlin,
Allen C. Hammond,	Campbell Tarr,
Alpheus F. Haymond,	William White,
James W. Hoge,	Williams C. Wickham,
J. G. Holladay,	Wait. T. Willey—67.
Chester D. Hubbard,	

Mr. EARLY moved to amend the resolution further, by striking out the word "restore," and inserting the word "preserve." Negatived.

Mr. LEAKE moved to amend the resolution further, by adding thereto the following:

"And the people of the non-slaveholding States must abstain from all interference with the institution of slavery as it exists in any of the States, or in any of the common territory; and there must be an entire abandonment of all political organizations based upon the principle of hostility to Southern institutions."

The question being put, was decided in the negative—yeas 40; nays 93.

On motion of Mr. LEAKE, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. William M. Ambler,	Messrs. Walter D. Leake,
James Barbour,	James B. Mallory,
Angus R. Blakey,	Robert L. Montague,
James Boisseau,	Edmund T. Morris,
Peter B. Borst,	Jeremiah Morton,
Wood Bouldin,	William J. Neblett,
John R. Chambliss,	George W. Randolph,
Manilius Chapman,	George W. Richardson,
Raphael M. Conn,	William C. Scott,
Miers W. Fisher,	John T. Seawell,
Samuel L. Graham,	John M. Speed,
William L. Goggin,	James M. Strange,
John Goode, Jr.	John T. Thornton,
L. S. Hall,	Robert H. Turner,
Lewis E. Harvie,	Franklin P. Turner,
James P. Holcombe,	John Tyler,
Eppa Hunton,	Samuel C. Williams,
Lewis D. Isbell,	Henry A. Wise,
Robert C. Kent,	Samuel Woods,
John J. Kindred,	Benj. F. Wysor—41.
James Lawson,	

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. Marmaduke Johnson,
Ed'd M. Armstrong,	Peter C. Johnston,
William B. Aston,	John R. Kilby,
John B. Baldwin,	John F. Lewis,
Alfred M. Barbour,	William McComas,
George Baylor,	James C. McGrew,
George W. Berlin,	Paul McNeil,
George Blow, Jr.	William H. Macfarland,
Caleb Boggess,	Charles K. Mallory,
William W. Boyd,	James Marshall,
Thomas Branch,	John Q. Marr,
George W. Brent,	John L. Marye, Sr.
William G. Brown,	Thomas Maslin,
James C. Bruce,	Henry H. Masters,
John S. Burdett,	Horatio G. Moffett,
James Burley,	Samuel McD. Moore,
Benjamin W. Byrne,	Hugh M. Nelson,
John A. Campbell,	Johnson Orrick,
Allen T. Caperton,	Logan Osburn,
John S. Carlile,	William C. Parks,
John A. Carter,	Spicer Patrick,
C. B. Conrad,	Edmund Pendleton,
Robert Y. Conrad,	George McC. Porter,
James H. Couch,	Wm. Ballard Preston,
John Critcher,	Samuel Price,
W. H. B. Custis,	David Pugh,
Marshall M. Dent,	Robert E. Scott,
Harvey Deskins,	John D. Sharp,
James B. Dorman,	James W. Sheffey,
Jubal A. Early,	Thomas Sitlington,
John Echols,	Charles R. Slaughter,
Thomas S. Flournoy,	Valentine W. Southall,
Napoleon B. French,	Burwell Spurlock,
Colbert C. Fugate,	Samuel G. Staples,
Samuel M. Garland,	Alex. H. H. Stuart,
H. L. Gillespie,	Chapman J. Stuart,
Peyton Gravely,	George W. Summers,
Algernon S. Gray,	William T. Sutherlin,
Addison Hall,	Campbell Tarr,
Cyrus Hall,	George P. Tayloe,
Ephraim B. Hall,	Edward Waller,
Allen C. Hammond,	William White,
Alpheus F. Haymond,	Robert H. Whitfield,
James W. Hoge,	Williams C. Wickham,

Messrs. J. G. Holladay,
Chester D. Hubbard,
John J. Jackson,

Messrs. Waitman T. Willey,
Benjamin Wilson—93.

The seventh resolution, as amended, was then adopted.

Mr. PRICE moved that the eighth resolution be passed by for the present with the view of considering the ninth resolution, and the question being put, was decided in the affirmative—yeas 68; nays 67.

On motion of Mr. WISE, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. J. G. Holladay,
Edward M. Armstrong,	Chester D. Hubbard,
William B. Aston,	John J. Jackson,
John B. Baldwin,	Peter C. Johnston,
George Baylor,	John F. Lewis,
George W. Berlin,	William McComas,
George Blow, Jr.	James C. McGrew,
Caleb Boggess,	Paul McNeil,
William W. Boyd,	James Marshall,
Thomas Branch,	Thomas Maslin,
William G. Brown,	Henry H. Masters,
John S. Burdett,	Samuel McD. Moore,
James Burley,	Logan Osburn,
Benjamin W. Byrne,	Spicer Patrick,
John A. Campbell,	Edmund Pendleton,
Allen T. Caperton,	George McC. Porter,
John A. Carter,	Wm. Ballard Preston,
C. B. Conrad,	Samuel Price,
Robert Y. Conrad,	David Pugh,
James H. Couch,	Robert E. Scott,
John Critcher,	William C. Scott,
Marshall M. Dent,	John D. Sharp,
Harvey Deskins,	Thomas Sitlington,
Jubal A. Early,	Burwell Spurlock,
Napoleon B. French,	Samuel G. Staples,
Colbert C. Fugate,	Alex. H. H. Stuart,
H. L. Gillespie,	Chapman J. Stuart,
Peyton Gravely,	George W. Summers,
Algernon S. Gray,	Campbell Tarr,
Addison Hall,	George P. Tayloe,
Ephraim B. Hall,	Edward Waller,
Allen C. Hammond,	William White,
Alpheus F. Haymond,	Williams C. Wickham,
James W. Hoge,	Wait. T. Willey—68.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. William M. Ambler,	Messrs. Charles K. Mallory,
James Barbour,	James B. Mallory,
Angus R. Blakey,	John Q. Marr,
James Boisseau,	John L. Marye, Sr.
Peter B. Borst,	Fleming B. Miller,
Wood Bouldin,	Horatio G. Moffett,
George W. Brent,	Robert L. Montague,
James C. Bruce,	Edmund T. Morris,
John S. Carlile,	Jeremiah Morton,
John R. Chambliss,	William J. Neblett,
Manilius Chapman,	Hugh M. Nelson,
Samuel A. Coffman,	Johnson Orrick,
Raphael M. Conn,	William C. Parks,
W. H. B. Custis,	George W. Randolph,
James B. Dorman,	George W. Richardson,
John Echols,	John T. Seawell,
Miers W. Fisher,	James W. Sheffey,
Thomas S. Flournoy,	Charles R. Slaughter,
Samuel M. Garland,	Valentine W. Southall,
Samuel L. Graham,	John M. Speed,
William L. Goggin,	James M. Strange,
John Goode, Jr.	William T. Sutherlin,
Cyrus Hall,	John T. Thornton,
L. S. Hall,	William M. Tredway,
James P. Holcombe,	Robert H. Turner,
Eppa Hunton,	Franklin P. Turner,
Lewis D. Isbell,	John Tyler,
Marmaduke Johnson,	Robert H. Whitfield,
Robert C. Kent,	Samuel C. Williams,
John R. Kilby,	Benjamin Wilson,
John J. Kindred,	Henry A. Wise,
James Lawson,	Samuel Woods,
Walter D. Leake,	Benj. F. Wysor—67.
William H. Macfarland,	

Mr. CONRAD moved to amend the ninth resolution, by striking out the words "the exercise of this right," in the first line, and inserting in lieu thereof, "withdrawal from the Federal Government."

Mr. WISE raised a question of order, viz: that "the Committee of the Whole, by vote, decided to pass by the eighth resolution of the pending report without deciding to what subsequent resolution of the report it would pass to the consideration of;" and that the motion of Mr. CONRAD "proposes to amend the matter of the eighth resolution which had been passed by."

The Chairman (Mr. SOUTHALL) overruled the point of order.

The amendment submitted by Mr. CONRAD was then agreed to—yeas 77; nays 58.

On motion of Mr. WISE, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. Marmaduke Johnson,
Edward M. Armstrong,	Peter C. Johnston,
William B. Aston,	John R. Kilby,
John B. Baldwin,	John F. Lewis,
Alfred M. Barbour,	William McComas,
George Baylor,	James C. McGrew,
George W. Berlin,	Paul McNeil,
George Blow, Jr.	William H. Macfarland,
Caleb Boggess,	James Marshall,
William W. Boyd,	Thomas Maslin,
Thomas Branch,	Henry H. Masters,
William G. Brown,	Horatio G. Moffett,
John S. Burdett,	Samuel McD. Moore,
James Burley,	Hugh M. Nelson,
Benj. W. Byrne,	Logan Osburn,
John A. Campbell,	Spicer Patrick,
Allen T. Caperton,	Edmund Pendleton,
John S. Carlile,	George McC. Porter,
John A. Carter,	Wm. Ballard Preston,
C. B. Contad,	Samuel Price,
Robert Y. Conrad,	David Pugh,
James H. Couch,	Robert E. Scott,
John Critcher,	John D. Sharp,
W. H. B. Custis,	Thomas Sitlington,
Marshall M. Dent,	Valentine W. Southall,
Harvey Deskins,	Burwell Spurlock,
James B. Dorman,	Samuel G. Staples,
Jubal A. Early,	Alex. H. H. Stuart,
Napoleon B. French,	Chapman J. Stuart,
H. L. Gillespie,	George W. Summers,
Algernon S. Gray,	Campbell Tarr,
Addison Hall,	George P. Tayloe,
Ephraim B. Hall,	Edward Waller,
Allen C. Hammond,	William White,
Alpheus F. Haymond,	Robert H. Whitfield,
James W. Hoge,	Williams C. Wickham,
J. G. Holladay,	Waitman T. Willey,
Chester D. Hubbard,	Benjamin Wilson—77.
John J. Jackson,	

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. William M. Ambler,	Messrs. James Lawson,
James Barbour,	Walter D. Leake,
Angus R. Blakey,	Charles K. Mallory,
James Boisseau,	James B. Mallory,
Peter B. Borst,	John Q. Marr,
Wood Bouldin,	John L. Marye, Sr.
George W. Brent,	Fleming B. Miller,
James C. Bruce,	Robert L. Montague,
John R. Chambliss,	Edmund T. Morris,
Manilius Chapman,	Jeremiah Morton,
Samuel A. Coffman,	William J. Neblett,
Raphael M. Conn,	Johnson Orrick,
John Echols,	William C. Parks,
Miers W. Fisher,	George W. Randolph,
Thomas S. Flournoy,	George W. Richardson,
Samuel M. Garland,	John T. Seawell,
Samuel L. Graham,	James W. Sheffey,
Peyton Gravelly,	John M. Speed,
William L. Goggin,	James M. Strange,
John Goode, Jr.	William T. Sutherland,
F. L. Hale,	John T. Thornton,
Cyrus Hall,	William M. Tredway,
L. S. Hall,	Robert H. Turner,
Lewis E. Harvie,	Franklin P. Turner,
James P. Holcombe,	John Tyler,
Eppa Hunton,	Samuel C. Williams,
Lewis D. Isbell,	Henry A. Wise,
Robert C. Kent,	Samuel Woods,
John J. Kindred,	Benj. F. Wysor—58.

Mr. MACFARLAND moved to amend the resolution further, by striking out all after the word “States,” in the sixth line, and inserting in lieu thereof, the following:

To the adjustment whereof, and to the recognition of the independence of the Confederate States of the South or their restoration to their former relations, as negotiations may eventuate, the Federal Government is hereby called upon to address itself.

Mr. DORMAN demanded a division of the question, and it was put upon striking out, and determined in the negative—yeas 58; nays 71.

On motion of Mr. MACFARLAND, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. William M. Ambler,	Messrs. James Lawson,
Angus R. Blakey,	Walter D. Leake,

Messrs. James Boisseau,
 Peter B. Borst,
 Wood Bouldin,
 William W. Boyd,
 Thomas Branch,
 James C. Bruce,
 John R. Chambliss,
 Manilius Chapman,
 Samuel A. Coffinan,
 Raphael M. Conn,
 James B. Dorman,
 John Echols,
 Miers W. Fisher,
 Thomas S. Flournoy,
 Samuel M. Garland,
 Samuel L. Graham,
 John Goode, Jr.
 F. L. Hale,
 Cyrus Hall,
 L. S. Hall,
 Lewis E. Harvie,
 James P. Holcombe,
 Eppa Hunton,
 Lewis D. Isbell,
 Robert C. Kent,
 John R. Kilby,
 John J. Kindred,

Messrs. William H. Macfarland,
 Charles K. Mallory,
 James B. Mallory,
 John Q. Marr,
 John L. Marye, Sr.
 Fleming B. Miller,
 Robert L. Montague,
 Edmund T. Morris,
 Jeremiah Morton,
 William J. Neblett,
 George W. Randolph,
 George W. Richardson,
 John T. Seawell,
 James W. Sheffey,
 Charles R. Slaughter,
 John M. Speed,
 James M. Strange,
 William T. Sutherlin,
 John T. Thornton,
 William M. Tredway,
 Robert H. Turner,
 Franklin P. Turner,
 John Tyler,
 Samuel C. Williams,
 Benjamin Wilson,
 Henry A. Wise,
 Samuel Woods—58.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (*Pres't*)
 Edward M. Armstrong,
 William B. Aston,
 John B. Baldwin,
 Alfred M. Barbour,
 George Baylor,
 George W. Berlin,
 Caleb Boggess,
 George W. Brent,
 William G. Brown,
 John S. Burdett,
 John A. Campbell,
 John S. Carlile,
 John A. Carter,
 C. B. Conrad,
 Robert Y. Conrad,
 James H. Couch,

Messrs. Peter C. Johnston,
 John F. Lewis,
 William McComas,
 James C. McGrew,
 Paul McNeil,
 James Marshall,
 Thomas Maslin,
 Henry H. Masters,
 Horatio G. Moffett,
 Samuel McD. Moore,
 Hugh M. Nelson,
 Johnson Orrick,
 Logan Osburn,
 William C. Parks,
 Spicer Patrick,
 Edmund Pendleton,
 George McC. Porter,

Messrs. John Critcher,
 W. H. B. Custis,
 Harvey Deskins,
 Jubal A. Early,
 Napoleon B. French,
 Colbert C. Fugate,
 H. L. Gillespie,
 Peyton Gravelly,
 Algernon S. Gray,
 William L. Goggin,
 Addison Hall,
 Ephraim B. Hall,
 Allen C. Hammond,
 Alpheus F. Haymond,
 James W. Hoge,
 J. G. Holladay,
 Chester D. Hubbard,
 John J. Jackson,
 Marmaduke Johnson,

Messrs. Wm. Ballard Preston,
 Samuel Price,
 David Pugh,
 Robert E. Scott,
 William C. Scott,
 John D. Sharp,
 Thomas Sitlington,
 Burwell Spurlock,
 Samuel G. Staples,
 Alex. H. H. Stuart,
 Chapman J. Stuart,
 George W. Summers,
 Campbell Tarr,
 George P. Tayloe,
 Edward Waller,
 William White,
 Williams C. Wickham,
 Wait. T. Willey—71.

Mr. BLOW moved to amend the resolution further, by striking out all after the word "States," in the tenth line, and inserting in lieu thereof, the following:

"With a view to the peaceable adjustment of these and kindred questions, the people of Virginia hereby express their earnest desire that the federal authorities, if so empowered, shall recognize the independence of the Confederate States of the South, and make such treaties with them, and pass such laws as separation (if unavoidable) shall render proper and expedient."

Mr. SHEFFEY moved to amend the amendment by striking out the words "if so empowered;" pending the consideration of which,

On motion of Mr. MONTAGUE, the Committee rose.

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SATURDAY, April 6, 1861.

The pending question was upon the motion of Mr. SHEFFEY to strike out the words "if so empowered" from the amendment to the ninth resolution of the report of the Committee on Federal Relations submitted by Mr. BLOW, and being put, was decided in the negative—yeas 64; nays 72.

On motion of Mr. SHEFFEY, the vote was recorded as follows:
The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. Wm. M. Ambler,	Messrs. John R. Kilby,
James Barbour,	John J. Kindred,
Angus R. Blakey,	James Lawson,
James Boisseau,	Walter D. Leake,
Peter B. Borst,	William H. Macfarland,
Wood Bouldin,	Charles K. Mallory,
Thomas Branch,	James B. Mallory,
James C. Bruce,	John Q. Marr,
William P. Cecil,	John L. Marye, Sr.
John R. Chambliss,	Fleming B. Miller,
Manilius Chapman,	Robert L. Montague,
Samuel A. Coffman,	Edmund T. Morris,
Raphael M. Conn,	Jeremiah Morton,
Richard H. Cox,	William J. Neblett,
John Echols,	William C. Parks,
Miers W. Fisher,	George W. Randolph,
Thomas S. Flournoy,	George W. Richardson,
Samuel M. Garland,	William C. Scott,
Samuel L. Graham,	John T. Seawell,
Fendall Gregory, Jr.	James W. Sheffey,
William L. Goggin,	John M. Speed,
John Goode, Jr.	Samuel G. Staples,
F. L. Hale,	James M. Strange,
Cyrus Hall,	William T. Sutherland,
L. S. Hall,	John T. Thornton,
Allen C. Hammond,	William M. Tredway,
Lewis E. Harvie,	Robert H. Turner,
James W. Hoge,	John Tyler,
James P. Holcombe,	Samuel C. Williams,
Eppa Hunton,	Benjamin Wilson,
Lewis D. Isbell,	Henry A. Wise,
Robert C. Kent,	Benj. F. Wysor—64.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. John J. Jackson,
Ed'd M. Armstrong,	Marmaduke Johnson,
William B. Aston,	Peter C. Johnston,
John B. Baldwin,	John F. Lewis,
Alfred M. Barbour,	William McComas,
George Baylor,	James C. McGrew,
George W. Berlin,	Paul McNeil,
George Blow, Jr.	James Marshall,
Caleb Boggess,	Thomas Maslin,

Messrs. George W. Brent,
 William G. Brown,
 John S. Burdett,
 James Burley,
 Benj. W. Byrne,
 John A. Campbell,
 Allen T. Caperton,
 John S. Carlile,
 John A. Carter,
 C. B. Conrad,
 Robert Y. Conrad,
 James H. Couch,
 John Critcher,
 W. H. B. Custis,
 Marshall M. Dent,
 Harvey Deskins,
 Jubal A. Early,
 Napoleon B. French,
 Colbert C. Fugate,
 H. L. Gillespie,
 Peyton Gravely,
 Addison Hall,
 Ephraim B. Hall,
 Alpheus F. Haymond,
 J. G. Holladay,
 Chester D. Hubbard,
 John N. Hughes,

Messrs. Henry H. Masters,
 Horatio G. Moffett,
 Samuel McD. Moore,
 Hugh M. Nelson,
 Logan Osburn,
 Spicer Patrick,
 Edmund Pendleton,
 George McC. Porter,
 Wm. Ballard Preston,
 Samuel Price,
 David Pugh,
 Timothy Rives,
 Robert E. Scott,
 John D. Sharp,
 Thomas Sitlington,
 Charles R. Slaughter,
 Valentine W. Southall,
 Burwell Spurlock,
 Alex. H. H. Stuart,
 Chapman J. Stuart,
 George W. Summers,
 Campbell Tarr,
 George P. Tayloe,
 Edward Waller,
 William White,
 Williams C. Wickham,
 Wait. T. Willey—72.

The question recurred upon the amendment submitted by Mr. BLOW, and was decided in the negative.

Mr. BOULDIN moved to amend the report further, by striking out the ninth resolution, as amended, and inserting the following in lieu thereof.

“The States of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana and Texas, having withdrawn from their association with the other States of the Union, under the Federal Government, and united in a separate Confederacy, the State of Virginia is of opinion, and hereby declares that the separate independence of the seceded States ought to be acknowledged without further delay, and that such treaties should be made with them, and such laws passed, as the separation may make proper.”

The question was put, and decided in the negative—yeas 69; nays 71.

On motion of Mr. FISHER, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. William M. Ambler, Messrs. James Lawson,
 James Barbour, Walter D. Leake,

Messrs. Angus R. Blakey,
 George Blow, Jr.
 James Boisseau,
 Peter B. Borst,
 Wood Bouldin,
 Thomas Branch,
 James C. Bruce,
 William P. Cecil,
 John R. Chambliss,
 Manilius Chapman,
 Samuel A. Coffman,
 Raphael M. Conn,
 James H. Cox,
 Richard H. Cox,
 John Echols,
 Miers W. Fisher,
 Thomas S. Flournoy,
 Samuel M. Garland,
 Samuel L. Graham,
 Fendall Gregory, Jr.
 William L. Goggin,
 John Goode, Jr.
 F. L. Hale,
 Addison Hall,
 Cyrus Hall,
 L. S. Hall,
 Lewis E. Harvie,
 James P. Holcombe,
 Eppa Hunton,
 Lewis D. Isbell,
 Robert C. Kent,
 John R. Kilby,
 John J. Kindred,

Messrs. William H. Macfarland,
 Charles K. Mallory,
 James B. Mallory,
 John Q. Marr,
 John L. Marye, Sr.
 Fleming B. Miller,
 Robert L. Montague,
 Edmund T. Morris,
 Jeremiah Morton,
 William J. Neblett,
 William C. Parks,
 George W. Randolph,
 George W. Richardson,
 William C. Scott,
 John T. Seawell,
 James W. Sheffey,
 Charles R. Slaughter,
 Valentine W. Sonthall,
 John M. Speed,
 Samuel G. Staples,
 James M. Strange,
 William T. Sutherlin,
 John T. Thornton,
 William M. Tredway,
 Robert H. Turner,
 Franklin P. Turner,
 John Tyler,
 Edward Waller,
 Sam'l C. Williams,
 Benjamin Wilson,
 Henry A. Wise,
 Benj. F. Wysor—69.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. Chester D. Hubbard,
Edward M. Armstrong,	John N. Hughes,
William B. Aston,	John J. Jackson,
John B. Baldwin,	Marmaduke Johnson,
Alfred M. Barbour,	Peter C. Johnston,
George Baylor,	John F. Lewis,
George W. Berlin,	William McComas,
Caleb Boggess,	James C. McGrew,
William W. Boyd,	Paul McNeil,
George W. Brent,	James Marshall,
William G. Brown,	Thomas Maslin,

Messrs. John S. Burdett,
 James Burley,
 Benjamin W. Byrne,
 John A. Campbell,
 Allen T. Caperton,
 John S. Carlile,
 John A. Carter,
 C. B. Conrad,
 Robert Y. Conrad,
 James H. Couch,
 John Critcher,
 W. H. B. Custis,
 Marshall M. Dent,
 Harvey Deskins,
 Jubal A. Early,
 Napoleon B. French,
 Colbert C. Fugate,
 H. L. Gillespie,
 Peyton Gravely,
 Algernon S. Gray,
 Ephraim B. Hall,
 Allen C. Hammond,
 Alpheus F. Haymond,
 James W. Hoge,
 J. G. Holladay,

Messrs. Henry H. Masters,
 Horatio G. Moffett,
 Samuel McD. Moore,
 Hugh M. Nelson,
 Logan Osburn,
 Spicer Patrick,
 Edmund Pendleton,
 George McC. Porter,
 Wm. Ballard Preston,
 Samuel Price,
 David Pugh,
 Timothy Rives,
 Robert E. Scott,
 John D. Sharp,
 Thomas Sitlington,
 Burwell Spurlock,
 Alex. H. H. Stuart,
 Chapman J. Stuart,
 George W. Summers,
 Campbell Tarr,
 George P. Tayloe,
 William White,
 Williams C. Wickham,
 Wait. T. Willey—71.

Mr. WISE moved to amend the ninth resolution further, by striking out all after the word "is," in the eleventh line, and inserting in lieu thereof, "should forbear the exercise of powers touching these questions until pending difficulties are adjusted."

The question was put, and decided in the negative.

Mr. GARLAND moved to amend the resolution further by striking from the third line the words "without the assent of the other States," and the question being put, was decided in the negative—yeas 54; nays 80.

On motion of Mr. FISHER, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. William M. Ambler,
 James Barbour,
 Angus R. Blakey,
 James Boisseau,
 Peter B. Borst,
 Wood Bouldin,
 Thomas Branch,
 James C. Bruce,
 William P. Cecil,

Messrs. Eppa Hunton,
 Lewis D. Isbell,
 Robert C. Kent,
 John J. Kindred,
 James Lawson,
 Walter D. Leake,
 Charles K. Mallory,
 James B. Mallory,
 John L. Marye, Sr.

Messrs. John R. Chambliss,
 Manilius Chapman,
 Samuel A. Coffman,
 Raphael M. Conn,
 Richard H. Cox,
 John Echols,
 Miers W. Fisher,
 Thomas S. Flourney,
 Samuel M. Garland,
 Samuel L. Graham,
 Fendall Gregory, Jr.
 John Goode, Jr.
 F. L. Hale,
 Cyrus Hall,
 L. S. Hall,
 Allen C. Hammond,
 Lewis E. Harvie,
 James P. Holcombe,

Messrs. Fleming B. Miller,
 Robert L. Montague,
 Edmund T. Morris,
 Jeremiah Morton,
 William J. Neblett,
 George W. Randolph,
 George W. Richardson,
 William C. Scott,
 John T. Seawell,
 James W. Sheffey,
 John M. Speed,
 James M. Strange,
 William T. Sutherlin,
 John T. Thornton;
 Robert H. Turner,
 Henry A. Wise,
 Samuel Woods,
 Benj. F. Wysor—54.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (*Pres't*)
 E. M. Armstrong,
 William B. Aston,
 John B. Baldwin,
 George Baylor,
 George W. Berlin,
 George Blow, Jr.
 Caleb Boggess,
 William W. Boyd,
 George W. Brent,
 William G. Brown,
 John S. Burdett,
 James Burley,
 Benjamin W. Byrne,
 John A. Campbell,
 Allen T. Caperton,
 John S. Carlile,
 John A. Carter,
 C. B. Conrad,
 Robert Y. Conrad,
 James H. Couch,
 John Critcher,
 W. H. B. Custis,
 Marshall M. Dent,
 Harvey Deskins,
 Jubal A. Early,

Messrs. Peter C. Johnston,
 John R. Kilby,
 John F. Lewis,
 William McComas,
 James C. McGrew,
 Paul McNeil,
 Wm. H. Macfarland,
 James Marshall,
 John Q. Marr,
 Thomas Maslin,
 Henry H. Masters,
 Horatio G. Moffett,
 Samuel McD. Moore,
 Hugh M. Nelson,
 Logan Osburn,
 William C. Parks,
 Spicer Patrick,
 Edmund Pendleton,
 George McC. Porter,
 Wm. Ballard Preston,
 Samuel Price,
 David Pugh,
 Timothy Rives,
 Robert E. Scott,
 John D. Sharp,
 Thomas Sidlington,

Messrs. Napoleon B. French,	Messrs. Charles R. Slaughter,
Colbert C. Fugate,	Valentine W. Southall,
H. L. Gillespie,	Burwell Spurlock,
Peyton Gravely,	Samuel G. Staples,
William L. Goggin,	Alex. H. H. Stuart,
Addison Hall,	Chapman J. Stuart,
Ephraim B. Hall,	George W. Summers,
Alphens F. Haymond,	Campbell Tarr,
James W. Hoge,	George P. Tayloe,
J. G. Holladay,	Edward Waller,
Chester D. Hubbard,	William White,
John N. Hughes,	Williams C. Wickham,
John J. Jackson,	Waitman T. Willey,
Marmaduke Johnson,	Benjamin Wilson—80.

Mr. FISHER moved to amend the resolution further, by inserting after the word "authorities," in the tenth line, the words "as they were constituted when this section was drafted;" and the question being put was decided in the negative.

The ninth resolution, as amended, was then adopted—yeas 91; nays 37.

On motion of Mr. WISE, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. Peter C. Johnston,
Ed'd M. Armstrong,	John R. Kilby,
William B. Aston,	John F. Lewis,
John B. Baldwin,	William McComas,
Alfred M. Barbour,	James C. McGrew,
George Baylor,	Paul McNeil,
George W. Berlin,	Charles K. Mallory,
George Blow, Jr.	James B. Mallory,
William W. Boyd,	James Marshall,
George W. Brent,	John Q. Marr,
William G. Brown,	John L. Marye, Sr.
John S. Burdett,	Thomas Maslin,
James Burley,	Henry H. Masters,
Benjamin W. Byrne,	Horatio G. Moffett,
John A. Campbell,	Samuel McD. Moore,
Allen T. Caperton,	Hugh M. Nelson,
John A. Carter,	Johnson Orrick,
Manilius Chapman,	Logan Osburn,
Samuel A. Coffman,	William C. Parks,
C. B. Conrad,	Spicer Patrick,
Robert Y. Conrad,	Edmund Pendleton,
James H. Couch,	George McC. Porter,
John Critcher,	Wm. Ballard Preston,

Messrs. W. H. B. Custis,
 Marshall M. Dent,
 Harvey Deskins,
 Jubal A. Early,
 John Echols,
 Thomas S. Flourney,
 Napoleon B. French,
 Colbert C. Fugate,
 Samuel M. Garland,
 H. L. Gillespie,
 Peyton Gravely,
 William L. Goggin,
 F. L. Hale,
 Addison Hall,
 Ephraim B. Hall,
 L. S. Hall,
 Allen C. Hammond,
 Alpheus F. Haymond,
 James W. Hoge,
 J. G. Holladay,
 Chester D. Hubbard,
 John N. Hughes,
 John J. Jackson,
 Marmaduke Johnson,

Messrs. Samuel Price,
 David Pugh,
 Timothy Rives,
 Robert E. Scott,
 John D. Sharp,
 James W. Sheffey,
 Thomas Sitlington,
 Charles R. Slaughter,
 Valentine W. Southall,
 Burwell Spurlock,
 Samuel G. Staples,
 Alex. H. H. Stuart,
 Chapman J. Stuart,
 James M. Strange,
 George W. Summers,
 William T. Sutherlin,
 Campbell Tarr,
 George P. Tayloe,
 Edward Waller,
 William White,
 Williams C. Wickham,
 Waitman T. Willey,
 Benjamin Wilson—91.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. Wm. M. Ambler,
 Angus R. Blakey,
 James Boisseau,
 Peter B. Borst,
 Wood Bouldin,
 Thomas Branch,
 William P. Cecil,
 John R. Chambliss,
 Raphael M. Conn,
 Richard H. Cox,
 Miers W. Fisher,
 Samuel L. Graham,
 Fendall Gregory, Jr.
 John Goode, Jr.
 Lewis E. Harvie,
 James P. Holcombe,
 Eppa Hunton,
 Lewis D. Isbell,
 Robert C. Kent,

Messrs. John J. Kindred,
 Walter D. Leake,
 Wm. H. Macfarland,
 Fleming B. Miller,
 Robert L. Montague,
 Edmund T. Morris,
 Jeremiah Morton,
 George W. Randolph,
 George W. Richardson,
 William C. Scott,
 John T. Seawell,
 John M. Speed,
 John T. Thornton,
 Robert H. Turner,
 Franklin P. Turner,
 John Tyler,
 Henry A. Wise,
 Samuel Woods,
 Benj. F. Wysesor—37.

On motion of Mr. PRESTON, the Committee returned to the consideration of the eighth resolution.

Mr. CARLILE moved to amend the resolution, by striking out all after the word "and," in the third line, and inserting the following:

"In the language of Virginia's illustrious statesman, James Madison, whom the people of Virginia have been taught to venerate and revere as the wisest, safest and truest expounder of the Constitution which he so largely contributed to construct, that that instrument 'makes the Government to operate directly on the people, places at its command the needful physical means of executing its powers, and finally proclaims its supremacy and that of the laws made in pursuance of it, over the Constitution and laws of the States, subject to the revolutionary rights of the people, in extreme cases, that a political system that does not provide for a peaceable and authoritative termination of existing controversies would not be more than the shadow of a government, the object and end of a real government being the substitution of law and order for uncertainty, confusion and violence. That in the event of a failure of every Constitutional resort, and an accumulation of usurpations and abuses, rendering passive obedience and non-resistance a greater evil than resistance and revolution, there can remain but one resort, the last of all, an appeal from the cancelled obligations of the Constitutional compact to the original rights and the law of self-preservation. This is the *ultima ratio* of all governments, whether consolidated, confederated, or a compound of both. It cannot be doubted that a single member of the Union, in the extremity supposed, BUT IN THAT ONLY, would have a right, as an extra and ultra Constitutional right, to make the appeal.' "

Mr. EARLY demanded a division of the question, and it was put upon striking out, and decided in the negative—yeas 23; nays 114.

On motion of Mr. WISE, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. John B. Baldwin,	Messrs. John N. Hughes,
George Baylor,	John J. Jackson,
George W. Berlin,	John F. Lewis,
Caleb Boggess,	James C. McGrew,
John S. Burdett,	Henry H. Masters,
James Burley,	Samuel McD. Moore,
John A. Campbell,	George McC. Porter,
John S. Carlile,	William C. Scott,
John A. Carter,	John D. Sharp,
Jubal A. Early,	Alex. H. H. Stuart,
Ephraim B. Hall,	Campbell Tarr—23.
Chester D. Hubbard,	

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. Peter C. Johnston,
William M. Aubler,*	Robert C. Kent,
Edward M. Armstrong,	John R. Kilby,
William B. Aston,	John J. Kindred,
Alfred M. Barbour,	James Lawson,

Messrs. James Barbour,
Angus R. Blakey,
George Blow, Jr.
James Boisseau,
Peter B. Borst,
Wood Bouldin,
William W. Boyd,
George W. Brent,
William G. Brown,
James C. Bruce,
Benjamin W. Byrne,
Allen T. Caperton,
William P. Cecil,
John R. Chambliss,
Manilius Chapman,
Samuel A. Coffinan,
Raphael M. Conn,
C. B. Conrad,
Robert Y. Conrad,
James H. Conch,
Richard H. Cox,
John Critcher,
W. H. B. Custis,
Harvey Deskins,
James B. Dorman,
John Echols,
Miers W. Fisher,
Thomas S. Flournoy,
Napoleon B. French,
Colbert C. Fugate,
Samuel M. Garland,
H. L. Gillespie,
Samuel L. Graham,
Peyton Gravely,
Algernon S. Gray,
Fendall Gregory, Jr.
William L. Goggin,
John Goode, Jr.
F. L. Hale,
Addison Hall,
Cyrus Hall,
L. S. Hall,
Allen C. Hammond,
Lewis E. Harvie,
Alphens F. Haymond,
James W. Hoge,
James P. Holcombe,

Messrs. Walter D. Leake,
William McComas,
Paul McNeil,
William H. Macfarland,
Charles K. Mallory,
James B. Mallory,
James Marshall,
John Q. Marr,
John L. Marye, Sr.
Thomas Maslin,
Fleming B. Miller,
Horatio G. Moffett,
Robert L. Montague,
Edmund T. Morris,
Jeremiah Morton,
William J. Neblett,
Hugh M. Nelson,
Johnson Orrick,
Logan Osburn,
William C. Parks,
Spicer Patrick,
Edmund Pendleton,
Wm. Ballard Preston,
Samuel Price,
David Pugh,
George W. Randolph,
George W. Richardson,
Robert E. Scott,
John T. Scawell,
James W. Sheffield,
Thomas Sitlington,
Charles R. Slaughter,
Valentine W. Southall,
John M. Speed,
Burwell Spurlock,
Samuel G. Staples,
Chapman J. Stuart,
James M. Strange,
George W. Summers,
William T. Sutherlin,
George P. Tayloe,
John T. Thornton,
Robert H. Turner,
Franklin P. Turner,
John Tyler,
Edward Waller,
Williams C. Wickham,

Messrs. J. G. Holladay,
George W. Hull,
Eppa Hunton,
Lewis D. Isbell,
Marmaduke Johnson,

Messrs. Waitman T. Willey,
Benjamin Wilson,
Henry A. Wise,
Samuel Woods,
Benj. F. Wysor—114.

Mr. BAYLOR moved to amend the resolution further, by inserting after the word "principle," in the first line, the words "as established in the American Revolution."

The question was put and decided in the negative—yeas 29; nays 106.

On motion of Mr. BROWN, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. John B. Baldwin,
George Baylor,
George W. Berlin,
William G. Brown,
John S. Burdett,
James Burley,
John A. Campbell,
John S. Carlile,
John A. Carter,
James H. Couch,
Marshall M. Dent,
Jubal A. Early,
Ephraim B. Hall,
Chester D. Hubbard,
John N. Hughes,

Messrs. John J. Jackson,
John F. Lewis,
James C. McGrew,
Henry H. Masters,
Samuel McD. Moore,
Logan Osburn,
Spicer Patrick,
George McC. Porter,
John D. Sharp,
Alex. H. H. Stuart,
Chapman J. Stuart,
George W. Summers,
Campbell Tarr,
Wait. T. Willey—29.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (*Pres't*)
William M. Ambler,
Edward M. Armstrong,
William B. Aston,
Alfred M. Barbour,
James Barbour,
Angus R. Blakey,
George Blow, Jr.
Caleb Boggess,
James Boisseau,
Peter B. Borst,
Wood Bouldin,
William W. Boyd,
Thomas Branch,
George W. Brent,
Benj. W. Byrne,

Messrs. Lewis D. Isbell,
Marmaduke Johnson,
Peter C. Johnston,
Robert C. Kent,
John R. Kilby,
John J. Kindred,
James Lawson,
Walter D. Leake,
William McComas,
Paul McNeil,
William H. Macfarland,
Charles K. Mallory,
James B. Mallory,
James Marshall,
John Q. Marr,
John L. Marye, Sr.

Messrs. Allen T. Caperton,
 William P. Cecil,
 John R. Chambliss,
 Manilius Chapman,
 Samuel A. Coffinan,
 Raphael M. Conn,
 C. B. Conrad,
 Robert Y. Conrad,
 Richard H. Cox,
 John Crichter,
 W. H. B. Custis,
 Harvey Deskins,
 James B. Dorman,
 John Echols,
 Miers W. Fisher,
 Thomas S. Flourney,
 Napoleon B. French,
 Colbert C. Fugate,
 Samuel M. Garland,
 H. L. Gillespie,
 Samuel L. Graham,
 Peyton Gravely,
 Algernon S. Gray,
 Fendall Gregory, Jr.
 William L. Goggin,
 John Goode, Jr.
 F. L. Hale,
 Addison Hall,
 Cyrus Hall,
 L. S. Hall,
 Allen C. Hammond,
 Lewis E. Harvie,
 Alpheus F. Haymond,
 James W. Hoge,
 James P. Holcombe,
 J. G. Holladay,
 Eppa Hunton,

Messrs. Thomas Maslin,
 Fleming B. Miller,
 Horatio G. Moffett,
 Robert L. Montague,
 Edmund T. Morris,
 Jeremiah Morton,
 William J. Neblett,
 Hugh M. Nelson,
 Johnson Orrick,
 William C. Parks,
 Edmund Pendleton,
 Wm. Ballard Preston,
 Samuel Price,
 David Pugh,
 George W. Randolph,
 George W. Richardson,
 Robert E. Scott,
 John T. Seawell,
 James W. Sheffey,
 Thomas Sitlington,
 Charles R. Slaughter,
 John M. Speed,
 Burwell Spurlock,
 Sammel G. Staples,
 James M. Strange,
 William T. Sutherlin,
 George P. Tayloe,
 John T. Thornton,
 Robert H. Turner,
 Franklin P. Turner,
 John Tyler,
 Edward Waller,
 Williams C. Wickham,
 Benjamin Wilson,
 Henry A. Wise,
 Samuel Woods,
 Benj. F. Wysor—106.

Mr. EARLY moved to amend the resolution, by striking out all after the words "of the," in the third line, and insert "United States to resume the powers granted under the Federal Constitution whesonever the same should be perverted to their injury or oppression."

Mr. MONTAGUE demanded a division of the question, and it was put upon striking out, and decided in the negative—yeas 34; nays 98.

On motion of Mr. EARLY, the vote was recorded as follows:
The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. William B. Aston,
John B. Baldwin,
George Baylor,
George W. Berlin,
Caleb Boggess,
William G. Brown,
John S. Burdett,
James Burley,
Benjamin W. Byrne,
John A. Campbell,
John S. Carlile,
John A. Carter,
James H. Couch,
W. H. B. Custis,
Marshall M. Dent,
Jubal A. Early,
Ephraim B. Hall,

Messrs. Chester D. Hubbard,
John N. Hughes,
John J. Jackson,
John F. Lewis,
James C. McGrew,
Henry H. Masters,
Samuel McD. Moore,
Logan Osburn,
Spicer Patrick,
George McC. Porter,
William C. Scott,
John D. Sharp,
Alex. H. H. Stuart,
Chapman J. Stuart,
George W. Sumners,
Campbell Tarr,
Wait. T. Willey—34.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (*Pres't*)
William M. Ambler,
Edward M. Armstrong,
Alfred M. Barbour,
Angus R. Blakey,
George Blow, Jr.
James Boisseau,
Peter B. Borst,
Wood Bouldin,
William W. Boyd,
Thomas Brauch,
George W. Brent,
James C. Bruce,
William P. Cecil,
John R. Chambliss,
Samuel A. Coffman,
Raphael M. Conn,
C. B. Conrad,
Robert Y. Conrad,
Richard H. Cox,
John Critcher,
Harvey Deskins,
James B. Dorman,
John Echols,

Messrs. Peter C. Johnston,
Robert C. Kent,
John R. Kilby,
John J. Kindred,
James Lawson,
Walter D. Leake,
William McComas,
Paul McNeil,
William H. Macfarland,
Charles K. Mallory,
James Marshall,
John Q. Marr,
John L. Marye, Sr.
Thomas Maslin,
Fleming B. Miller,
Horatio G. Moffett,
Robert L. Montague,
Edmund T. Morris,
Jeremiah Morton,
William J. Neblett,
Hugh M. Nelson,
Johnson Orrick,
William C. Parks,
Wm. Ballard Preston,

Messrs. Miers W. Fisher,	Messrs. Samuel Price,
Thomas S. Flournoy,	David Pugh,
Napoleon B. French,	George W. Randolph,
Colbert C. Fugate,	George W. Richardson,
Samuel M. Garland,	Robert E. Scott,
H. L. Gillespie,	John T. Seawell,
Samuel L. Graham,	James W. Sheffey,
Peyton Gravely,	Thomas Sitlington,
Algernon S. Gray,	Charles R. Slaughter,
Eendall Gregory, Jr.	John M. Speed,
William L. Goggin,	Burwell Spurlock,
John Goode, Jr.	Samuel G. Staples,
F. L. Hale,	James M. Strange,
Addison Hall,	William T. Sutherlin,
Cyrus Hall,	George P. Tayloe,
L. S. Hall,	John T. Thornton,
Allen C. Hammond,	Robert H. Turner,
Lewis E. Harvie,	Franklin P. Turner,
Alpheus F. Haymond,	John Tyler,
James W. Hoge,	Edward Waller,
James P. Holcombe,	Williams C. Wickham,
J. G. Holladay,	Benjamin Wilson,
Eppa Hunton,	Henry A. Wise,
Lewis D. Isbell,	Samuel Woods,
Marmaduke Johnson,	Benj. F. Wysor—98.

Mr. JACKSON moved to amend the resolution, by inserting between the words “the” and “right,” in the third line, the word “revolutionary,” and the question being put, was decided in the negative.

Mr. CAMPBELL moved to amend the resolution, by striking out all from the word “they,” in the third line, to “and,” in the seventh line, and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

“Assent that the people of the several States whensoever the powers granted by them under the Federal Constitution shall be perverted to their injury or oppression, have the extra ultra constitutional right to resume the same, and that every power not granted by them remains with them and at their will.”

The question was put and decided in the negative.

On motion of Mr. SUMMERS, the resolution was amended, by striking from the third line the words “they concede.”

Mr. MONTAGUE moved to amend the resolution further, by inserting the words “they acknowledge” after the word “and” in the third line; and the question being put, was decided in the negative—yeas 29; nays 90.

On motion of Mr. MONTAGUE, the vote was recorded as follows:
The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. Wm. M. Ambler,
Alfred M. Barbour,
James Barbour,
Angus R. Blakey,
George Blow, Jr.
Frederick M. Cabell,
William P. Cecil,
John R. Chambliss,
Samuel A. Coffman,
Raphael M. Conn,
Miers W. Fisher,
Samuel L. Graham,
F. L. Hale,
Eppa Hunton,
Lewis D. Isbell,

Messrs. Robert C. Kent,
John J. Kindred,
Walter D. Leake,
Horatio G. Moffett,
Robert L. Montague,
Edmund T. Morris,
George W. Richardson,
John T. Scawell,
James W. Sheffey,
John M. Speed,
Robert H. Turner,
Henry A. Wise,
Samuel Woods,
Benj. F. Wysor—29.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (*Pres't*)
Ed'd M. Armstrong,
William B. Aston,
John B. Baldwin,
George Baylor,
George W. Berlin,
Caleb Boggess,
Wood Bouldin,
William W. Boyd,
George W. Brent,
William G. Brown,
James C. Bruce,
John S. Burdett,
James Burley,
Benj. W. Byrne,
John A. Campbell,
John S. Carlile,
John A. Carter,
Manilius Chapman,
C. B. Conrad,
Robert Y. Conrad,
James H. Couch,
W. H. B. Custis,
Marshall M. Dent,
Harvey Deskins,
James B. Dorman,

Messrs. John J. Jackson,
Marmaduke Johnson,
Peter C. Johnston,
John R. Kilby,
John F. Lewis,
William McComas,
James C. McGrew,
Paul McNeil,
William H. Macfarland,
Charles K. Mallory,
James B. Mallory,
James Marshall,
John Q. Marr,
John L. Marye, Sr.
Thomas Maslin,
Henry H. Masters,
Fleming B. Miller,
Jeremiah Morton,
Samuel McD. Moore,
William J. Neblett,
Logan Osburn,
William C. Parks,
Spicer Patrick,
George McC. Porter,
Wm. Ballard Preston,
Samuel Price,

Messrs. Jubal A. Early,
 John Echols,
 Thomas S. Flourney,
 Colbert C. Fugate,
 Samuel M. Garland,
 H. L. Gillespie,
 Peyton Gravely,
 William L. Goggin,
 John Goode, Jr.
 Addison Hall,
 Ephraim B. Hall,
 L. S. Hall,
 Allen C. Hammond,
 Lewis E. Harvie,
 James W. Hoge,
 James P. Holcombe,
 J. G. Holladay,
 Chester D. Hubbard,
 John N. Hughes,

Messrs. David Pugh,
 George W. Randolph,
 Robert E. Scott,
 William C. Scott,
 John D. Sharp,
 Charles R. Slaughter,
 Burwell Spurlock,
 Alex. H. H. Stuart,
 Chapman J. Stuart,
 James M. Strange,
 George W. Summers,
 William T. Sutherlin,
 Campbell Tarr,
 George P. Tayloe,
 Edward Waller,
 William White,
 Williams C. Wickham,
 Waitman T. Willey,
 Benjamin Wilson—90.

MR. GOODE, of Bedford, moved to amend the resolution further, by inserting the words "they assert" after the word "and," in the third line; and the question being put was decided in the negative.

MR. TARR moved to amend the resolution further, by striking out all after the word "governed," in the second line, and inserting in lieu thereof, the following:

"Denying the constitutional right of the people of the several States to secede from the Union; yet they may, in the exercise of their revolutionary right, disrupt the ties that bind them to the Federal Government, and form such associations with other States as may best promote their security and welfare."

The question was put, and decided in the negative.

The eighth resolution, as amended, was then adopted.

On motion of Mr. MONTAGUE, the Committee rose.

45

TUESDAY, April 9, 1861.

The consideration of the report of the Committee on Federal Relations was resumed.

MR. CONRAD, of Frederick, moved to amend the tenth resolution, by striking out the words, "Without expressing an opinion as to the question of power, but in deference to," and inserting in lieu thereof the words, "Concurring with." Negatived.

Mr. CONRAD then moved to amend by striking out the words, "Without expressing an opinion as to the question of power, but in deference to the opinion of the Federal authorities," and inserting in lieu thereof, "Believing that the Federal authorities have no power to deal with this subject in any way." The question was put, and decided in the negative—yeas 12; nays 114.

On motion of Mr. WISE, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. Edw'd M. Armstrong,	Messrs. James Marshall,
William G. Brown,	Logan Osburn,
John A. Carter,	David Pugh,
Robert Y. Conrad,	John D. Sharp,
Jubal A. Early,	Chapman J. Stuart,
H. L. Gillespie,	William White—12.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. James P. Holcombe,
William M. Ambler,	Chester D. Hubbard,
William B. Aston,	John N. Hughes,
John B. Baldwin,	George W. Hull,
Alfred M. Barbour,	Eppa Hunton,
James Barbour,	Marmaduke Johnson,
George Baylor,	Peter C. Johnston,
George W. Berlin,	Robert C. Kent,
Angus R. Blakey,	James Lawson,
George Blow, Jr.	Walter D. Leake,
Caleb Boggess,	John F. Lewis,
James Boisseau,	William McComas,
Peter B. Borst,	William H. Macfarland,
Wood Bouldin,	Charles K. Mallory,
Thomas Branch,	James B. Mallory,
George W. Brent,	John Q. Marr,
James C. Bruce,	John L. Marye, Sr.
John S. Burdett,	Henry H. Masters,
Benjamin W. Byrne,	Horatio G. Moffett,
Frederick M. Cabell,	Robert L. Montague,
John A. Campbell,	Edmund T. Morris,
Allen T. Caperton,	Jeremiah Morton,
William P. Cecil,	Samuel McD. Moore,
John R. Chambliss,	William J. Neblett,
Manilius Chapman,	Hugh M. Nelson,
Samuel A. Coffman,	Johnson Orrick,
Raphael M. Conn,	William C. Parks,
C. B. Conrad,	Spicer Patrick,
James H. Couch,	Edmund Pendleton,

Messrs. Richard H. Cox,
 John Critcher,
 W. H. B. Custis,
 Marshall M. Dent,
 Harvey Deskins,
 James B. Dorman,
 William H. Dulany,
 John Echols,
 Thomas S. Flournoy,
 Napoleon B. French,
 Colbert C. Fugate,
 Samuel M. Garland,
 Samuel L. Graham,
 Peyton Gravely,
 Algernon S. Gray,
 Fendall Gregory, Jr.
 William L. Goggin,
 John Goode, Jr.
 Thomas F. Goode,
 F. L. Hale,
 Addison Hall,
 Cyrus Hall,
 Ephraim B. Hall,
 L. S. Hall,
 Allen C. Hammond,
 Lewis E. Harvie,
 Alpheus F. Haymond,
 James W. Hoge,

Messrs. George McC. Porter,
 Samuel Price,
 George W. Richardson,
 Timothy Rives,
 Robert E. Scott,
 William C. Scott,
 John T. Seawell,
 James W. Sheffey,
 Thomas Sitlington,
 Charles R. Slaughter,
 Valentine W. Southall,
 John M. Speed,
 Burwell Spurlock,
 Samuel G. Staples,
 James M. Strange,
 George W. Summers,
 William T. Sutherlin,
 Campbell Tarr,
 George P. Tayloe,
 John T. Thornton,
 William M. Tredway,
 John Tyler,
 Edward Waller,
 Williams C. Wickham,
 Waitman T. Willey,
 Sam'l C. Williams,
 Benjamin Wilson,
 Henry A. Wise—114.

Mr. WISE moved to amend by striking out the whole resolution, and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

“10. The people of Virginia hereby declare their consent to the recognition of the separate independence of the seceded States; that they shall be treated with as independent powers; and that the proper laws shall be passed to effectuate their separation.”

Mr. SCOTT demanded a division of the question, and being put on striking out, was decided in the affirmative.

The question recurred upon inserting the proposition submitted by Mr. WISE, and was decided in the affirmative—yeas 107; nays 20.

On motion of Mr. CARLILE, the vote was recorded as follows:
 'The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. Wm. M. Ambler,
 Edward M. Armstrong,
 William B. Aston,
 John B. Baldwin,

Messrs. James W. Hoge,
 James P. Holcombe,
 Chester D. Hubbard,
 George W. Hull,

Messrs. Alfred M. Barbour,
James Barbour,
George Baylor,
George W. Berlin,
Angus R. Blakey,
George Blow, Jr.
James Boisseau,
Peter B. Borst,
Wood Bouldin,
George W. Brent,
James C. Bruce,
Benjamin W. Byrne,
Frederick M. Cabell,
John A. Campbell,
Allen T. Caperton,
William P. Cecil,
John R. Chambliss,
Manilius Chapman,
Samuel A. Coffman,
Raphael M. Conn,
C. B. Conrad,
Robert Y. Conrad,
James H. Couch,
Richard H. Cox,
John Critcher,
W. H. B. Custis,
Marshall M. Deft,
Harvey Deskins,
James B. Dorman,
William H. Dulany,
John Echols,
Thomas S. Flournoy,
Napoleon B. French,
Colbert C. Fugate,
Samuel M. Garland,
H. L. Gillespie,
Samuel L. Graham,
Peyton Gravely,
Algernon S. Gray,
Fendall Gregory, Jr.
William L. Goggin,
John Goode, Jr.
Thomas F. Goode,
F. L. Hale,
Addison Hall,
Cyrus Hall,
L. S. Hall,

Messrs. Eppa Hunton,
Marmaduke Johnson,
Peter C. Johnston,
Robert C. Kent,
James Lawson,
Walter D. Leake,
William McComas,
William H. Macfarland,
Charles K. Mallory,
James B. Mallory,
James Marshall,
John Q. Marr,
John L. Marye, Sr.
Henry H. Masters,
Horatio G. Moffett,
Robert L. Montague,
Edmund T. Morris,
Jeremiah Morton,
William J. Neblett,
Hugh M. Nelson,
Johnson Orrick,
Logan Osburn,
William C. Parks,
Spicer Patrick,
Edmund Pendleton,
Samuel Price,
David Pugh,
George W. Richardson,
Robert E. Scott,
William C. Scott,
John T. Seawell,
James W. Sheffey,
Thomas Sitlington,
Valentine W. Southall,
John M. Speed,
Burwell Spurlock,
Samuel G. Staples,
Chapman J. Stuart,
James M. Strange,
William T. Sutherlin,
George P. Tayloe,
John T. Thornton,
William M. Tredway,
John Tyler,
Edward Waller,
Williams C. Wickham,
Samuel C. Williams,

Messrs. Allen C. Hammond, Messrs. Benjamin Wilson,
 Lewis E. Harvie, Henry A. Wise—107.
 Alpheus F. Haymond,

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (*Pres't*) Messrs. John F. Lewis,
 Caleb Boggess, James C. McGrew,
 William G. Brown, Samuel McD. Moore,
 John S. Burdett, George McC. Porter,
 John S. Carlile, Timothy Rives,
 John A. Carter, John D. Sharp,
 Jubal A. Early, George W. Summers,
 Ephraim B. Hall, Campbell Tarr,
 John N. Hughes, William White,
 John J. Jackson, Wait. T. Willey—20.

Mr. WICKHAM moved to amend the eleventh resolution, by striking out all after the word "relations," in the third line, and inserting the following:

"Declares that the people of Virginia, confiding in the justice of the people of the other States, appeal to them for a satisfactory adjustment of those difficulties by the adoption of the amendments to the Constitution of the United States, hereto appended; they, therefore, invite the people of the several States, either by popular vote, or in State Conventions, similar to their own, to respond at their earliest convenience to the said proposition of amendment. And they declare that the definite refusal or neglect on the part of the non-slaveholding States to accede to such amendments, should and would result in the total and final disruption of the Union."

Mr. MONTGAUE moved to amend the proposed amendment by striking out the words, "popular vote," and inserting "their proper authorities." Negative.

Mr. GOODE, of Bedford, moved to amend the proposed amendment, by adding thereto the following:

"And in the event that this Commonwealth fails to obtain affirmative responses to her requests, from the non-slaveholding States, she will feel compelled to resume the powers granted by her under the Constitution of the United States, and to throw herself upon her reserved rights."

The question being put, was decided in the negative—yeas 54; nays 69.

On motion of Mr. GOODE, of Bedford, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. William M. Ambler, Messrs. James P. Holcombe,
 Edward M. Armstrong, Eppa Hunton,
 James Barbour, Robert C. Kent,
 Angus R. Blakey, James Lawson,

Messrs. George Blow, Jr.
 James Boisseau,
 Peter B. Borst,
 Wood Bouldin,
 Thomas Branch,
 James C. Bruce,
 Frederick M. Cabell,
 John R. Chambliss,
 Manilius Chapman,
 Samuel A. Coffman,
 Raphael M. Conn,
 Richard H. Cox,
 John Echols,
 Thomas S. Flournoy,
 Samuel M. Garland,
 Samuel L. Graham,
 Fendall Gregory, Jr.
 William L. Goggin,
 John Goode, Jr.
 F. L. Hale,
 Cyrus Hall,
 L. S. Hall,
 Lewis E. Harvie,

Messrs. Walter D. Leake,
 Charles K. Mallory,
 James B. Mallory,
 John Q. Marr,
 John L. Marye, Sr.
 Robert L. Montague,
 Edmund T. Morris,
 Jeremiah Morton,
 William J. Neblett,
 Johnson Orrick,
 William C. Parks,
 George W. Richardson,
 John T. Seawell,
 James W. Sheffield,
 John M. Speed,
 James M. Strange,
 William T. Sutherlin,
 John T. Thornton,
 William M. Tredway,
 John Tyler,
 Samuel C. Williams,
 Benjamin Wilson,
 Henry A. Wise—54.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (*Pres't*)
 William B. Aston,
 John B. Baldwin,
 Alfred M. Barbour,
 George Baylor,
 George W. Berlin,
 Caleb Boggess,
 George W. Brent,
 William G. Brown,
 John S. Burdett,
 Benjamin W. Byrne,
 John A. Campbell,
 Allen T. Caperton,
 John S. Carlile,
 John A. Carter,
 C. B. Conrad,
 Robert Y. Conrad,
 James H. Couch,
 John Critcher,
 W. H. B. Custis,
 Harvey Deskins,

Messrs. John N. Hughes,
 John J. Jackson,
 Marmaduke Johnson,
 Peter C. Johnston,
 John F. Lewis,
 William McComas,
 James C. McGrew,
 William H. Macfarland,
 James Marshall,
 Henry H. Masters,
 Horatio G. Moffett,
 Samuel McD. Moore,
 Logan Osburn,
 Spicer Patrick,
 Edmund Pendleton,
 George McC. Porter,
 Samuel Price,
 David Pugh,
 Timothy Rives,
 Robert E. Scott,
 John D. Sharp,

Messrs. James B. Dorman,
 William H. Dulany,
 Jubal A. Early,
 Napoleon B. French,
 Colbert C. Fugate,
 H. L. Gillespie,
 Peyton Gravely,
 Algernon S. Gray,
 Addison Hall,
 Ephraim B. Hall,
 Allen C. Hammond,
 Alphens F. Haymond,
 James W. Hoge,
 Chester D. Hubbard,

Messrs. Thomas Sitlington,
 Charles R. Slaughter,
 Valentine W. Southall,
 Burwell Spurlock,
 Samuel G. Staples,
 Chapman J. Stuart,
 George W. Summers,
 Campbell Tarr,
 George P. Tayloe,
 Edward Waller,
 William White,
 Williams C. Wickham,
 Wait. T. Willey—69.

Mr. McGREW moved to amend the proposed amendment by striking out the words, "should and would result in the total and final disruption of the Union." Negatived.

The question recurred upon the amendment submitted by Mr. WICKHAM.

Mr. WISE demanded a division of the question, and it was put upon striking out, and decided in the negative—yeas 57; nays 68.

On motion of Mr. WISE, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. John N. Hughes,
William B. Aston,	George W. Hull,
John B. Baldwin,	John J. Jackson,
Alfred M. Barbour,	Peter C. Johnston,
George Baylor,	John F. Lewis,
George W. Berlin,	William McComas,
Caleb Boggess,	James C. McGrew,
William G. Brown,	James Marshall,
John S. Burdett,	Henry H. Masters,
Benjamin W. Byrne,	Horatio G. Moffett,
John A. Campbell,	Samuel McD. Moore,
John S. Carlile,	Logan Osburn,
John A. Carter,	Spicer Patrick,
C. B. Conrad,	Edmund Pendleton,
Robert Y. Conrad,	George McC. Porter,
James H. Couch,	Samuel Price,
W. H. B. Custis,	David Pugh,
Harvey Deskins,	Timothy Rives,
William H. Dulany,	Robert E. Scott,
Jubal A. Early,	John D. Sharp,
Napoleon B. French,	Thomas Sitlington,

Messrs. Colbert C. Fugate, H. L. Gillespie, Peyton Gravely, Algernon S. Gray, Ephraim B. Hall, Alpheus F. Haymond, James W. Hoge, Chester D. Hubbard,	Messrs. Burwell Spurlock, Chapman J. Stuart, George W. Summers, Campbell Tarr, William White, Williams C. Wickham, Wait. T. Willey—57.
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The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. Wm. M. Ambler, Edward M. Armstrong, James Barbour, Angus R. Blakey, George Blow, Jr. James Boisseau, Peter B. Borst, Wood Bouldin, Thomas Branch, George W. Brent, James C. Bruce, Frederick M. Cabell, Allen T. Caperton, John R. Chambliss, Manilius Chapman, Samuel A. Coffman, Raphael M. Conn, Richard H. Cox, John Critcher, James B. Dorman, John Echols, Thomas S. Flournoy, Samuel M. Garland, Samuel L. Graham, Fendall Gregory, Jr. William L. Goggin, John Goode, Jr. Thomas F. Goode, F. L. Hale, Addison Hall, Cyrus Hall, L. S. Hall, Allen C. Hammond, Lewis E. Harvie,	Messrs. James P. Holcombe, Eppa Hunton, Marmaduke Johnson, Robert C. Kent, James Lawson, Walter D. Leake, Wm. H. Macfarland, Charles K. Mallory, James B. Mallory, John Q. Marr, John L. Marye, Sr. Robert L. Montague, Edmund T. Morris, Jeremiah Morton, William J. Neblett, Johnson Orrick, William C. Parks, George W. Richardson, John T. Seawell, James W. Sheffey, Charles R. Slaughter, Valentine W. Southall, John M. Speed, Samuel G. Staples, James M. Strange, William T. Sutherlin, George P. Tayloe, John T. Thornton, William M. Tredway, John Tyler, Edward Waller, Samuel C. Williams, Benjamin Wilson, Henry A. Wise—68.
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Mr. WILSON moved to amend the resolution by striking out

the words, "and to throw herself upon her reserved rights." Negatived.

On motion of Mr. WILLEY, the resolution was amended by striking from the 9th and 10th lines the words, "the positions assumed in the foregoing resolutions, and."

Mr. TARR moved to amend the resolution further by striking out all after the word "appended," in the 11th line; and the question being put, was decided in the negative—yeas 37; nays 81.

On motion of Mr. WISE, the vote was recorded as follows:
The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. John J. Jackson,
William B. Aston,	John F. Lewis,
John B. Baldwin,	William McComas,
Alfred M. Barbour,	James C. McGrew,
George Baylor,	James Marshall,
George W. Berlin,	Henry H. Masters,
Caleb Boggess,	Logan Osburn,
William G. Brown,	Spicer Patrick,
John S. Burdett,	Edmund Pendleton,
John A. Campbell,	George McC. Porter,
John S. Carlile,	Robert E. Scott,
John A. Carter,	John D. Sharp,
C. B. Conrad,	Thomas Sitlington,
James H. Couch,	Chapman J. Stuart,
Jubal A. Early,	George W. Summers,
Colbert C. Fugate,	Campbell Tarr,
Ephraim B. Hall,	Williams C. Wickham,
Alpheus F. Haymond,	Wait. T. Willey—37.
Chester D. Hubbard,	

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. William M. Ambler,	Messrs. George W. Hull,
Edward M. Armstrong,	Eppa Hunton,
James Barbour,	Marmaduke Johnson,
Angus R. Blakey,	Peter C. Johnston,
George Blow, Jr.	Robert C. Kent,
James Boisseau,	James Lawson,
Peter B. Borst,	Walter D. Leake,
Wood Bouldin,	William H. Macfarland,
Thomas Branch,	Charles K. Mallory,
George W. Brent,	James B. Mallory,
James C. Bruce,	John Q. Marr,
Benjamin W. Byrne,	John L. Marye, Sr.
Frederick M. Cabell,	Horatio G. Moffett,

Messrs. John R. Chambliss,
 Manilius Chapman,
 Samuel A. Coffman,
 Raphael M. Conn,
 Robert Y. Conrad,
 Richard H. Cox,
 John Critcher,
 W. H. B. Custis,
 Harvey Deskins,
 William H. Dulany,
 Thomas S. Flournoy,
 N. B. French,
 Samuel M. Garland,
 H. L. Gillespie,
 Samuel L. Graham,
 Peyton Gravely,
 Fendall Gregory, Jr.
 William L. Goggin,
 John Goode, Jr.
 Thomas F. Goode,
 F. L. Hale,
 Addison Hall,
 Cyrus Hall,
 L. S. Hall,
 Allen C. Hammond,
 Lewis E. Harvie,
 James W. Hoge,
 James P. Holcombe,

Messrs. Robert L. Montague,
 Edmund T. Morris,
 Jeremiah Morton,
 Samuel McD. Moore,
 William J. Neblett,
 Hugh M. Nelson,
 Johnson Orrick,
 William C. Parks,
 David Pugh,
 George W. Richardson,
 William C. Scott,
 John T. Seawell,
 James W. Shesley,
 Charles R. Slaughter,
 Valentine W. Southall,
 John M. Speed,
 Burwell Spurlock,
 Samuel G. Staples,
 James M. Strange,
 William T. Sutherlin,
 George P. Tayloe,
 John T. Thornton,
 William M. Tredway,
 John Tyler,
 Edward Waller,
 Benjamin Wilson,
 Henry A. Wise—81.

Mr. BALDWIN moved to amend the resolution further by striking out all after the word "therefore," in the 6th line, to the word "at," in the 8th line, and inserting in lieu thereof the words, "desires that the people of the several States be called upon to respond either by popular vote, or in Conventions similar to her own." The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. GOODE, of Bedford, moved to amend the resolution further by striking out the word "satisfactory," in the 12th line, and inserting the word "affirmative," in lieu thereof; and the question being put, was decided in the negative—yeas 44; nays 74.

On motion of Mr. GOODE, of Bedford, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. William M. Ambler,
 James Barbour,
 Angus R. Blakey,
 James Boisseau,

Messrs. Lewis E. Harvie,
 James P. Holcombe,
 Eppa Hunton,
 Robert C. Kent,

Messrs. Peter B. Borst,
 Wood Bouldin,
 James C. Bruce,
 Frederick M. Cabell,
 William P. Cecil,
 John R. Chambliss,
 Manilius Chapman,
 Raphael M. Conn,
 Richard H. Cox,
 John Echols,
 Thomas S. Flournoy,
 Samuel M. Garland,
 Samuel L. Graham,
 William L. Goggin,
 John Goode, Jr.
 Thomas F. Goode,
 F. L. Hale,
 L. S. Hall,

Messrs. James Lawson,
 Walter D. Leake,
 John Q. Marr,
 John L. Marye, Sr.
 Robert L. Montague,
 Edmund T. Morris,
 Jeremiah Morton,
 William J. Neblett,
 George W. Richardson,
 John T. Seawell,
 James W. Sheffey,
 John M. Speed,
 James M. Strange,
 William T. Sutherlin,
 John T. Thornton,
 William M. Tredway,
 Samuel C. Williams,
 Henry A. Wise—44.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (*Pres't*)
 William B. Aston,
 John B. Baldwin,
 Alfred M. Barbour,
 George Baylor,
 George W. Berlin,
 George Blow, Jr.
 Caleb Boggess,
 Thomas Branch,
 George W. Brent,
 William G. Brown,
 John S. Burdett,
 Benjamin W. Byrne,
 John A. Campbell,
 Allen T. Caperton,
 John S. Carlile,
 John A. Carter,
 Samuel A. Coffman,
 C. B. Conrad,
 Robert Y. Conrad,
 James H. Couch,
 John Critcher,
 W. H. B. Custis,
 Marshall M. Dent,
 Harvey Deskins,
 James B. Dorman,

Messrs. James W. Hoge,
 Chester D. Hubbard,
 John N. Hughes,
 John J. Jackson,
 Marnaduke Johnson,
 Peter C. Johnston,
 John F. Lewis,
 William McComas,
 James C. McGrew,
 James B. Mallory,
 James Marshall,
 Henry H. Masters,
 Horatio G. Moffett,
 Samuel McD. Moore,
 Johnson Orrick,
 Logan Osburn,
 William C. Parks,
 Spicer Patrick,
 Edmund Pendleton,
 George McC. Porter,
 Samuel Price,
 David Pugh,
 Timothy Rives,
 William C. Scott,
 Thomas Sitlington,
 Charles R. Slaughter,

Messrs. William H. Dulany,	Messrs. Burwell Spurlock,
Jubal A. Early,	Samuel G. Staples,
Napoleon B. French,	Chapman J. Stuart,
Colbert C. Fugate,	George W. Summers,
H. L. Gillespie,	Campbell Tarr,
Peyton Gravely,	George P. Tayloe,
Algernon S. Gray,	Edward Waller,
Addison Hall,	William White,
Ephraim B. Hall,	Williams C. Wickham,
Allen C. Hammond,	Waitman T. Willey,
Alpheus F. Haymond,	Benjamin Wilson—74.

Mr. RICHARDSON moved to amend the resolution further by striking out all after the word “relations,” in the 3d line, to the word “and,” in the 11th line, and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

“Respectfully request the people of the Northern States, as speedily as possible, by majority votes in all of their Congressional Districts, to instruct their representatives in Congress, to propose as soon as it can be assembled, the amendments to the Constitution, declared to be necessary by this Convention, to be ratified in one of the modes provided in the fifth article of the Constitution of the United States.”

Mr. EARLY moved to amend by striking out the whole resolution, and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

“This Convention is of opinion that the extraordinary condition of the country, resulting from our present national difficulties, renders it proper and necessary that amendments should be made to the Federal Constitution, and it is also of opinion that the proposed amendments to the said Constitution hereunto appended, if adopted, will be satisfactory to the people of Virginia, and ought to be so to all the other slave States.”

Mr. HALL, of Marion, demanded a division of the question, and it was put upon striking out, and decided in the negative.

Mr. TARR moved to amend the resolution further by striking out all after the word “will,” in the 14th line, and inserting in lieu thereof the words, “take such action as she may deem necessary to the maintenance of her honor, and the protection of her interests;” and the question being put, was decided in the negative.

On motion of Mr. TARR, the vote was recorded as follows:
The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. Chester D. Hubbard,
William B. Aston,	John J. Jackson,
John B. Baldwin,	John F. Lewis,
George Baylor,	William McComas,
George W. Berlin,	James C. McGrew,
Caleb Boggess,	Henry H. Masters,

Messrs. William G. Brown,
 John S. Burdett,
 John A. Campbell,
 John S. Carlile,
 John A. Carter,
 C. B. Conrad,
 James H. Couch,
 W. H. B. Custis,
 Marshall M. Dent,
 Jubal A. Early,
 Napoleon B. French,
 Colbert C. Fugate,
 Ephraim B. Hall,
 Alpheus F. Haymond,

Messrs. Logan Osburn,
 Spicer Patrick,
 Edmund Pendleton,
 George McC. Porter,
 Timothy Rives,
 Robert E. Scott,
 Thomas Sitlington,
 Chapman J. Stuart,
 George W. Summers,
 Campbell Tarr,
 Williams C. Wickham,
 Waitman T. Willey,
 Benjamin Wilson—39.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. Wm. M. Ambler,
 Ed'd M. Armstrong,
 James Barbour,
 Angus R. Blakey,
 George Blow, Jr.
 James Boisseau,
 Peter B. Borst,
 Wood Bouldin,
 Thomas Branch,
 George W. Brent,
 James C. Bruce,
 Frederick M. Cabell,
 Allen T. Caperton,
 William P. Cecil,
 John R. Chambliss,
 Manilius Chapman,
 Samuel A. Coffin,
 Raphael M. Conn,
 Robert Y. Conrad,
 Richard H. Cox,
 John Critcher,
 Harvey Deskins,
 James B. Dorman,
 William H. Dulany,
 John Echols,
 Thomas S. Flournoy,
 Samuel M. Garland,
 H. L. Gillespie,
 Samuel L. Graham,
 Peyton Gravely,

Messrs. John N. Hughes,
 Eppa Hunton,
 Marmaduke Johnson,
 Peter C. Johnston,
 Robert C. Kent,
 James Lawson,
 Walter D. Leake,
 Charles K. Mallory,
 James B. Mallory,
 James Marshall,
 John Q. Marr,
 John L. Marye, Sr.
 Horatio G. Moffett,
 Robert L. Montague,
 Edmund T. Morris,
 Jeremiah Morton,
 Samuel McD. Moore,
 William J. Neblett,
 Hugh M. Nelson,
 Johnson Orrick,
 William C. Parks,
 Samuel Price,
 David Pugh,
 George W. Richardson,
 William C. Scott,
 John T. Seawell,
 James W. Sheffey,
 Charles R. Slaughter,
 John M. Speed,
 Burwell Spurlock,

Messrs. William L. Goggin, John Goode, Jr. Thomas F. Goode, F. L. Hale, Addison Hall, Allen C. Hammond, Lewis E. Harvie, James W. Hoge, James P. Holcombe,	Messrs. Samuel G. Staples, James M. Strange, William T. Sutherlin, George P. Tayloe, John T. Thornton, William M. Tredway, Edward Waller, Samuel C. Williams, Henry A. Wise—78.
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The question recurred upon the adoption of the resolution as amended, and was decided in the affirmative—yeas 81; nays 41.

On motion of Mr. Goode, of Mecklenburg, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. William M. Ambler, Edward M. Armstrong, Angus R. Blakey, George Blow, Jr. Peter B. Borst, Wood Bouldin, Thomas Branch, George W. Brent, James C. Bruce, Benjamin W. Byrne, Frederick M. Cabell, Allen T. Caperton, William P. Cecil, John R. Chambliss, Manilius Chapman, Samuel A. Coffman, Raphael M. Coun, Robert Y. Conrad, Richard H. Cox, John Critcher, W. H. B. Custis, Harvey Deskins, James B. Dormau, William H. Dulany, John Echols, Thomas S. Flournoy, Napoleon B. French, Samuel M. Garland, H. L. Gillespie, Samuel L. Graham, Fendall Gregory, Jr.	Messrs. Marmaduke Johnson, Peter C. Johnston, Robert C. Kent, James Lawson, Walter D. Leake, Charles K. Mallory, James B. Mallory, James Marshall, John Q. Marr, John L. Marye, Sr. Horatio G. Moffett, Robert L. Montague, Edmund T. Morris, Jeremiah Morton, Samuel McD. Moore, William J. Neblett, Hugh M. Nelson, Johnson Orrick, William C. Parks, David Pugh, George W. Richardson, Timothy Rives, Robert E. Scott, William C. Scott, John T. Seawell, James W. Sheffey, Charles R. Slaughter, John M. Speed, Burwell Spurlock, Samuel G. Staples, William T. Sutherlin,
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Messrs. William L. Goggin,
 John Goode, Jr.
 Thomas F. Goode,
 F. L. Hale,
 Addison Hall,
 Cyrus Hall,
 Allen C. Hammond,
 Lewis E. Harvie,
 James W. Hoge,
 James P. Holcombe,

Messrs. George P. Tayloe,
 John T. Thornton,
 William M. Tredway,
 Edward Waller,
 William White,
 Williams C. Wickham,
 Samuel C. Williams,
 Benjamin Wilson,
 Henry A. Wise—81.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. Alpheus F. Haymond,
William B. Aston,	Chester D. Hubbard,
John B. Baldwin,	John N. Hughes,
Alfred M. Barbour,	Eppa Hunton,
James Barbour,	John J. Jackson,
George Baylor,	John F. Lewis,
George W. Berlin,	William McComas,
Caleb Boggess,	James C. McGrew,
James Boisseau,	Henry H. Masters,
William G. Brown,	Logan Osburn,
John S. Burdett,	Spicer Patrick,
John A. Campbell,	Edmund Pendleton,
John S. Carlile,	George McC. Porter,
John A. Carter,	Samuel Price,
C. B. Conrad,	Thomas Sitlington,
James H. Couch,	Chapman J. Stuart,
Marshall M. Dent,	James M. Strange,
Jubal A. Early,	George W. Summers,
Colbert C. Fugate,	Campbell Tarr,
Peyton Gravely,	Wait. T. Willey—41.
Ephraim B. Hall,	

On motion of Mr. CRITCHER, the twelfth resolution was amended by inserting after the word "propositions," in the 2d line, the words "of amendment."

Mr. CARTER moved to amend the resolution further by striking out all after the word "authority," in the 6th line, to the word "nor," in the 19th line; and the question being put, was decided in the negative—yeas 34; nays 85.

On motion of Mr. MORTON, the vote was recorded as follows:
 The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. John N. Hughes,
John B. Baldwin,	John J. Jackson,
George W. Berlin,	John F. Lewis,

Messrs. Caleb Boggess,
 William G. Brown,
 John S. Burdett,
 Benj. W. Byrne,
 John A. Campbell,
 John S. Carlile,
 John A. Carter,
 C. B. Conrad,
 James H. Couch,
 Marshall M. Dent,
 Jubal A. Early,
 Peyton Gravelly,
 Ephraim B. Hall,
 James W. Hoge,
 Chester D. Hubbard,

Messrs. James C. McGrew,
 Henry H. Masters,
 Samuel McD. Moore,
 Logan Osburn,
 Spicer Patrick,
 Edmund Pendleton,
 George McC. Porter,
 Timothy Rives,
 Thomas Sitlington,
 Burwell Spurlock,
 Chapman J. Stuart,
 George W. Summers,
 Campbell Tarr,
 William White,
 Wait. T. Willey—36.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. William M. Ambler,
 Edward M. Armstrong,
 William B. Aston,
 Alfred M. Barbour,
 James Barbour,
 George Baylor,
 Angus R. Blakey,
 George Blow, Jr.
 James Boisseau,
 Peter B. Borst,
 Wood Bouldin,
 Thomas Branch,
 George W. Brent,
 James C. Bruce,
 Frederick M. Cabell,
 Allen T. Caperton,
 William P. Cecil,
 John R. Chambliss,
 Manilius Chapman,
 Samuel A. Coffman,
 Raphael M. Conn,
 Robert Y. Conrad,
 Richard H. Cox,
 John Critcher,
 W. H. B. Custis,
 Harvey Deskins,
 James B. Dorman,
 William H. Dulany,
 John Echols,

Messrs. Lewis E. Harvie,
 Alpheus F. Haymond,
 James P. Holcombe,
 Eppa Hunton,
 Marmaduke Johnson,
 Peter C. Johnston,
 Robert C. Kent,
 James Lawson,
 Walter D. Leake,
 Charles K. Mallory,
 James B. Mallory,
 James Marshall,
 John Q. Marr,
 John L. Marye, Sr.
 Horatio G. Moffett,
 Robert L. Montague,
 Edmund T. Morris,
 Jeremiah Morton,
 William J. Neblett,
 Hugh M. Nelson,
 Johnson Orrick,
 William C. Parks,
 Samuel Price,
 David Pugh,
 George W. Richardson,
 Robert E. Scott,
 William C. Scott,
 John T. Seawell,
 James W. Sheffey,

Messrs. Thomas S. Flournoy,	Messrs. Charles R. Slaughter,
Napoleon B. French,	John M. Speed,
Colbert C. Fugate,	Samuel G. Staples,
Samuel M. Garland,	James M. Strange,
H. L. Gillespie,	William T. Sutherland,
Samuel L. Graham,	George P. Tayloe,
Fendall Gregory, Jr.	John T. Thornton,
William L. Goggin,	William M. Tredway,
John Goode, Jr.	Edward Waller,
Thomas F. Goode,	Williams C. Wickham,
F. L. Hale,	Samuel C. Williams,
Addison Hall,	Benjamin Wilson,
Cyrus Hall,	Henry A. Wise—85.
Allen C. Hammond,	

On motion of Mr. STAPLES, the Committee rose.

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WEDNESDAY, April 10, 1861.

The consideration of the report of the Committee on Federal Relations was resumed.

Mr. ARMSTRONG moved to amend the twelfth resolution further, by inserting after the word "States," in the eighth line, the words "within their jurisdiction." Negatived.

On motion of Mr. CAMPBELL, the resolution was amended further, by striking out the word "nor," in the eighth line.

Mr. CARLILE moved to amend further, by striking out all after the word "States," in the fifth line, and the question being put, was decided in the negative—yeas 17; nays 104.

On motion of Mr. GOODE, of Mecklenburg, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. William G. Brown,	Messrs. John N. Hughes,
John S. Burdett,	John F. Lewis,
James Burley,	Samuel McD. Moore,
John S. Carlile,	Spicer Patrick,
John A. Carter,	George McC. Porter,
C. B. Conrad,	John D. Sharp,
Marshall M. Dent,	Chapman J. Stuart,
Jubal A. Early,	Campbell Tarr—17.
Chester D. Hubbard,	

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. James P. Holcombe,
William M. Anibler,	Eppa Hunton,
Edward M. Armstrong,	Lewis D. Isbell,
William B. Aston,	John J. Jackson,
John B. Baldwin,	Marmaduke Johnson,
James Barbour,	Peter C. Johnston,
George Baylor,	Robert C. Kent,
George W. Berlin,	John R. Kilby,
Angus R. Blakey,	James Lawson,
George Blow, Jr.	Walter D. Leake,
James Boisseau,	William McComas,
Peter B. Borst,	James C. McGrew,
Wood Bouldin,	William H. Macfarland,
Thomas Branch,	Charles K. Mallory,
George W. Brent,	James B. Mallory,
James C. Bruce,	James Marshall,
Benjamin W. Byrne,	John Q. Marr,
Frederick M. Cabell,	John L. Marye, Sr.
John A. Campbell,	Horatio G. Moffett,
Allen T. Caperton,	Edmund T. Morris,
William P. Cecil,	Jeremiah Morton,
John R. Chambliss,	William J. Neblett,
Manilius Chapman,	Hugh M. Nelson,
Samuel A. Coffman,	Johnson Orrick,
Raphael M. Conn,	Logan Osburn,
Robert Y. Conrad,	William C. Parks,
James H. Couch,	Edmund Pendleton,
Richard H. Cox,	Samuel Price,
John Critcher,	David Pugh,
W. H. B. Custis,	George W. Richardson,
Harvey Deskins,	Timothy Rives,
James B. Dorman,	Robert E. Scott,
William H. Dulany,	John T. Seawell,
John Echols,	James W. Sheffield,
Thomas S. Flournoy,	Thomas Sidlington,
Napoleon B. French,	Charles R. Slaughter,
Colbert C. Fugate,	Valentine W. Southall,
Samuel M. Garland,	John M. Speed,
H. L. Gillespie,	Burwell Spurlock,
Samuel L. Graham,	Samuel G. Staples,
Peyton Gravely,	James M. Strange,
Algernon S. Gray,	George W. Summers,
Fendall Gregory, Jr.	William T. Sutherlin,
William L. Goggin,	John T. Thornton,
John Goode, Jr.	William M. Tredway,

Messrs. Thomas F. Goode,	Messrs. Edward Waller,
F. L. Hale,	William White,
Addison Hall,	Williams C. Wickham,
Cyrus Hall,	Waitman T. Willey,
L. S. Hall,	Samuel C. Williams,
Allen C. Hammond,	Benjamin Wilson,
Alpheus F. Haymond,	Henry A. Wise,
James W. Hoge,	Benj. F. Wysor—104.

Mr. WISE moved to amend the resolution further, by adding thereto, the following:

“And the forts, arsenals, magazines, and other places ceded to the United States, in the limits of the seceded States, ought, for the purposes of pacification, to be evacuated by the authorities of the Federal Government.”

The question was put and decided in the negative—yeas 60; nays 67.

On motion of Mr. WISE, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. Wm. M. Ambler,	Messrs. James P. Holcombe,
James Barbour,	Eppa Hunton,
Angus R. Blakey,	Lewis D. Isbell,
James Boisseau,	Robert C. Kent,
Peter B. Borst,	John R. Kilby,
Wood Bouldin,	James Lawson,
Thomas Branch,	Walter D. Leake,
James C. Bruce,	Charles K. Mallory,
Frederick M. Cabell,	James B. Mallory,
William P. Cecil,	John Q. Marr,
John R. Chambliss,	John L. Marye, Sr.
Manilius Chapman,	Horatio G. Moffett,
Samuel A. Coffman,	Edmund T. Morris,
Raphael M. Conn,	Jeremiah Morton,
Richard H. Cox,	William J. Neblett,
John Crichter,	William C. Parks,
John Echols,	George W. Richardson,
Thomas S. Flournoy,	John T. Seawell,
Samuel M. Garland,	James W. Sheffey,
Samuel L. Graham,	Valentine W. Southall,
Algernon S. Gray,	John M. Speed,
Fendall Gregory, Jr.	James M. Strange,
William L. Goggin,	William T. Sutherland,
John Goode, Jr.	John T. Thornton,
Thomas F. Goode,	William M. Tredway,
F. L. Hale,	John Tyler,

Messrs. Addison Hall,
Cyrus Hall,
L. S. Hall,
Lewis E. Harvie,

Messrs. Edward Waller,
Samuel C. Williams,
Henry A. Wise,
Benj. F. Wysor—60.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. James W. Hoge,
Edward M. Armstrong,	Chester D. Hubbard,
William B. Aston,	John N. Hughes,
John B. Baldwin,	John J. Jackson,
Alfred M. Barbour,	Marmaduke Johnson,
George Baylor,	Peter C. Johnston,
George W. Berlin,	John F. Lewis,
George Blow, Jr.	William McComas,
Caleb Boggess,	James C. McGrew,
William W. Boyd,	William H. Macfarland,
George W. Brent,	James Marshall,
William G. Brown,	Samuel McD. Moore,
John S. Burdett,	Johnson Orrick,
James Burley,	Logan Osburn,
John A. Campbell,	Spicer Patrick,
Allen T. Caperton,	Edmund Pendleton,
John S. Carlile,	George McC. Porter,
John A. Carter,	Samuel Price,
C. B. Conrad,	David Pugh,
Robert Y. Conrad,	Timothy Rives,
James H. Couch,	Robert E. Scott,
W. H. B. Custis,	John D. Sharp,
Marshall M. Dent,	Thomas Sitlington,
Harvey Deskins,	Charles R. Slaughter,
James B. Dorman,	Burwell Spurlock,
William H. Dulany,	Samuel G. Staples,
Jubal A. Early,	Chapman J. Stuart,
Napoleon B. French,	George W. Summers,
Colbert C. Fugate,	Campbell Tarr,
H. L. Gillespie,	William White,
Peyton Gravely,	Williams C. Wickham,
Ephraim B. Hall,	Waitman T. Willey,
Allen C. Hammond,	Benjamin Wilson—67.
Alpheus F. Haymond,	

On motion of Mr. SUMMERS, the resolution was amended further by striking from the seventh and eighth lines, the words, "the forts now in possession of the military forces of the United States;" and inserting in lieu thereof the words, "any of the forts situate upon the mainland, or within the harbors of any of the seceded States."

Mr. WISE moved to amend further, by striking out the word, "nor," in the seventh line, and inserting the word, "except."

Mr. RIVES moved to amend the proposed amendment, by adding thereto the words, "with provisions." Negatived.

Mr. WISE, by general consent, then withdrew the amendment submitted by him.

Mr. BALDWIN moved to amend the resolution further, by adding thereto the following:

"And the forts, arsenals, magazines, and other places ceded to the United States and situate on the mainland, or for the protection of the harbors of the seceded States ought, for the purposes of pacification, to be evacuated by the authorities of the Federal Government."

The question being put was decided in the affirmative—yeas 102; nays 24.

On motion of Mr. WISE, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. Lewis D. Isbell,
William M. Ambler,	Marmaduke Johnson,
Edward M. Armstrong,	Peter C. Johnston,
William B. Aston,	Robert C. Kent,
John B. Baldwin,	John R. Kilby,
Alfred M. Barbour,	James Lawson,
James Barbour,	Walter D. Leake,
George Baylor,	William McComas,
Angus R. Blakey,	Charles K. Mallory,
George Blow, Jr.	James B. Mallory,
James Boisseau,	James Marshall,
Peter B. Borst,	John Q. Marr,
Wood Bouldin,	John L. Marye, Sr.
William W. Boyd,	Horatio G. Moffett,
Thomas Branch,	Edmund T. Morris,
James C. Bruce,	Jeremiah Morton,
Benjamin W. Byrne,	Samuel McD. Moore,
Frederick M. Cabell,	Hugh M. Nelson,
John A. Campbell,	Johnson Orrick,
William P. Cecil,	Logan Osburn,
John R. Chambliss,	William C. Parks,
Manilius Chapman,	Spicer Patrick,
Samuel A. Coffinan,	Edmund Pendleton,
Raphael M. Conn,	Samuel Price,
James H. Couch,	David Pugh,
Richard H. Cox,	George W. Richardson,
John Critcher,	Timothy Rives,
Harvey Deskins,	Robert E. Scott,
James B. Dorman,	William C. Scott,

Messrs. William H. Dulany,	Messrs. John T. Seawell,
John Echols,	John D. Sharp,
Thomas S. Flournoy,	James W. Sheffey,
Napoleon B. French,	Thomas Sitlington,
Colbert C. Fugate,	Charles R. Slaughter,
Samuel M. Garland,	Valentine W. Southall,
H. L. Gillespie,	John M. Speed,
Samuel L. Graham,	Burwell Spurlock,
Fendall Gregory, Jr.	Samuel G. Staples,
William L. Goggin,	Chapman J. Stuart,
John Goode, Jr.	James M. Strange,
Thomas F. Goode,	George W. Summers,
F. L. Hale,	William T. Sutherland,
Addison Hall,	John T. Thornton,
Cyrus Hall,	William M. Tredway,
L. S. Hall,	John Tyler,
Allen C. Hammond,	Edward Waller,
Lewis E. Harvie,	Williams C. Wickham,
Alpheus F. Haymond,	Samuel C. Williams,
James W. Hoge,	Benjamin Wilson,
James P. Holcombe,	Henry A. Wise,
Eppa Hunton,	Benj. F. Wysor—102.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. Caleb Boggess,	Messrs. Peyton Gravely,
George W. Brent,	Chester D. Hubbard,
William G. Brown,	John N. Hughes,
John S. Burdett,	John J. Jackson,
James Burley,	John F. Lewis,
John S. Carlile,	James C. McGrew,
John A. Carter,	William H. Macfarland,
C. B. Conrad,	Henry H. Masters,
Robert Y. Conrad,	George McC. Porter,
W. H. B. Custis,	Campbell Tarr,
Marshall M. Dent,	William White,
Jubal A. Early,	Wait. T. Willey—24.

The twelfth resolution, as amended, was then adopted.

On motion of Mr. WISE, the thirteenth resolution was amended in the eighth line, by striking out the word, "them," and inserting in lieu thereof, the words, "the people of Virginia."

Mr. WISE moved to amend the resolution further, by striking out all after the word "Commonwealth," in the 5th and 6th lines.

Mr. SPEED moved to amend the amendment by leaving out the words, "and they would regard any such action on the part

of the seceded or confederated States as hurtful or unfriendly.”
Negatived.

The question recurred upon the amendment submitted by Mr. WISE, and was decided in the negative—yeas 32; nays 79.

On motion of Mr. SHEFFEY, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. Wm. M. Ambler,	Messrs. F. L. Hale,
James Barbour,	Cyrus Hall,
Angus R. Blakey,	James P. Holcombe,
James Boisseau,	Lewis D. Isbell,
Peter B. Borst,	Walter D. Leake,
Wood Bouldin,	Charles K. Mallory,
James C. Bruce,	Edmund T. Morris,
Frederick M. Cabell,	Jeremiah Morton,
William P. Cecil,	William J. Neblett,
Manilius Chapman,	John M. Speed,
Raphael M. Conn,	James M. Strange,
Thomas S. Flournoy,	William T. Sutherlin,
Samuel M. Garland,	John T. Thornton,
Fendall Gregory, Jr.	Samuel C. Williams,
John Goode, Jr.	Henry A. Wise,
Thomas F. Goode,	Benj. F. Wysor—32.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. John J. Jackson,
Edward M. Armstrong,	Marmaduke Johnson,
William B. Aston,	Peter C. Johnston,
John B. Baldwin,	Robert C. Kent,
Alfred M. Barbour,	James Lawson,
George Baylor,	John F. Lewis,
George W. Berlin,	William McComas,
Caleb Boggess,	James C. McGrew,
Thomas Branch,	Wm. H. Macfarland,
George W. Brent,	James B. Mallory,
William G. Brown,	James Marshall,
John S. Burdett,	John Q. Marr,
James Burley,	John L. Marye, Sr.
Benjamin W. Byrne,	Henry H. Masters,
John A. Campbell,	Horatio G. Moffett,
John S. Carlile,	Samuel McD. Moore,
John A. Carter,	Johnson Orrick,
Samuel A. Coffman,	Logan Osburn,
C. B. Conrad,	William C. Parks,
Robert Y. Conrad,	Spicer Patrick,

Messrs. James H. Couch,
 W. H. B. Custis,
 Marshall M. Dent,
 Harvey Deskins,
 James B. Dorman,
 William H. Dulany,
 Jubal A. Early,
 John Echols,
 Napoleon B. French,
 Colbert C. Fugate,
 H. L. Gillespie,
 Peyton Gravely,
 Algernon S. Gray,
 William L. Goggin,
 Addison Hall,
 Ephraim B. Hall,
 Allen C. Hammond,
 Alpheus F. Haymond,
 James W. Hoge,
 Chester D. Hubbard,

Messrs. Edmund Pendleton,
 George McC. Porter,
 Samuel Price,
 David Pugh,
 Timothy Rives,
 Robert E. Scott,
 John D. Sharp,
 James W. Sheffey,
 Charles R. Slaughter,
 Burwell Spurlock,
 Samuel G. Staples,
 Chapman J. Stuart,
 George W. Summers,
 Campbell Tarr,
 Edward Waller,
 William White,
 Williams C. Wickham,
 Waitman T. Willey,
 Benjamin Wilson—79.

Mr. BRUCE moved to amend, by striking out the whole of the pending resolution.

Mr. JOHNSON moved to amend the resolution by striking out all after the word "Government," in the second line, and inserting in lieu thereof, the following:

"Or of the Confederate States, tending to produce a collision of forces pending efforts for the adjustment of existing difficulties, as unwise and injurious to the interests of both, and they would regard any such action on the part of either as leaving them free to determine their own future policy."

Mr. DORMAN moved to amend the proposed amendment, by striking out the word "them," and inserting the word "themselves." Negatived.

The amendment proposed by Mr. JOHNSON was then agreed to.

The question recurring upon the amendment submitted by Mr. BRUCE was put, and decided in the negative—yeas 39; nays 86.

On motion of Mr. BRUCE, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. William M. Ambler,
 James Barbour,
 Angus R. Blakey,
 James Boisseau,
 Peter B. Borst,

Messrs. Lewis D. Isbell,
 Robert C. Kent,
 James Lawson,
 Walter D. Leake,
 James B. Mallory,

Messrs. Wood Bouldin,
 Thomas Branch,
 James C. Bruce,
 Frederick M. Cabell,
 William P. Cecil,
 Raphael M. Conn,
 Thomas S. Flourney,
 Samuel L. Graham,
 Fendall Gregory, Jr.
 John Goode, Jr.
 Thomas F. Goode,
 Cyrus Hall,
 Lewis E. Harvie,
 James P. Holcombe,
 Eppa Hunton,

Messrs. Edmund T. Morris,
 Jeremiah Morton,
 William J. Neblett,
 George W. Richardson,
 John T. Seawell,
 Charles R. Slaughter,
 John M. Speed,
 James M. Strange,
 William T. Sutherlin,
 John T. Thornton,
 William M. Tredway,
 Samuel C. Williams,
 Henry A. Wise,
 Benj. F. Wysor—39.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (*Pres't*)
 Edward M. Armstrong,
 William B. Aston,
 John B. Baldwin,
 Alfred M. Barbour,
 George Baylor,
 George W. Berlin,
 George Blow, Jr.
 Caleb Boggess,
 William W. Boyd,
 George W. Brent,
 William G. Brown,
 John S. Burdett,
 James Burley,
 Benjamin W. Byrne,
 John A. Campbell,
 John S. Carlile,
 John A. Carter,
 Manilius Chapman,
 Samuel A. Coffman,
 C. B. Conrad,
 Robert Y. Conrad,
 James H. Couch,
 John Critcher,
 W. H. B. Custis,
 Marshall M. Dent,
 Harvey Deskins,
 James B. Dorman,
 William H. Dulany,

Messrs. James W. Hoge,
 Chester D. Hubbard,
 John N. Hughes,
 John J. Jackson,
 Marmaduke Johnson,
 Peter C. Johnston,
 John F. Lewis,
 William McComas,
 James C. McGrew,
 William H. Macfarland,
 Charles K. Mallory,
 James Marshall,
 John Q. Marr,
 John L. Marye, Sr.
 Henry H. Masters,
 Horatio G. Moffett,
 Samuel McD. Moore,
 Johnson Orrick,
 Logan Osburn,
 William C. Parks,
 Spicer Patrick,
 Edmund Pendleton,
 George McC. Porter,
 Samuel Price,
 David Pugh,
 Timothy Rives,
 Robert E. Scott,
 William C. Scott,
 John D. Sharp,

Messrs. Jubal A. Early,
John Echols,
Napoleon B. French,
Colbert C. Fugate,
Samuel M. Garland,
H. L. Gillespie,
Peyton Gravely,
Algernon S. Gray,
William L. Goggin,
F. L. Hale,
Addison Hall,
Ephraim B. Hall,
Allen C. Hammond,
Alpheus F. Haymond,

Messrs. James W. Sheffey,
Thomas Sidington,
Burwell Spurlock,
Samuel G. Staples,
Chapman J. Stuart,
George W. Summers,
Campbell Tarr,
George P. Tayloe,
Edward Waller,
William White,
Robert H. Whitfield,
Williams C. Wickham,
Waitman T. Willey,
Benjamin Wilson—86.

The thirteenth resolution, as amended, was then adopted.

Mr. FLOURNOY moved to pass by the fourteenth resolution, for the present, with the view of proceeding to the consideration of the amendments to the Constitution of the United States, proposed by the Committee on Federal Relations. *Negatived.*

Mr. Scorr, of Fauquier, moved to amend the fourteenth resolution, by adding thereto the following:

“And in the event that favorable responses on the part of the non-slaveholding States be not made to the proposed amendments to the Constitution, by the time appointed for the re-assembling of this body, it is the opinion of this Convention that the said States of Delaware, Maryland, North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri and Arkansas ought to assemble in primary conventions, and in conjunction with this State convene at _____ on the _____ day of _____ a Congress of the said States composed of delegates to be appointed by the respective conventions thereof for the purpose of recommending an amended constitution of government upon which the Union of the States and the Confederate States with such of the non-slaveholding States as may concur therein can be safely effected; to which Congress the Confederate States and the concurring non-slaveholding States ought to be invited to send Commissioners.”

Mr. BALDWIN moved to amend the proposed amendment, by striking out the clause "at _____ on the _____ day of _____;" pending the consideration of which,

On motion of Mr. MOORE, the Committee rose.

THURSDAY, April 11, 1861.

The consideration of the report of the Committee on Federal Relations was resumed.

The amendment proposed yesterday, by Mr. BALDWIN to the amendment to the fourteenth resolution, submitted by Mr. SCOTT, of Fauquier, was agreed to.

Mr. BRUCE then moved to amend the pending amendment, by striking out all after the word "and," in the first line, and inserting a proposition submitted by him; but, subsequently, he asked leave to withdraw the motion, and objection being made, the question was put on granting leave, and decided in the affirmative.

Mr. WISE moved to amend the proposed amendment, by striking out all after the word "body," in the 4th line, and inserting the following:

"That the said States of Delaware, Maryland, North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri and Arkansas be notified that this Convention will recommend to the people of Virginia to resume the powers granted by them under the Constitution of the United States, and to withdraw from their present confederacy with non-slaveholding States; and that they be requested to unite with the people of Virginia in such withdrawal. And that it be also recommended to them to act, in said contingency, independently for themselves, and to withdraw, either separately or in conjunction with such of the border slaveholding States as will unite in their action, whether any or all of said States will unite in the same or not."

The question was put, and decided in the negative—yeas 54; nays 79.

On motion of Mr. MACFARLAND, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. William M. Ambler,	Messrs. Robert C. Kent,
James Barbour,	James Lawson,
Angus R. Blakey,	Walter D. Leake,
James Boisseau,	William H. Macfarland,
Peter B. Borst,	Charles K. Mallory,
Wood Bouldin,	James B. Mallory,
Thomas Branch,	John Q. Marr,
James C. Bruce,	John L. Marye, Sr.
Frederick M. Cabell,	Fleming B. Miller,
William P. Cecil,	Edmund T. Morris,
John R. Chambliss,	Jeremiah Morton,
Manilius Chapman,	William J. Neblett,
Raphael M. Conn,	George W. Richardson,
Thomas S. Flournoy,	John T. Seawell,
Samuel M. Garland,	James W. Sheffey,
Samuel L. Graham,	Charles R. Slaughter,
Fendall Gregory, Jr.	John M. Speed,
William L. Goggin,	James M. Strange,
John Goode, Jr.	William T. Sutherlin,
Thomas F. Goode,	John T. Thornton,
F. L. Hale,	William M. Tredway,
Cyrus Hall,	Robert H. Turner,

Messrs. L. S. Hall,
 Lewis E. Harvie,
 James P. Holcombe,
 Eppa Hunton,
 Lewis D. Isbell,

Messrs. John Tyler,
 Robert H. Whitfield,
 Samuel C. Williams,
 Henry A. Wise,
 Benj. F. Wysor—54.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (*Pres't*)
 Edward M. Armstrong,
 William B. Aston,
 John B. Baldwin,
 George Baylor,
 George W. Berlin,
 George Blow, Jr.
 Caleb Boggess,
 William W. Boyd,
 George W. Brent,
 William G. Brown,
 John S. Burdett,
 James Burley,
 Benjamin W. Byrne,
 John A. Campbell,
 Allen T. Caperton,
 John S. Carlile,
 John A. Carter,
 Sherrard Clemens,
 Samuel A. Coffinan,
 C. B. Conrad,
 Robert Y. Conrad,
 James H. Couch,
 John Critcher,
 W. H. B. Custis,
 Marshall M. Dent,
 Harvey Deskins,
 James B. Dorman,
 William H. Dulany,
 Jubal A. Early,
 John Echols,
 Napoleon B. French,
 Colbert C. Fugate,
 H. L. Gillespie,
 Peyton Gravely,
 Algernon S. Gray,
 Addison Hall,
 Ephraim B. Hall,
 Allen C. Hammond,
 Alpheus F. Haymond,

Messrs. James W. Hoge,
 J. G. Holladay,
 Chester D. Hubbard,
 John N. Hughes,
 George W. Hull,
 John J. Jackson,
 Marmaduke Johnson,
 Peter C. Johnston,
 John F. Lewis,
 William McComas,
 James C. McGrew,
 James Marshall,
 Thomas Maslin,
 Henry H. Masters,
 Horatio G. Moffett,
 Samuel McD. Moore,
 Johnson Orrick,
 Logan Osburn,
 Spicer Patrick,
 Edmund Pendleton,
 George McC. Porter,
 Samuel Price,
 David Pugh,
 Timothy Rives,
 Robert E. Scott,
 John D. Sharp,
 Thomas Sitlington,
 Valentine W. Southall,
 Burwell Spurlock,
 Samuel G. Staples,
 Chapman J. Stuart,
 George W. Summers,
 Campbell Tarr,
 George P. Tayloe,
 Edward Waller,
 William White,
 Williams C. Wickham,
 Waitman T. Willey,
 Benjamin Wilson—79.

Mr. WISE then moved to amend the proposed amendment, by adding thereto the following:

“And in the event that the said Congress shall not concur in measures of adjustment of pending difficulties, acceptable to Virginia, then it be recommended to the people of Virginia to resume the powers granted by them under the Constitution of the United States.”

The question was put, and decided in the negative—yeas 48; nays 82.

On motion of Mr. WISE, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. Wm. M. Ambler,
George Blow, Jr.
James Boisseau,
Peter B. Borst,
Wood Bouldin,
William W. Boyd,
Frederick M. Cabell,
William P. Cecil,
John R. Chambliss,
Manilius Chapman,
Samuel A. Coffman,
Raphael M. Conn,
Samuel M. Garland,
Samuel L. Graham,
Fendall Gregory, Jr.
William L. Goggin,
John Goode, Jr.
Thomas F. Goode,
F. L. Hale,
L. S. Hall,
Lewis E. Harvie,
James P. Holcombe,
Eppa Hunton,
Lewis D. Isbell,

Messrs. Robert C. Kent,
James Lawson,
Walter D. Leake,
Charles K. Mallory,
John Q. Marr,
John L. Marye, Sr.
Fleming B. Miller,
Edmund T. Morris,
Jeremiah Morton,
William J. Neblett,
William C. Parks,
George W. Richardson,
John T. Seawell,
James W. Sheffey,
John M. Speed,
James M. Strange,
John T. Thornton,
Robert H. Turner,
John Tyler,
Robert H. Whitfield,
Samuel C. Williams,
Benjamin Wilson,
Henry A. Wise,
Benj. F. Wysor—48.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (*Pres't*)
Ed'd M. Armstrong,
William B. Aston,
John B. Baldwin,
George Baylor,
George W. Berlin,
Caleb Boggess,
Thomas Branch,

Messrs. J. G. Holladay,
Chester D. Hubbard,
John N. Hughes,
George W. Hull,
John J. Jackson,
Marmaduke Johnson,
Peter C. Johnston,
John F. Lewis,

Messrs. George W. Brent,
 William G. Brown,
 James C. Bruce,
 John S. Burdett,
 James Burley,
 Benjamin W. Byrne,
 John A. Campbell,
 Allen T. Caperton,
 John S. Carlile,
 John A. Carter,
 Sherrard Clemens,
 C. B. Conrad,
 Robert Y. Conrad,
 James H. Couch,
 John Critcher,
 W. H. B. Custis,
 Marshall M. Dent,
 Harvey Deskins,
 James B. Dormau,
 William H. Dulany,
 Jubal A. Early,
 John Echols,
 Thomas S. Flournoy,
 Napoleon B. French,
 Colbert C. Fugate,
 H. L. Gillespie,
 Peyton Gravely,
 Algernon S. Gray,
 Addison Hall,
 Ephraim B. Hall,
 Allen C. Hammond,
 Alpheus F. Haymond,
 James W. Hoge,

Messrs. William McComas,
 James C. McGrew,
 William H. Macfarland,
 James B. Mallory,
 James Marshall,
 Thomas Maslin,
 Henry H. Masters,
 Horatio G. Moffett,
 Samuel McD. Moore,
 Johnson Orrick,
 Logan Osburn,
 Spicer Patrick,
 Edmund Pendleton,
 George McC. Porter,
 Samuel Price,
 David Pugh,
 Timothy Rives,
 Robert E. Scott,
 John D. Sharp,
 Thomas Sirlington,
 Charles R. Slaughter,
 Valentine W. Southall,
 Burwell Spurluck,
 Samuel G. Staples,
 Chapman J. Stuart,
 George W. Summers,
 William T. Sutherlin,
 Campbell Tarr,
 George P. Tayloe,
 Edward Waller,
 William White,
 Williams C. Wickham,
 Wait. T. Willey—80.

Mr. THORNTON moved to amend the proposed amendment, by striking out all after the word "body," in the 4th line, and inserting the following:

"The State of Virginia will immediately resume the powers which she has delegated to the Federal Government under the Federal Constitution; and the Convention would earnestly recommend to the slaveholding States yet remaining in the Union to assemble at once in conventions, and provide for a similar resumption of their granted powers; and it is also the opinion of this Convention that in the contingency which has been indicated, all the slave States, as well those now in the Union, as those forming the Confederate States, should assemble in Congress for the formation of a permanent constitution of government."

The question was put, and decided in the negative—yeas 54; nays 77.

On motion of Mr. HARVIE, the vote was recorded as follows:
The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. William M. Ambler,	Messrs. Robert C. Kent,
James Barbour,	Walter D. Leake,
Angus R. Blakey,	Charles K. Mallory,
James Boisseau,	James B. Mallory,
Peter B. Borst,	John Q. Marr,
Wood Bouldin,	John L. Marye, Sr.
Thomas Branch,	Fleming B. Miller,
James C. Bruce,	Edmund T. Morris,
Frederick M. Cabell,	Jeremiah Morton,
William P. Cecil,	Johnson Orrick,
John R. Chambliss,	William C. Parks,
Manilius Chapman,	George W. Richardson,
Raphael M. Conn,	John T. Seawell,
Thomas S. Flournoy,	James W. Sheffey,
Samuel M. Garland,	Charles R. Slaughter,
Samuel L. Graham,	Valentine W. Southall,
Fendall Gregory, Jr.	John M. Speed,
William L. Goggin,	James M. Strange,
John Goode, Jr.	William T. Sutherlin,
Thomas F. Goode,	John T. Thornton,
F. L. Hale,	William M. Tredway,
L. S. Hall,	Robert H. Turner,
Allen C. Hammond,	John Tyler,
Lewis E. Harvie,	Robert H. Whitfield,
James P. Holcombe,	Samuel C. Williams,
Eppa Hunton,	Henry A. Wise,
Lewis D. Isbell,	Benj. F. Wysor—54.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. James W. Hoge,
Edward M. Armstrong,	J. G. Holladay,
William B. Aston,	Chester D. Hubbard,
John B. Baldwin,	John N. Hughes,
Alfred M. Barbour,	George W. Hull,
George Baylor,	John J. Jackson,
George W. Berlin,	Marmaduke Johnson,
George Blow, Jr.	Peter C. Johnston,
Caleb Boggess,	John F. Lewis,
William W. Boyd,	William McComas,
George W. Brent,	James C. McGrew,
William G. Brown,	Wm. H. Macfarland,
John S. Burdett,	James Marshall,
James Burley,	Thomas Maslin,

Messrs. Benjamin W. Byrne,	Messrs. Henry H. Masters,
John A. Campbell,	Horatio G. Moffett,
Allen T. Caperton,	Samuel McD. Moore,
John S. Carlile,	Logan Osburn,
John A. Carter,	Spicer Patrick,
Sherrard Clemens,	Edmund Pendleton,
Samuel A. Coffman,	George McC. Porter,
C. B. Conrad,	Samuel Price,
Robert Y. Conrad,	David Pugh,
James H. Couch,	Timothy Rives,
John Critcher,	Robert E. Scott,
W. H. B. Custis,	John D. Sharp,
Marshall M. Dent,	Thomas Sitlington,
Harvey Deskins,	Burwell Spurlock,
James B. Dorman,	Samuel G. Staples,
William H. Dulany,	Chapman J. Stuart,
Jubal A. Early,	George W. Summers,
John Echols,	Campbell Tarr,
Napoleon B. French,	George P. Tayloe,
Colbert C. Fugate,	Edward Waller,
H. L. Gillespie,	William White,
Peyton Gravely,	Williams C. Wickham,
Addison Hall,	Waitman T. Willey,
Ephraim B. Hall,	Benjamin Wilson—77.
Alpheus F. Haymond,	

Mr. BOULDIN moved to amend the proposed amendment, by striking from the 16th line the word "concurring;" and the question being put, was decided in the affirmative—yeas 70; nays 61.

On motion of Mr. WISE, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. Wm. M. Ambler,	Messrs. James Lawson,
Ed'd M. Armstrong,	Walter D. Leake,
Angus R. Blakey,	William H. Macfarland,
George Blow, Jr.	Charles K. Mallory,
James Boisseau,	James B. Mallory,
Peter B. Borst,	James Marshall,
Wood Bouldin,	John Q. Marr,
William W. Boyd,	John L. Marye, Sr.
Thomas Branch,	Fleming B. Miller,
James C. Bruce,	Horatio G. Moffett,
Frederick M. Cabell,	Edmund T. Morris,
Allen T. Caperton,	Jeremiah Morton,
John R. Chambliss,	Hugh M. Nelson,

Messrs. Manilius Chapman,	Messrs. Johnson Orrick,
Raphael M. Conn,	William C. Parks,
Robert Y. Conrad,	Edmund Pendleton,
James B. Dorman,	David Pugh,
John Echols,	George W. Richardson,
Thomas S. Flourney,	John T. Seawell,
Samuel M. Garland,	James W. Sheffey,
H. L. Gillespie,	Charles R. Slaughter,
Samuel L. Graham,	Valentine W. Southall,
Fendall Gregory, Jr.	John M. Speed,
William L. Goggin,	Samuel G. Staples,
John Goode, Jr.	James M. Strange,
Thomas F. Goode,	William T. Sutherland,
F. L. Hale,	George P. Tayloe,
Cyrus Hall,	John T. Thornton,
L. S. Hall,	William M. Tredway,
Allen C. Hammond,	Robert H. Turner,
Lewis E. Harvie,	John Tyler,
James P. Holcombe,	Edward Waller,
Eppa Hunton,	Robert H. Whitfield,
Lewis D. Isbell,	Samuel C. Williams,
Robert C. Kent,	Henry A. Wise—70.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. Alpheus F. Haymond,
William B. Aston,	James W. Hoge,
John B. Baldwin,	J. G. Holladay,
Alfred M. Barbour,	Chester D. Hubbard,
George Baylor,	George W. Hull,
George W. Berlin,	John J. Jackson,
Caleb Boggess,	Marmaduke Johnson,
George W. Brent,	Peter C. Johnston,
William G. Brown,	John F. Lewis,
John S. Burdett,	William McComas,
James Burley,	James C. McGrew,
Benjamin W. Byrne,	Thomas Maslin,
John A. Campbell,	Henry H. Masters,
John S. Carlile,	Samuel McD. Moore,
John A. Carter,	Logan Osburn,
Sherrard Clemens,	Spicer Patrick,
C. B. Conrad,	George McC. Porter,
James H. Couch,	Samuel Price,
John Critcher,	Timothy Rives,
W. H. B. Custis,	Robert E. Scott,
Marshall M. Dent,	John D. Sharp,
Harvey Deskins,	Thomas Sitlington,

Messrs. William H. Dulany,	Messrs. Burwell Spurlock,
Jubal A. Early,	Chapman J. Stuart,
Napoleon B. French,	George W. Summers,
Colbert C. Fugate,	Campbell Tarr,
Peyton Gravely,	William White,
Algernon S. Gray,	Williams C. Wickham,
Addison Hall,	Waitman T. Willey,
Ephraim B. Hall,	Benjamin Wilson—60.

On motion of Mr. BOULDIN, the amendment was further amended in the 16th line, by inserting after the word "States," the words "concurring in the amendments to the Federal Constitution proposed by this Convention."

Mr. CARLILE moved to amend the amendment further, by striking from the 3d and 4th lines the words "time appointed for the re-assembling of this body," and inserting in lieu thereof, "fourth day of March, 1865;" but, subsequently asked leave to withdraw the motion, and objection being made, the question was put on granting leave, and decided in the affirmative.

On motion of Mr. SUMMERS, the amendment was further amended in the first line, by striking out the word "favorable" and inserting the word "satisfactory."

Mr. WISE moved to amend the amendment further, by adding thereto the following:

"But this Convention protests that this provision for a separate Congress, to be held by States still remaining in the Union, shall not be construed to erect a government superseding the present Congress and Government of the United States, and whilst holding this exclusive and sectional Congress, it shall not authorize any State to enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation, and into no agreement or compact with another State, contrary to the first and third clauses of section ten of article one of the Constitution of the United States."

The question was put and decided in the negative—yeas 27; nays 100.

On motion of Mr. WISE, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. William M. Ambler,	Messrs. Lewis D. Isbell,
Angus R. Blakey,	James Lawson,
Peter B. Borst,	Walter D. Leake,
William P. Cecil,	Edmund T. Morris,
John R. Chambliss,	Jeremiah Morton,
Raphael M. Conn,	William J. Neblett,
Samuel L. Graham,	John T. Seawell,
William L. Goggin,	John M. Speed,
John Goode, Jr.	James M. Strange,
Thomas F. Goode,	John T. Thornton,

Messrs. F. L. Hale,
Cyrus Hall,
Lewis E. Harvie,
Eppa Hunton,

Messrs. Robert H. Turner,
Samuel C. Williams,
Henry A. Wise—27.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (*Pres't*)
Edward M. Armstrong,
William B. Aston,
John B. Baldwin,
Alfred M. Barbour,
James Barbour,
George Baylor,
George W. Berlin,
George Blow, Jr.
Caleb Boggess,
Wood Bouldin,
William W. Boyd,
Thomas Branch,
George W. Brent,
William G. Brown,
James C. Bruce,
John S. Burdett,
James Burley,
Benjamin W. Byrne,
Frederick M. Cabell,
John A. Campbell,
Allen T. Caperton,
John S. Carlile,
John A. Carter,
Manilius Chapman,
Sherrard Clemens,
Samuel A. Coffman,
C. B. Conrad,
Robert Y. Conrad,
James H. Couch,
John Critcher,
W. H. B. Custis,
Marshall M. Dent,
Harvey Deskins,
James B. Dorman,
William H. Dulany,
Jubal A. Early,
John Echols,
Thomas S. Flournoy,
Napoleon B. French,

Messrs. James P. Holcombe,
J. G. Holladay,
Chester D. Hubbard,
George W. Hull,
John J. Jackson,
Marmaduke Johnson,
Peter C. Johnston,
Robert C. Kent,
John R. Kilby,
John F. Lewis,
William McComas,
James C. McGrew,
William H. Macfarland,
Charles K. Mallory,
James B. Mallory,
James Marshall,
John Q. Marr,
John L. Marye, Sr.
Thomas Maslin,
Henry H. Masters,
Horatio G. Moffett,
Samuel McD. Moore,
Johnson Orrick,
Logan Osburn,
William C. Parks,
Spicer Patrick,
Edmund Pendleton,
George McC. Porter,
David Pugh,
George W. Richardson,
Timothy Rives,
Robert E. Scott,
John D. Sharp,
James W. Sheffey,
Thomas Sitlington,
Charles R. Slaughter,
Valentine W. Southall,
Burwell Spurlock,
Samuel G. Staples,
Chapman J. Stuart,

Messrs. Colbert C. Fugate,	Messrs. George W. Summers,
Samuel M. Garland,	William T. Sutherland,
H. L. Gillespie,	Campbell Tarr,
Peyton Gravely,	George P. Tayloe,
Algernon S. Gray,	William M. Tredway,
Addison Hall,	Edward Waller,
Ephraim B. Hall,	William White,
Allen C. Hammond,	Williams C. Wickham,
Alpheus F. Haymond,	Waitman T. Willey,
James W. Hoge,	Benjamin Wilson—100.

Mr. MACFARLAND moved to amend the amendment further, by striking out all after the word "Arkansas," in the 6th line, and inserting the following:

"And such of the non-slave States as may declare their assent to the said amendments ought to resume the powers granted under the Constitution, and withdraw from their present Confederacy, and provide in their act of resumption and withdrawal for a Congress, composed of delegates from the Confederate and other States aforesaid, to recommend a constitution under which this union can be effected."

The question was put and decided in the negative.

Mr. MACFARLAND then moved to amend the amendment in the same line, by striking out the word "and," he indicating a purpose to follow up the amendment, if agreed to, with a further proposition to amend.

The question was put and decided in the negative.

Mr. SLAUGHTER moved to amend the amendment further, by striking out all after the word "and," in the first line, and inserting, "also to cause conventions similar to this to be held in each of said States, to meet on the day which may be fixed for the re-assembling of this Convention."

The question was put, and decided in the negative—yeas 49; nays 82.

On motion of Mr. FLOURNOY, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. William M. Ambler,	Messrs. James P. Holcombe,
James Barbour,	Eppa Hunton,
Angus R. Blakey,	Lewis D. Isbell,
James Boisseau,	Robert C. Kent,
Peter B. Borst,	James Lawson,
Wood Bouldin,	Walter D. Leake,
Thomas Branch,	Charles K. Mallory,
James C. Bruce,	John Q. Marr,
Frederick M. Cabell,	Fleming B. Miller,
William P. Cecil,	Edmund T. Morris,

Messrs. John R. Chambliss,	Messrs. Jeremiah Morton,
Manilius Chapman,	William J. Neblett,
Raphael M. Conn,	George W. Richardson,
John Echols,	John T. Seawell,
Thomas S. Flournoy,	Charles R. Slaughter,
William W. Forbes,	Samuel G. Staples,
Samuel M. Garland,	James M. Strange,
Samuel L. Graham,	William T. Sutherlin,
Fendall Gregory, Jr.	John T. Thornton,
William L. Goggin,	William M. Tredway,
John Goode, Jr.	Robert H. Turner,
Thomas F. Goode,	Samuel C. Williams,
F. L. Hale,	Henry A. Wise,
Cyrus Hall,	Benj. F. Wysor—49.
Lewis E. Harvie,	

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. John N. Hughes,
Edward M. Armstrong,	George W. Hull,
William B. Aston,	John J. Jackson,
John B. Baldwin,	Marmaduke Johnson,
Alfred M. Barbour,	Peter C. Johnston,
George Baylor,	John R. Kilby,
George W. Berlin,	John F. Lewis,
George Blow, Jr.	William McComas,
Caleb Boggess,	James C. McGrew,
William W. Boyd,	William H. Macfarland,
George W. Brent,	James B. Mallory,
William G. Brown,	James Marshall,
John S. Burdett,	John L. Marye, Sr.
James Burley,	Thomas Maslin,
Benjamin W. Byrne,	Henry H. Masters,
John A. Campbell,	Horatio G. Moffett,
Allen T. Caperton,	Samuel McD. Moore,
John S. Carlile,	Johnson Orrick,
Sherrard Clemens,	Logan Osburn,
Samuel A. Coffinan,	William C. Parks,
C. B. Conrad,	Spicer Patrick,
Robert Y. Conrad,	Edmund Pendleton,
James H. Couch,	George McC. Porter,
John Critcher,	Samuel Price,
W. H. B. Custis,	David Pugh,
Marshall M. Dent,	Timothy Rives,
Harvey Deskins,	Robert E. Scott,
James B. Dorman,	John D. Sharp,
William H. Dulany,	Thomas Sitlington,

Messrs. Jubal A. Early,
 Napoleon B. French,
 Colbert C. Fugate,
 H. L. Gillespie,
 Peyton Gravely,
 Algernon S. Gray,
 Addison Hall,
 Ephraim B. Hall,
 Allen C. Hammond,
 Alpheus F. Haymond,
 James W. Hoge,
 J. G. Holladay,
 Chester D. Hubbard,

Messrs. Valentine W. Southall,
 Burwell Spurlock,
 Chapman J. Stuart,
 George W. Summers,
 Campbell Tarr,
 George P. Tayloe,
 Edward Waller,
 William White,
 Robert H. Whitfield,
 Williams C. Wickham,
 Waitman T. Willey,
 Benjamin Wilson—83.

Mr. FLOURNOY moved to amend the amendment further, by inserting after the word "Constitution," in the third line, the words "presented by this Convention;" and the question being put, was decided in the negative—yeas 56; nays 72.

On motion of Mr. AMBLER, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. William M. Ambler,	Messrs. Lewis E. Harvie,
Angus R. Blakey,	James P. Holcombe,
James Boisseau,	Eppa Hunton,
Peter B. Borst,	Lewis D. Isbell,
Wood Bouldin,	Robert C. Kent,
Thomas Branch,	John R. Kilby,
James C. Bruce,	James Lawson,
Frederick M. Cabell,	Walter D. Leake,
Allen T. Caperton,	Charles K. Mallory,
William P. Cecil,	John Q. Marr,
John R. Chambliss,	John L. Marye, Sr.
Manilius Chapman,	Edmund T. Morris,
Samuel A. Coffman,	Jeremiah Morton,
Raphael M. Conn,	William J. Neblett,
James B. Dorman,	Johnson Orrick,
John Echols,	George W. Richardson,
Thomas S. Flournoy,	John T. Seawell,
William W. Forbes,	Charles R. Slaughter,
Sammuel M. Garland,	Valentine W. Southall,
Samuel L. Graham,	Samuel G. Staples,
Peyton Gravely,	James M. Strange,
Fendall Gregory, Jr.	William T. Sutherland,
William L. Goggin,	John T. Thornton,
John Goode, Jr.	William M. Tredway,
Thomas F. Goode,	Robert H. Turner,

Messrs. F. L. Hale,
Cyrus Hall,
L. S. Hall,

Messrs. Samuel C. Williams,
Henry A. Wise,
Benj. F. Wysor—56.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (*Pres't*)
Edward M. Armstrong,
William B. Aston,
John B. Baldwin,
Alfred M. Barbour,
George Baylor,
George Blow, Jr.
Caleb Boggess,
William W. Boyd,
George W. Brent,
William G. Brown,
John S. Burdett,
James Burley,
Benjamin W. Byrne,
John A. Campbell,
John S. Carlile,
Sherrard Clemens,
C. B. Conrad,
Robert Y. Conrad,
James H. Couch,
John Critcher,
W. H. B. Custis,
Harvey Deskins,
William H. Dulany,
Jubal A. Early,
Napoleon B. French,
Colbert C. Fugate,
H. L. Gillespie,
Algernon S. Gray,
Addison Hall,
Ephraim B. Hall,
Allen C. Hammond,
Alpheus F. Haymond,
James W. Hoge,
J. G. Holladay,
Chester D. Hubbard,

Messrs. John N. Hughes,
George W. Hull,
John J. Jackson,
Marmaduke Johnson,
Peter C. Johnston,
John F. Lewis,
William McComas,
James C. McGrew,
William H. Macfarland,
James B. Mallory,
James Marshall,
Thomas Maslin,
Henry H. Masters,
Horatio G. Moffett,
Samuel McD. Moore,
Logan Osburn,
Spicer Patrick,
Edmund Pendleton,
George McC. Porter,
Samuel Price,
David Pugh,
Timothy Rives,
Robert E. Scott,
John D. Sharp,
Thomas Sitlington,
Burwell Spurlock,
Chapman J. Stuart,
George W. Summers,
Campbell Tarr,
George P. Tayloe,
Edward Waller,
William White,
Robert H. Whitfield,
Williams C. Wickham,
Waitman T. Willey,
Benjamin Wilson—72.

On motion of Mr. MARR, the Committee rose.

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FRIDAY, April 12, 1861.

The consideration of the Report of the Committee on Federal Relations was resumed.

Mr. WISE moved to amend the amendment of Mr. SCOTT, by striking from the 10th and 11th lines, the words "appointed by the respective conventions thereof," and inserting the following:

"Elected for this State by the people thereof, voting by congressional districts for thirteen delegates, one for each district, and by the State at large for two delegates, one to be selected from the east and one from the west of the Blue Ridge."

The question was put and decided in the negative—yeas 53; nays 74.

On motion of Mr. GOODE, of Mecklenburg, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. William M. Ambler,	Messrs. Lewis D. Isbell,
James Barbour,	Robert C. Kent,
Angus R. Blakey,	James Lawson,
James Boisseau,	William H. Macfarland,
Peter B. Borst,	Charles K. Mallory,
Wood Bouldin,	James B. Mallory,
William W. Boyd,	John Q. Marr,
Thomas Branch,	John L. Marye, Sr.
James C. Bruce,	Fleming B. Miller,
Frederick M. Cabell,	Edmund T. Morris,
William P. Cecil,	Jeremiah Morton,
John R. Chambliss,	George W. Richardson,
Samuel A. Coffman,	Timothy Rives,
Raphael M. Conn,	James W. Sheffey,
Thomas S. Flournoy,	Charles R. Slaughter,
William W. Forbes,	John M. Speed,
Samuel M. Garland,	James M. Strange,
Samuel L. Graham,	William T. Sutherlin,
Fendall Gregory, Jr.	William M. Tredway,
William L. Goggin,	Robert H. Turner,
John Goode, Jr.	John Tyler,
Thomas F. Goode,	Edward Waller,
F. L. Hale,	Samuel C. Williams,
Cyrus Hall,	Benjamin Wilson,
Lewis E. Harvie,	Henry A. Wise,
James P. Holcombe,	Benj. F. Wysor—53.
Eppa Hunton,	

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. Allen C. Hammond,
Edward M. Armstrong,	Alphens F. Haymond,
William B. Aston,	J. G. Holladay,
John B. Baldwin,	Chester D. Hubbard,
Alfred M. Barbour,	John N. Hughes,
George Baylor,	George W. Hull,
George W. Berlin,	John J. Jackson,
George Blow, Jr.	Peter C. Johnston,
Caleb Boggess,	John R. Kilby,
George W. Brent,	John F. Lewis,
William G. Brown,	William McComas,
John S. Burdett,	James C. McGrew,
James Burley,	James Marshall,
Benjamin W. Byrne,	Thomas Maslin,
John A. Campbell,	Henry H. Masters,
Allen T. Caperton,	Horatio G. Moffett,
John S. Carlile,	Samuel McD. Moore,
John A. Carter,	Logan Osburn,
Manilius Chapman,	William C. Parks,
Sherrard Clemens,	Spicer Patrick,
C. B. Conrad,	Edmund Pendleton,
Robert Y. Conrad,	George McC. Porter,
James H. Couch,	Samuel Price,
John Critcher,	David Pugh,
W. H. B. Custis,	Robert E. Scott,
Marshall M. Dent,	John D. Sharp,
Harvey Deskins,	Thomas Sitlington,
James B. Dorman,	Valentine W. Southall,
William H. Dulany,	Burwell Spurlock,
Jubal A. Early,	Chapman J. Stuart,
John Echols,	George W. Summers,
Napoleon B. French,	Campbell Tarr,
Colbert C. Fugate,	George P. Tayloe,
H. L. Gillespie,	William White,
Peyton Gravely,	Robert H. Whitfield,
Algernon S. Gray,	Williams C. Wickham,
Ephraim B. Hall,	Wait. T. Willey—74.

After the result was announced Mr. WILSON asked leave to correct his vote so as to record it in the negative instead of in the affirmative. The Chair decided that the correction could not be made except by general consent.

Mr. MORTON moved to amend the amendment, by striking out the word "responses," in the first line, and inserting the word "answers." He subsequently asked leave to withdraw the mo-

tion, but objection being made, the question upon granting leave was put, and decided in the affirmative.

Mr. BOULDIN moved to amend the amendment, by striking from the 10th and 11th lines the words "appointed by the respective conventions thereof," and inserting the following:

"Elected for this State by the people thereof voting by districts, arranged on the suffrage basis of representation, for fifteen delegates, one for each district."

The question was put, and decided in the negative—yeas 61; nays 66.

On motion of Mr. BOULDIN, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. William M. Ambler,	Messrs. Lewis D. Isbell,
James Barbour,	Robert C. Kent,
Angus R. Blakey,	James Lawson,
James Boisseau,	William H. Macfarland,
Wood Boudin,	Charles K. Mallory,
William W. Boyd,	James B. Mallory,
Thomas Branch,	John L. Marye, Sr.
James C. Bruce,	Fleming B. Miller,
Frederick M. Cabell,	Edmund T. Morris,
William P. Cecil,	Jeremiah Morton,
John R. Chambliss,	William C. Parks,
Manilius Chapman,	George W. Richardson,
Sherrard Clemens,	Timothy Rives,
Samuel A. Coffinan,	John T. Seawell,
Raphael M. Conn,	James W. Sheffey,
John Echols,	Charles R. Slaughter,
Thomas S. Flournoy,	Valentine W. Southall,
William W. Forbes,	John M. Speed,
Samuel M. Garland,	Samuel G. Staples,
H. L. Gillespie,	Chapman J. Stuart,
Samuel L. Graham,	James M. Strange,
Peyton Gravely,	William T. Sutherlin,
Fendall Gregory, Jr.	George P. Tayloe,
William L. Goggin,	William M. Tredway,
John Goode, Jr.	Robert H. Turner,
Thomas F. Goode,	John Tyler,
F. L. Hale,	Edward Waller,
L. S. Hall,	Robert H. Whitfield,
Lewis E. Harvie,	Samuel C. Williams,
James P. Holcombe,	Benj. F. Wysor—61.
Eppa Hunton,	

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. Alpheus F. Haymond,
Edward M. Armstrong,	J. G. Holladay,
William B. Aston,	Chester D. Hubbard,
John B. Baldwin,	John N. Hughes,
Alfred M. Barbour,	George W. Hull,
George Baylor,	John J. Jackson,
George W. Berlin,	Peter C. Johnston,
George Blow, Jr.	John R. Kilby,
Caleb Boggess,	John F. Lewis,
George W. Brent,	William McComas,
William G. Brown,	James C. McGrew,
John S. Burdett,	James Marshall,
James Burley,	Thomas Maslin,
Benjamin W. Byrne,	Henry H. Masters,
John A. Campbell,	Horatio G. Moffett,
Allen T. Caperton,	Samuel McD. Moore,
John S. Carlile,	Logan Osburn,
John A. Carter,	Spicer Patrick,
C. B. Conrad,	Edmund Pendleton,
Robert Y. Conrad,	George McC. Porter,
James H. Couch,	Samuel Price,
John Critcher,	David Pugh,
W. H. B. Custis,	Robert E. Scott,
Marshall M. Dent,	John D. Sharp,
Harvey Deskins,	Thomas Sitlington,
James B. Dorman,	Burwell Spurlock,
William H. Dulany,	George W. Summers,
Jubal A. Early,	Campbell Tarr,
Napoleon B. French,	William White,
Colbert C. Fugate,	Williams C. Wickham,
Algernon S. Gray,	Waiunan T. Willey,
Ephraim B. Hall,	Benjamin Wilson,
Allen C. Hammond,	Henry A. Wise—66.

Mr. BALDWIN moved to amend the amendment, by inserting after the word "Government," in the 12th line, the words "to be submitted, for ratification, to the people of the several States."

The question was put, and decided in the affirmative—yeas 124; nays 4.

On motion of Mr. WISE, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. Chester D. Hubbard,
Wm. M. Ambler,	John N. Hughes,

Messrs. Edw'd M. Armstrong, Messrs. George W. Hull,
 William B. Aston, Eppa Hunton,
 John B. Baldwin, Lewis D. Isbell,
 Alfred M. Barbour, John J. Jackson,
 James Barbour, Peter C. Johnston,
 George Baylor, Robert C. Kent,
 George W. Berlin, James Lawson,
 Angus R. Blakey, Walter D. Leake,
 George Blow, Jr. John F. Lewis,
 Caleb Boggess, William McComas,
 Peter B. Borst, James C. McGrew,
 Wood Bouldin, William H. Macfarland,
 William W. Boyd, Charles K. Mallory,
 Thomas Branch, James B. Mallory,
 George W. Brent, James Marshall,
 William G. Brown, John Q. Marr,
 James C. Bruce, John L. Marye, Sr.
 John S. Burdett, Thomas Maslin,
 James Burley, Henry H. Masters,
 Benjamin W. Byrne, Fleming B. Miller,
 Frederick M. Cabell, Horatio G. Moffett,
 John A. Campbell, Edmund T. Morris,
 John S. Carlile, Jeremiah Morton,
 John A. Carter, Samuel McD. Moore,
 William P. Cecil, Hugh M. Nelson,
 Manilius Chapman, Johnson Orrick,
 Sherrard Clemens, Logan Osburn,
 Samuel A. Coffman, William C. Parks,
 Raphael M. Conn, Spicer Patrick,
 G. B. Conrad, Edmund Pendleton,
 Robert Y. Conrad, George McC. Porter,
 James H. Couch, Samuel Price,
 John Critcher, David Pugh,
 W. H. B. Custis, George W. Richardson,
 Marshall M. Dent, Timothy Rives,
 Harvey Deskins, Robert E. Scott,
 James B. Dorman, John D. Sharp,
 William H. Dulany, James W. Sheffey,
 Jubal A. Early, Thomas Sitlington,
 John Echols, Charles R. Slaughter,
 Thomas S. Flournoy, Valentine W. Southall,
 William W. Forbes, John M. Speed,
 Napoleon B. French, Samuel G. Staples,
 Colbert C. Fugate, Chapman J. Stuart,
 Samuel M. Garland, James M. Strange,
 H. L. Gillespie, George W. Summers,
 Samuel L. Graham, William T. Sutherland,

Messrs. Peyton Gravely,	Messrs. Campbell Tarr,
Algernon S. Gray,	George P. Tayloe,
Fendall Gregory, Jr.	John T. Thornton,
William L. Goggin,	Robert H. Turner,
John Goode, Jr.	John Tyler,
Thomas F. Goode,	Edward Waller,
F. L. Hale,	William White,
Ephraim B. Hall,	Robert H. Whitfield,
L. S. Hall,	Williams C. Wickham,
Allen C. Hammond,	Waitman T. Willey,
Lewis E. Harvie,	Sammel C. Williams,
Alpheus F. Haymond,	Benjamin Wilson,
James P. Holcombe,	Henry A. Wise,
J. G. Holladay,	Benj. F. Wysor—124.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. James Boisseau,	Messrs. John R. Kilby,
John R. Chambliss,	Wm. M. Tredway—4.

Mr. HARVIE moved to amend the amendment further, by striking out from the "Constitution," in the third line, to the word "it," in the fourth line, and inserting "by the first of October next."

The question was put, and decided in the negative—yeas 44; nays 76.

On motion of Mr. HARVIE, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. William M. Ambler,	Messrs. Lewis E. Harvie,
James Barbour,	James P. Holcombe,
Angus R. Blakey,	Eppa Hunton,
James Boisseau,	Lewis D. Isbell,
Peter B. Borst,	Robert C. Kent,
Wood Bouldin,	James Lawson,
James C. Bruce,	Charles K. Mallory,
Frederick M. Cabell,	John Q. Marr,
William P. Cecil,	Fleming B. Miller,
John R. Chambliss,	Edmund T. Morris,
Manilius Chapman,	Jeremiah Morton,
Raphael M. Conn,	George W. Richardson,
John Echols,	James W. Sheffey,
William W. Forbes,	John M. Speed,
Samuel M. Garland,	James M. Strange,
Samuel L. Graham,	William T. Sutherlin,
Fendall Gregory, Jr.	William M. Tredway,

Messrs. William L. Goggin, John Goode, Jr. Thomas F. Goode, F. L. Hale, L. S. Hall,	Messrs. Robert H. Turner, John Tyler, Samuel C. Williams, Henry A. Wise, Benj. F. Wysor—44.
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The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>) Edward M. Armstrong, William B. Aston, John B. Baldwin, Alfred M. Barbour, George Baylor, George W. Berlin, Caleb Boggess, Thomas Branch, William G. Brown, John S. Burdett, James Burley, Benjamin W. Byrne, John A. Campbell, John S. Carlile, John A. Carter, Sherrard Clemens, C. B. Conrad, Robert Y. Conrad, James H. Couch, John Critcher, W. H. B. Custis, Marshall M. Dent, Harvey Deskins, James B. Dorman, William H. Dulany, Jubal A. Early, Napoleon B. French, Colbert C. Fugate, H. L. Gillespie, Peyton Gravely, Algernon S. Gray, Ephraim B. Hall, Allen C. Hammond, Alpheus F. Haymond, J. G. Holladay, Chester D. Hubbard, John N. Hughes,	Messrs. George W. Hull, John J. Jackson, Peter C. Johnston, John R. Kilby, John F. Lewis, William McComas, James C. McGrew, William H. Macfarland, James B. Mallory, James Marshall, John L. Marye, Sr. Thomas Maslin, Henry H. Masters, Horatio G. Moffett, Samuel McD. Moore, Johnson Orrick, Logan Osburn, Spicer Patrick, Edmund Pendleton, George McC. Porter, Samuel Price, David Pugh, Timothy Rives, Robert E. Scott, John D. Sharp, Thomas Sitlington, Valentine W. Sonthall, Burwell Spurlock, Chapman J. Stuart, George W. Summers, Campbell Tarr, George P. Tayloe, Edward Waller, William White, Robert H. Whitfield, Williams C. Wickham, Waitman T. Willey, Benjamin Wilson—76.
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Mr. WISE moved to amend the amendment, by inserting after the word "time," in the third line, the words "to be." Negated.

Mr. EARLY moved to amend the amendment, by striking out from the word "Constitution," in the third line, to the word "it," in the fourth line, and inserting "within a reasonable time." Negated.

Mr. BLAKEY moved to amend the amendment, by striking out from the word "delegates," in the tenth line, to the word "for," in the eleventh line, and inserting the following:

"Corresponding in number to the number of electors to which the said States are respectively entitled in a presidential election; the said delegates shall be elected by the people of the said States at elections to be held in their respective electoral districts, and in said Congress each State shall cast the same number of votes that she now casts in the Congress of the United States."

The question was put and decided in the negative.

Mr. GOODE, of Mecklenburg, moved to amend further, by striking out the word "Confederated," in the 13th line, and inserting the word "Southern." Negated.

The amendment, as amended, was then adopted—yeas 76; nays 42.

On motion of Mr. HARVIE, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. John N. Hughes,
E. M. Armstrong,	George W. Hull,
William B. Aston,	John J. Jackson,
John B. Baldwin,	Peter C. Johnston,
George Baylor,	John R. Kilby,
George W. Berlin,	John F. Lewis,
George Blow, Jr.	William McComas,
Caleb Boggess,	James B. Mallory,
William W. Boyd,	James Marshall,
George W. Brent,	John Q. Marr,
William G. Brown,	John L. Marye, Sr.
John S. Burdett,	Thomas Maslin,
Benjamin W. Byrne,	Henry H. Masters,
John A. Campbell,	Horatio G. Moffett,
Allen T. Caperton,	Samuel McD. Moore,
John A. Carter,	Johnson Orrick,
Manilius Capman,	Logan Osburn,
Samuel A. Coffinan,	William C. Parks,
C. B. Conrad,	Spicer Patrick,
Robert Y. Conrad,	Edmund Pendleton,
James H. Couch,	George McC. Porter,
W. H. B. Custis,	Samuel Price,

Messrs. Marshall M. Dent,
 Harvey Deskins,
 James B. Dorman,
 William H. Dulany,
 Jubal A. Early,
 John Echols,
 Napoleon B. French,
 Colbert C. Fugate,
 H. L. Gillespie,
 Peyton Gravely,
 Algernon S. Gray,
 Ephraim B. Hall,
 Allen C. Hammond,
 Alpheus F. Haymond,
 James W. Hoge,
 Chester D. Hubbard,

Messrs. David Pugh,
 Timothy Rives,
 Robert E. Scott,
 John D. Sharp,
 Thomas Sitlington,
 Valentine W. Southall,
 Burwell Spurlock,
 Chapman J. Stuart,
 George W. Summers,
 Campbell Tarr,
 George P. Tayloe,
 Edward Waller,
 William White,
 Robert H. Whitfield,
 Williams C. Wickham,
 Wait. T. Willey—76.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. Wm. M. Ambler,
 Angus R. Blakey,
 James Boisseau,
 Peter B. Borst,
 Wood Bouldin,
 James C. Bruce,
 Frederick M. Cabell,
 William P. Cecil,
 Raphael M. Conn,
 Thomas S. Flournoy,
 William W. Forbes,
 Samuel M. Garland,
 Samuel L. Graham,
 Fendall Gregory, Jr.
 William L. Goggin,
 John Goode, Jr.
 Thomas F. Goode,
 F. L. Hale,
 L. S. Hall,
 Lewis E. Harvie,
 James P. Holcombe,

Messrs. Eppa Hunton,
 Lewis D. Isbell,
 Robert C. Kent,
 James Lawson,
 Charles K. Mallory,
 Edmund T. Morris,
 Jeremiah Morton,
 George W. Richardson,
 James W. Sheffey,
 Charles R. Slaughter,
 John M. Speed,
 James M. Strange,
 William T. Sutherlin,
 John T. Thornton,
 William M. Tredway,
 Robert H. Turner,
 John Tyler,
 Samuel C. Williams,
 Benjamin Wilson,
 Henry A. Wise,
 Benj. F. Wysor—42.

The fourteenth resolution, as amended, was then adopted.

The report of the Committee on Federal Relations, proposing amendments to the Constitution of the United States, was then taken up for consideration.

Mr. WISE moved to amend the report, by striking out the first section, and inserting the following:

"1. In all the present territory of the United States, involuntary servitude, as it now exists, shall remain and shall not be changed; nor shall any law be passed by Congress or the territorial legislatures to hinder or prevent the taking of persons held to service or labor, from any of the States of this Union to said territory; nor to impair the rights arising from said relation; nor shall said rights be in any manner affected by any preëxisting law of Mexico in the part acquired from her; but the same shall be protected by necessary remedial laws as other rights, and be subject to judicial cognizance in the Federal Courts, according to existing laws, and to the remedies and practice of the common law except so far as they may be modified by the existing territorial laws. And, when any territory, within such boundary as Congress may prescribe, shall contain a population equal to that required for a member of Congress, it shall, if its form of government be republican, be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States, with or without involuntary servitude, as such Constitution of the State may provide. In all territory which may hereafter be acquired by the United States, involuntary servitude is prohibited, except for crime, north of thirty-six degrees thirty-minutes; but shall not be prohibited by Congress or any territorial legislature, and shall be protected by law, south of that line."

Mr. MORRISON moved to amend the proposed amendment, by striking out the following clause:

"In all territory which may hereafter be acquired by the United States, involuntary servitude is prohibited, except for crime, north of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes; but shall not be prohibited by Congress or any territorial legislature, and shall be protected by law south of that line."

The question was put and decided in the negative.

The amendment submitted by Mr. WISE was then rejected—yeas 28; nays 84.

On motion of Mr. CONRAD, of Frederick, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. William M. Ambler,	Messrs. F. L. Hale,
Angus R. Blakey,	L. S. Hall,
James Boisseau,	Lewis E. Harvie,
Peter B. Borst,	Eppa Hunton,
Frederick M. Cabell,	Lewis D. Isbell,
William P. Cecil,	Robert C. Kent,
Samuel A. Coffman,	Edmund T. Morris,
Raphael M. Conn,	George W. Richardson,
William W. Forbes,	James M. Strange,
Samuel M. Garland,	Robert H. Turner,
Samuel L. Graham,	John Tyler,
Fendall Gregory, Jr.	Samuel C. Williams,
John Goode, Jr.	Henry A. Wise,
Thomas F. Goode,	Benj. F. Wysesor—28.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. George W. Hull,
Edward M. Armstrong,	John J. Jackson,
William B. Aston,	Peter C. Johnston,
John B. Baldwin,	John R. Killby,
Alfred M. Barbour,	James Lawson,
George Baylor,	John F. Lewis,
George W. Berlin,	William McComas,
George Blow, Jr.	James B. Mallory,
Caleb Boggess,	James Marshall,
Wood Bouldin,	John Q. Marr,
William W. Boyd,	John L. Marye, Sr.
Thomas Branch,	Henry H. Masters,
George W. Brent,	Horatio G. Moffett,
William G. Brown,	Jeremiah Morton,
John S. Burdett,	Samuel McD. Moore,
James Burley,	Logan Osburn,
Benjamin W. Byrne,	William C. Parks,
John A. Campbell,	Spicer Patrick,
John A. Carter,	Edmund Pendleton,
Manilius Chapman,	George McC. Porter,
C. B. Conrad,	Samuel Price,
Robert Y. Conrad,	David Pugh,
James H. Couch,	Timothy Rives,
W. H. B. Custis,	Robert E. Scott,
Marshall M. Dent,	John D. Sharp,
Harvey Deskins,	James W. Sheffey,
James B. Dorman,	Thomas Sitlington,
Jubal A. Early,	Charles R. Slaughter,
John Echols,	Valentine W. Southall,
Thomas S. Flournoy,	Burwell Spurluck,
Napoleon B. French,	Chapman J. Stuart,
Colbert C. Fugate,	George W. Summers,
H. L. Gillespie,	Campbell Tarr,
Peyton Gravely,	George P. Tayloe,
Algernon S. Gray,	John T. Thornton,
William L. Goggin,	William M. Tredway,
Ephraim B. Hall,	Edward Waller,
Allen C. Hammond,	William White,
Alpheus F. Haymond,	Robert H. Whitfield,
James W. Hoge,	Williams C. Wickham,
Chester D. Hubbard,	Waitman T. Willey,
John N. Hughes,	Benjamin Wilson—84.

Mr. AMBLER moved to amend the report, by striking out the first section, and inserting the following:

“1. Congress shall have power to legislate and provide forms of government

for the inhabitants of all territories belonging to the United States, and may permit them, at such times and in such manner as it may by law provide, to form States and be admitted into the Union—citizens and inhabitants of the several States and territories shall have the right to take into any of the territories persons held to service or labor under the laws of the States or Territories whence they are removed, and all rights of property in such persons, or in their service or labor as the same existed under the laws of the State or Territory, prior to such removal, shall be recognized and protected by Congress and the Territorial Government.

"2. When any territory within such boundary as Congress may prescribe, shall contain a population equal to that required for a member of Congress, it shall, if its form of government be republican, be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States, with or without involuntary servitude, as such Constitution of the State may provide."

Mr. MORTON moved that the Committee rise, and the question being put, was decided in the negative—yeas 47; nays 65.

On motion of Mr. ARMSTRONG, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. William M. Ambler,	Messrs. Lewis D. Isbell,
Angus R. Blakey,	Robert C. Kent,
George Blow, Jr.	James Lawson,
James Boisseau,	Walter D. Leake,
Peter B. Borst,	John Q. Marr,
Wood Bouldin,	John L. Marye, Sr.
William W. Boyd,	Edmund T. Morris,
Frederick M. Cabell,	Jeremiah Orrick,
William P. Cecil,	Johnson Orrick,
Samuel A. Coffinan,	George W. Richardson,
Raphael M. Conn,	James W. Sheffield,
James B. Dornan,	Charles R. Slaughter,
Napoleon B. French,	Valentine W. Southall,
Samuel M. Garland,	John M. Speed,
H. L. Gillespie,	James M. Strange,
Samuel L. Graham,	George P. Tayloe,
Fendall Gregory, Jr.	John T. Thornton,
William L. Goggin,	Robert H. Turner,
John Goode, Jr.	John Tyler,
Thomas F. Goode,	Samuel C. Williams,
F. L. Hale,	Benjamin Wilson,
Lewis E. Harvie,	Henry A. Wise,
John N. Hughes,	Benj. F. Wysor—47.
Eppa Hunton,	

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. John J. Jackson,
Edward M. Armstrong,	Peter C. Johnston,

Messrs. William B. Aston,
 John B. Baldwin,
 George Baylor,
 George W. Berlin,
 Caleb Boggess,
 Thomas Branch,
 George W. Brent,
 William G. Brown,
 John S. Burdett,
 James Burley,
 Benjamin W. Byrne,
 John A. Campbell,
 John A. Carter,
 C. B. Conrad,
 Robert Y. Conrad,
 James H. Couch,
 W. H. B. Custis,
 Marshall M. Dent,
 Harvey Deskins,
 Jubal A. Early,
 John Echols,
 Thomas S. Flournoy,
 Colbert C. Fugate,
 Peyton Gravely,
 Algernon S. Gray,
 Ephraim B. Hall,
 Allen C. Hammond,
 Alpheus F. Haymond,
 James W. Hoge,
 Chester D. Hubbard,
 George W. Hull,

Messrs. John R. Kilby,
 John F. Lewis,
 William McComas,
 James B. Mallory,
 James Marshall,
 Henry H. Masters,
 Horatio G. Moffett,
 Samuel McD. Moore,
 Hugh M. Nelson,
 Logan Osburn,
 William C. Parks,
 Spicer Patrick,
 Edmund Pendleton,
 George McC. Porter,
 Samuel Price,
 David Pugh,
 Timothy Rives,
 Robert E. Scott,
 John D. Sharp,
 Thomas Sitlington,
 Burwell Spurlock,
 Samuel G. Staples,
 Chapman J. Stuart,
 George W. Summers,
 Campbell Tarr,
 Edward Waller,
 William White,
 Robert H. Whitfield,
 Williams C. Wickham,
 Wait. T. Willey—65.

The question recurring upon the amendment submitted by Mr. Ambler,

Mr. MOORE demanded a division of the question, and it was put upon striking out, and decided in the negative—yeas 26; nays 80.

On motion of Mr. AMBLER, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. Wm. M. Ambler,
 Angus R. Blakey,
 James Boisseau,
 Peter B. Borst,
 Frederick M. Cabell,
 Raphael M. Conn,

Messrs. Lewis E. Harvie,
 Eppa Hunton,
 Lewis D. Isbell,
 Edmund T. Morris,
 Jeremiah Morton,
 George W. Richardson,

Messrs. Samuel M. Garland,
 Samuel L. Graham,
 Fendall Gregory, Jr.
 William L. Goggin,
 John Goode, Jr.
 Thomas F. Goode,
 F. L. Hale,

Messrs. John M. Speed,
 James M. Strange,
 John T. Thornton,
 Robert H. Turner,
 John Tyler,
 Henry A. Wise,
 Benj. F. Wysor—26.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (*Pres't*)
 Edw'd M. Armstrong,
 William B. Aston,
 John B. Baldwin,
 George Baylor,
 George W. Berlin,
 George Blow, Jr.
 Caleb Boggess,
 Wood Bouldin,
 William W. Boyd,
 Thomas Branch,
 George W. Brent,
 William G. Brown,
 John S. Burdett,
 James Burley,
 Benjamin W. Byrne,
 John A. Campbell,
 John A. Carter,
 Manilius Chapman,
 Samuel A. Coffman,
 C. B. Conrad,
 Robert Y. Conrad,
 James H. Couch,
 W. H. B. Custis,
 Marshall M. Dent,
 Harvey Deskins,
 James B. Dorman,
 Jubal A. Early,
 John Echols,
 Thomas S. Flourney,
 William W. Forbes,
 Napoleon B. French,
 Colbert C. Fugate,
 H. L. Gillespie,
 Peyton Gravely,
 Algernon S. Gray,
 Ephraim B. Hall,

Messrs. Chester D. Hubbard,
 John N. Hughes,
 George W. Hull,
 John J. Jackson,
 Peter C. Johnston,
 James Lawson,
 John F. Lewis,
 William McComas,
 James B. Mallory,
 James Marshall,
 John Q. Marr,
 John L. Marye, Sr.
 Henry H. Masters,
 Horatio G. Moffett,
 Samuel McD. Moore,
 Logan Osburn,
 William C. Parks,
 Spicer Patrick,
 Edmund Pendleton,
 George McC. Porter,
 Samuel Price,
 David Pugh,
 Timothy Rives,
 Robert E. Scott,
 John D. Sharp,
 James W. Sheffey,
 Thomas Sitlington,
 Charles R. Slaughter,
 Valentine W. Southall,
 Burwell Spurlock,
 Chapman J. Stuart,
 George W. Summers,
 Campbell Tarr,
 George P. Tayloe,
 Edward Waller,
 William White,
 Robert H. Whitfield,

Messrs. Allen C. Hammond, Messrs. Williams C. Wickham,
 Alpheus F. Haymond, Waitman T. Willey,
 James W. Hoge, Benjamin Wilson—80.

Mr. DORMAN moved that the Committee rise, and the question being put, was decided in the negative—yeas 38; nays 55.

On motion of Mr. ARMSTRONG, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. William M. Ambler,	Messrs. Lewis E. Harvie,
Angus R. Blakey,	Eppa Hunton,
Peter B. Borst,	Lewis D. Isbell,
Wood Bouldin,	Robert C. Kent,
William W. Boyd,	James Lawson,
Frederick M. Cabell,	Walter D. Leake,
Manilius Chapman,	John Q. Marr,
Samuel A. Coffman,	John L. Marye, Sr.
Raphael M. Coun,	Edmund T. Morris,
Marshall M. Dent,	Jeremiah Morton,
James B. Dorman,	George W. Richardson,
Thomas S. Flournoy,	Timothy Rives,
Napoleon B. French,	Charles R. Slaughter,
Samuel M. Garland,	Valentine W. Southall,
H. L. Gillespie,	John M. Speed,
Samuel L. Graham,	George P. Tayloe,
William L. Goggin,	John T. Thornton,
John Goode, Jr.	John Tyler,
Allen C. Hammond,	Henry A. Wise—38.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. John J. Jackson,
Edward M. Armstrong,	Peter C. Johnston,
William B. Aston,	John F. Lewis,
John B. Baldwin,	William McComas,
George Baylor,	James B. Mallory,
George W. Berlin,	James Marshall,
Caleb Boggess,	Henry H. Masters,
Thomas Branch,	Horatio G. Moffett,
George W. Brent,	Logan Osburn,
William G. Brown,	William C. Parks,
James Burley,	Spicer Patrick,
Benjamin W. Byrne,	George McC. Porter,
John A. Campbell,	Samuel Price,
John A. Carter,	David Pugh,

Messrs. C. B. Conrad,
 Robert Y. Conrad,
 James H. Couch,
 W. H. B. Custis,
 Harvey Deskins,
 Jubal A. Early,
 Colbert C. Fugate,
 Peyton Gravely,
 Thomas F. Goode,
 Ephraim B. Hall,
 Alpheus F. Haymond,
 James W. Hoge,
 Chester D. Hubbard,
 George W. Hull,

Messrs. John D. Sharp,
 Thomas Sidlington,
 Samuel G. Staples,
 James M. Strange,
 George W. Summers,
 Campbell Tarr,
 Edward Waller,
 William White,
 Robert H. Whitfield,
 Williams C. Wickham,
 Waitman T. Willey,
 Benjamin Wilson,
 Benj. F. Wysor—55.

Mr. BOYD moved to amend, by striking out the first section and inserting the following:

“1. In all the present territory of the United States, north of the parallel of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes of north latitude, involuntary servitude, except in punishment of crime, is prohibited. In all the present territory of the United States south of said line of latitude, involuntary servitude or slavery of the African race is hereby recognized as existing, any law or usage to the contrary notwithstanding; and no law shall be passed by Congress or by the territorial legislature, to hinder or prevent the taking of persons held in slavery or involuntary servitude, from any of the States of this Union to said territory, nor to impair the rights arising from said relation; but the same shall be subject to judicial cognizance in the Federal courts, according to the remedies and practice of the common law; and said relation shall be protected by all the departments of the territorial government. When any territory north or south of said line, within such boundary as Congress may prescribe, shall contain a population equal to that required for a member of Congress, it shall, if its form of government be republican, be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States, with or without involuntary servitude, as such Constitution of the State may provide. In all territory which may hereafter be acquired by the United States, involuntary servitude is prohibited, except for crime, north of the latitude of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes; but shall not be prohibited by Congress or any territorial legislature south of said line.”

Mr. MORTON moved that the Committee rise, and the question being put, was decided in the affirmative—yeas 59; nays 37.

On motion of Mr. BORST, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. Fendall Gregory, Jr.
William M. Ambler,	William L. Goggin,
Edward M. Armstrong,	John Goode, Jr.
William B. Aston,	F. L. Hale,
John B. Baldwin,	Allen C. Hammond,
George Baylor,	Lewis E. Harvie,
Angus R. Blakey,	Chester D. Hubbard,
George Blow, Jr.	Eppa Hunton,

Messrs. Wood Bouldin,
 William W. Boyd,
 Thomas Branch,
 George W. Brent,
 John S. Burdett,
 Benjamin W. Byrne,
 Frederick M. Cabell,
 John A. Campbell,
 Manilius Chapman,
 Samuel A. Coffinan,
 Raphael M. Conn,
 C. B. Conrad,
 Marshall M. Dent,
 Harvey Deskins,
 John Echols,
 Thomas S. Flournoy,
 William W. Forbes,
 Napoleon B. French,
 Colbert C. Fugate,
 Samuel M. Garland,
 Samuel L. Graham,
 Algernon S. Gray,

Messrs. Lewis D. Isbell,
 Peter C. Johnston,
 Robert C. Kent,
 Walter D. Leake,
 James Marshall,
 John L. Marye, Sr.
 Edmund T. Morris,
 Jeremiah Morton,
 Spicer Patrick,
 Edmund Pendleton,
 George W. Richardson,
 Timothy Rives,
 John D. Sharp,
 James W. Sheffey,
 John M. Speed,
 George P. Tayloe,
 John T. Thornton,
 Williams C. Wickham,
 Waitman T. Willey,
 Henry A. Wise,
 Benj. F. Wysor—59.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. George W. Berlin,
 Caleb Boggess,
 Peter B. Borst,
 William G. Brown,
 John A. Carter,
 Robert Y. Conrad,
 James H. Couch,
 W. H. B. Custis,
 James B. Dorman,
 Jubal A. Early,
 H. L. Gillespie,
 Peyton Gravely,
 Thomas F. Goode,
 Alpheus F. Haymond,
 James W. Hoge,
 John N. Hughes,
 George W. Hull,
 John J. Jackson,
 John F. Lewis,

Messrs. William McComas,
 James B. Mallory,
 Henry H. Masters,
 Hugh M. Nelson,
 Logan Osburn,
 William C. Parks,
 George McC. Porter,
 Samuel Price,
 David Pugh,
 Thomas Sitlington,
 Samuel G. Staples,
 Chapman J. Stuart,
 James M. Strange,
 George W. Summers,
 Campbell Tarr,
 Edward Waller,
 William White,
 Benjamin Wilson—37.

The Committee accordingly rose.

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SATURDAY, April 13, 1861.

The consideration of the report of the Committee on Federal Relations, proposing amendments to the Constitution of the United States, was resumed.

The pending question was, upon the motion of Mr. BOYD, to amend the report by striking out the first section, and inserting the substitute submitted by him; and being put, was decided in the negative—yeas 47; nays 69.

On motion of Mr. BOYD, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. William M. Ambler,	Messrs. James P. Holcombe,
James Barbour,	Eppa Hunton,
Angus R. Blakey,	Lewis D. Isbell,
James Boisseau,	Robert C. Kent,
Wood Bouldin,	James Lawson,
William W. Boyd,	John Q. Marr,
James C. Bruce,	John L. Marye, Sr.
Frederick M. Cabell,	Fleming B. Miller,
William P. Cecil,	Edmund T. Morris,
John R. Chambliss,	Jeremiah Morton,
Manilius Chapman,	George W. Richardson,
Samuel A. Coffman,	William C. Scott,
Raphael M. Conn,	James W. Sheffey,
John Echols,	Charles R. Slaughter,
William W. Forbes,	John M. Speed,
Samuel M. Garland,	Samuel G. Staples,
Samuel L. Graham,	James M. Strange,
William L. Goggin,	George P. Tayloe,
John Goode, Jr.	William M. Tredway,
Thomas F. Goode,	Robert H. Turner,
F. L. Hale,	John Tyler,
Cyrus Hall,	Samuel C. Williams,
L. S. Hall,	Benj. F. Wysor—47.
Lewis E. Harvie,	

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. John N. Hughes,
Edward M. Armstrong,	George W. Hull,
William B. Aston,	John J. Jackson,
John B. Baldwin,	Peter C. Johnston,
Alfred M. Barbour,	John F. Lewis,
George Baylor,	William McComas,
George W. Berlin,	James B. Mallory,

Messrs. George Blow, Jr.
 Caleb Boggess,
 George W. Brent,
 William G. Brown,
 James Burley,
 Benj. W. Byrne,
 John A. Campbell,
 John S. Carlile,
 John A. Carter,
 Sherrard Clemens,
 C. B. Conrad,
 Robert Y. Conrad,
 James H. Couch,
 John Critcher,
 W. H. B. Custis,
 Marshall M. Dent,
 Harvey Deskins,
 James B. Dorman,
 Jubal A. Early,
 Napoleon B. French,
 Colbert C. Fngate,
 H. L. Gillespie,
 Peyton Gravely,
 Ephraim B. Hall,
 Allen C. Hammond,
 Alpheus F. Haymond,
 J. G. Holladay,
 Chester D. Hubbard,

Messrs. James Marshall,
 Thomas Maslin,
 Henry H. Masters,
 Horatio G. Moffett,
 Samuel McD. Moore,
 Hugh M. Nelson,
 Logan Osburn,
 William C. Parks,
 Spicer Patrick,
 Edmund Pendleton,
 George McC. Porter,
 Samuel Price,
 David Pugh,
 Timothy Rives,
 John D. Sharp,
 Thomas Sidlington,
 Valentine W. Southall,
 Burwell Spurlock,
 Chapman J. Stuart,
 Campbell Tarr,
 Edward Waller,
 William White,
 Robert H. Whitfield,
 Williams C. Wickham,
 Waitman T. Willey,
 Benjamin Wilson,
 Henry A. Wise—69.

Mr. BOULDIN moved to amend the first section by striking out the words, "as it now exists," in the fifth line, and inserting:

"Of the African race is allowed and hereby declared to exist, and shall not be abolished by any law of Congress or a territorial legislature, but the same as now protected by the laws of the Territory of New Mexico."

The question was put and decided in the negative—yeas 46; nays 67.

On motion of Mr. GOODE, of Mecklenburg, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. William M. Ambler,
 James Barbour,
 Angus R. Blakey,
 James Boisseau,
 Wood Bouldin,
 William W. Boyd,
 James C. Bruce,

Messrs. Lewis D. Isbell,
 Robert C. Kent,
 James Lawson,
 James B. Mallory,
 John L. Marye, Sr.
 Fleming B. Miller,
 Edmund T. Morris,

Messrs. Frederick M. Cabell,	Messrs. Jeremiah Morton,
John R. Chambliss,	William C. Parks,
Manilius Chapman,	George W. Richardson,
Raphael M. Conn,	William C. Scott,
John Echols,	James W. Sheffey,
William W. Forbes,	Charles R. Slaughter,
Samuel M. Garland,	Valentine W. Southall,
Samuel L. Graham,	John M. Speed,
William L. Goggin,	Samuel G. Staples,
John Goode, Jr.	James M. Strange,
Thomas F. Goode,	John T. Thornton,
F. L. Hale,	Robert H. Turner,
L. S. Hall,	John Tyler,
Lewis E. Harvie,	Samuel C. Williams,
James P. Holcombe,	Henry A. Wise,
Eppa Hunton,	Benj. F. Wysor—46.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. J. G. Holladay,
Edward M. Armstrong,	Chester D. Hubbard,
William B. Aston,	John N. Hughes,
John B. Baldwin,	George W. Hull,
Alfred M. Barbour,	John J. Jackson,
George Baylor,	Peter C. Johnston,
George W. Berlin,	John F. Lewis,
George Blow, Jr.	William McComas,
Caleb Boggess,	James Marshall,
George W. Brent,	Thomas Maslin,
William G. Brown,	Henry H. Masters,
James Burley,	Horatio G. Moffett,
Benjamin W. Byrne,	Samuel McD. Moore,
John A. Campbell,	Logan Osburn,
John S. Carlile,	Spicer Patrick,
John A. Carter,	Edmund Pendleton,
Sherrard Clemens,	George McC. Porter,
Samuel A. Coffman,	Samuel Price,
C. B. Conrad,	David Pugh,
Robert Y. Conrad,	Timothy Rives,
James H. Couch,	John D. Sharp,
John Critcher,	Thomas Sitlington,
W. H. B. Custis,	Burwell Spurlock,
Harvey Deskins,	Chapman J. Stuart,
James B. Dorman,	George W. Sumners,
Jubal A. Early,	Campbell Tarr,
Napoleon B. French,	George P. Tayloe,
Colbert C. Fugate,	Edward Waller,

Messrs. H. L. Gillespie,
 Peyton Gravely,
 Ephraim B. Hall,
 Allen C. Hammond,
 Alpheus F. Haymond,
 James W. Hoge,

Messrs. William White,
 Robert H. Whitfield,
 William C. Wickham,
 Waitman T. Willey,
 Benjamin Wilson—67.

On motion of Mr. MORRIS, the first section was amended by striking out the words, "now exists," and inserting, "existed on the first day of March, eighteen hundred and sixty-one."

The first section, as amended, was then adopted.

Mr. TYLER moved to amend the report further by striking out the second section, and inserting the following:

"2. The Senators of the United States shall be divided into two classes, whereof the Senators chosen by the States whose institutions forbid slavery shall compose one, and the Senators chosen by the States whose institutions admit slavery shall compose the other, and on the passage of any bill or resolution having the force of law, and on all appointments to office wherein the advice and consent of the Senate is required, upon the demand of a majority of the Senators composing either class, the vote shall be taken by classes, and the concurrence of both classes shall be necessary to pass such bill or resolution into a law, or to confirm such appointment: Provided, that when the vote of both classes shall be equally divided, the Vice-President may give the casting vote; nor shall any treaty be made unless the votes of a majority of the Senators from each class of States hereinbefore mentioned be cast as a part of the two-thirds majority necessary to the ratification of such treaty; nor shall any bill, order, resolution or vote which has been passed by Congress and disapproved by the President of the United States, take effect, unless the votes of a majority of the Senators from each class of States hereinbefore mentioned be cast as a part of the two-thirds majority necessary to the re-passage of such bill, order, resolution or vote."

Mr. SUMMERS demanded a division of the question, and it was put upon striking out, and decided in the negative—yeas 44; nays 71.

On motion of Mr. BLAKEY, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. William M. Ambler,
 James Barbour,
 Angus R. Blakey,
 James Boisseau,
 Peter B. Borst,
 Wood Bouldin,
 Frederick M. Cabell,
 William P. Cecil,
 Manilins Chapman,
 Samuel A. Coffman,
 Raphael M. Conn,
 John Echols,
 Samuel M. Garland,

Messrs. Lewis D. Isbell,
 Robert C. Kent,
 James Lawson,
 James B. Mallory,
 John L. Marye, Sr.
 Fleming B. Miller,
 Edmund T. Morris,
 Jeremiah Morton,
 William C. Parks,
 George W. Richardson,
 William C. Scott,
 James W. Sheffield,
 Charles R. Slaughter,

Messrs. Samnel L. Graham,
William L. Goggin,
John Goode, Jr.
Thomas F. Goode,
F. L. Hale,
L. S. Hall,
Lewis E. Harvie,
James P. Holcombe,
Eppa Hunton,

Messrs. John M. Speed,
James M. Strange,
John T. Thornton,
William M. Tredway,
Robert H. Turner,
John Tyler,
Samuel C. Williams,
Henry A. Wise,
Benj. F. Wysor—44.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (*Pres't*)
Edward M. Armstrong,
William B. Aston,
John B. Baldwin,
George Baylor,
George W. Berlin,
George Blow, Jr.
Caleb Boggess,
William W. Boyd,
Thomas Branch,
George W. Brent,
William G. Brown,
James C. Bruce,
James Burley,
Benjamin W. Byrne,
John A. Campbell,
John S. Carlile,
John A. Carter,
Sherrard Clemens,
C. B. Conrad,
Robert Y. Conrad,
James H. Couch,
John Critcher,
W. H. B. Custis,
Marshall M. Dent,
Harvey Deskins,
James B. Dorman,
Jubal A. Early,
Napoleon B. French,
Colbert C. Fugate,
H. L. Gillespie,
Peyton Gravely,
Ephraim B. Hall,
Allen C. Hammond,
Alpheus F. Haymond,
James W. Hoge,

Messrs. Chester D. Hubbard,
John N. Hughes,
George W. Hull,
John J. Jackson,
Peter C. Johnston,
John F. Lewis,
William McComas,
William H. Macfarland,
James Marshall,
Thomas Maslin,
Henry H. Masters,
Horatio G. Moffett,
Samuel McD. Moore,
Hugh M. Nelson,
Logan Osburn,
Spicer Patrick,
Edmund Pendleton,
George McC. Porter,
Samuel Price,
David Pugh,
Timothy Rives,
John D. Sharp,
Thomas Sitlington,
Valentine W. Southall,
Burwell Spurlock,
Samuel G. Staples,
Chapman J. Stuart,
George W. Summers,
Campbell Tarr,
George P. Tayloe,
Edward Waller,
William White,
Robert H. Whitfield,
Williams C. Wickham,
Wait. T. Willey—71.

Mr. KENT moved to amend the second section by adding thereto the following:

“Nor shall foreign territory be admitted into the Union as a State, unless the votes of a majority of the Senators from each class of States heretofore mentioned, be cast in favor of such admission.”

The question was put and decided in the negative.

Mr. WISE moved to amend the second section by striking out the whole, and inserting the following:

“No territory shall be acquired by treaty, without the concurrence of a majority of all the Senators from the States which allow involuntary servitude, and a majority of all the Senators from States which prohibit that relation, and such concurrent majorities may advise and consent to such treaty.”

Mr. CAMPBELL demanded a division of the question, and it was put upon striking out, and decided in the negative—yeas 31; nays 78.

On motion of Mr. CAMPBELL, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. William M. Ambler,	Messrs. Eppa Hunton,
James Barbour,	Lewis D. Isbell,
Angus R. Blakey,	Robert C. Kent,
James Boisseau,	James Lawson,
Peter B. Borst,	Fleming B. Miller,
Manilius Chapman,	Edmund T. Morris,
Raphael M. Conn,	Jeremiah Morton,
John Echols,	George W. Richardson,
William W. Forbes,	James W. Sheffey,
Samuel L. Graham,	John M. Speed,
William L. Goggin,	James M. Strange,
John Goode, Jr.	John T. Thornton,
Thomas F. Goode,	Samuel C. Williams,
F. L. Hale,	Henry A. Wise,
L. S. Hall,	Benj. F. Wysor—31.
James P. Holcombe,	

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. Alpheus F. Haymond,
Edward M. Armstrong,	James W. Hoge,
William B. Aston,	Chester D. Hubbard,
John B. Baldwin,	John N. Hughes,
Alfred M. Barbour,	George W. Hull,
George Baylor,	John J. Jackson,
George W. Berlin,	Peter C. Johnston,
George Blow, Jr.	John F. Lewis,

Messrs. Caleb Boggess,
 Wood Bouldin,
 William W. Boyd,
 Thomas Branch,
 George W. Brent,
 William G. Brown,
 James C. Bruce,
 James Burley,
 Benjamin W. Byrne,
 Frederick M. Cabell,
 John A. Campbell,
 John S. Carlile,
 John A. Carter,
 Sherrard Clemens,
 O. B. Conrad,
 Robert Y. Conrad,
 James H. Couch,
 John Critcher,
 W. H. B. Custis,
 Marshall M. Dent,
 Harvey Deskins,
 James B. Dorman,
 Jubal A. Early,
 Napoleon B. French,
 Colbert C. Fugate,
 Samuel M. Garland,
 H. L. Gillespie,
 Peyton Gravely,
 Algernon S. Gray,
 Ephraim B. Hall,
 Allen C. Hammond,

Messrs. William McComas,
 James B. Mallory,
 James Marshall,
 John L. Marye, Sr.
 Thomas Maslin,
 Henry H. Masters,
 Horatio G. Moffett,
 Hugh M. Nelson,
 Logan Osburn,
 Spicer Patrick,
 Edmund Pendleton,
 George McC. Porter,
 Samuel Price,
 David Pugh,
 Timothy Rives,
 John D. Sharp,
 Thomas Sitlington,
 Charles R. Slaughter,
 Valentine W. Southall,
 Burwell Spurlock,
 Samuel G. Staples,
 Chapman J. Stuart,
 George W. Summers,
 Campbell Tarr,
 George P. Tayloe,
 Edward Waller,
 William White,
 Robert H. Whitfield,
 Williams C. Wickham,
 Waitman T. Willey,
 Benjamin Wilson—78.

Mr. Blow moved to amend the second section by inserting after the word "routes," in the third line, the words, "nor shall any foreign State or country be annexed." The question was put and decided in the negative—yeas 44; nays 67.

On motion of Mr. Blow, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. William B. Aston,
 George Blow, Jr.
 Peter B. Borst,
 Wood Bouldin,
 William W. Boyd,
 Thomas Branch,
 James C. Bruce,

Messrs. James Lawson,
 James B. Mallory,
 John Q. Marr,
 John L. Marye, Sr.
 Fleming B. Miller,
 Horatio G. Moffett,
 Edmund T. Morris,

Messrs. Frederick M. Cabell,	Messrs. Samuel McD. Moore,
John A. Carter,	William C. Parks,
Samuel A. Coffman,	George W. Richardson,
Raphael M. Conn,	Charles R. Slaughter,
W. H. B. Custis,	Valentine W. Southall,
James B. Dorman,	John M. Speed,
John Echols,	Samuel G. Staples,
Napoleon B. French,	James M. Strange,
Colbert C. Fugate,	George P. Tayloe,
Samuel M. Garland,	John T. Thornton,
Samuel L. Graham,	Edward Waller,
F. L. Hale,	William White,
L. S. Hall,	Robert H. Whitfield,
Eppa Hunton,	Williams C. Wickham,
Robert C. Kent,	Sam'l C. Williams—44.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. James W. Hoge,
Wm. M. Ambler,	Chester D. Hubbard,
Edw'd M. Armstrong,	John N. Hughes,
John B. Baldwin,	George W. Hull,
Alfred M. Barbour,	Lewis D. Isbell,
George Baylor,	John J. Jackson,
George W. Berlin,	Peter C. Johnston,
Angus R. Blakey,	John F. Lewis,
Caleb Boggess,	William McComas,
George W. Brent,	James C. McGrew,
William G. Brown,	James Marshall,
James Burley,	Thomas Maslin,
Benjamin W. Byrne,	Henry H. Masters,
John A. Campbell,	Jeremiah Morton,
John S. Carlile,	Hugh M. Nelson,
William P. Cecil,	Logan Osburn,
Manilius Chapman,	Spicer Patrick,
Sherrard Clemens,	Edmund Pendleton,
C. B. Conrad,	George McC. Porter,
Robert Y. Conrad,	Samuel Price,
James H. Couch,	David Pugh,
John Critcher,	Timothy Rives,
Marshall M. Dent,	John D. Sharp,
Harvey Deskins,	James W. Sheffield,
Jubal A. Early,	Thomas Sitlington,
H. L. Gillespie,	Burwell Spurlock,
Peyton Gravely,	Chapman J. Stuart,
Algernon S. Gray,	George W. Summers,
William L. Goggin,	Campbell Tarr,

Messrs. John Goode, Jr.
 Ephraim B. Hall,
 Allen C. Hammond,
 Lewis E. Harvie,
 Alphens F. Haymond,

Messrs. John Tyler,
 Waitman T. Willey,
 Benjamin Wilson,
 Henry A. Wise—67.

The question recurred upon the adoption of the second section, and being put, was decided in the affirmative.

The third section was then read and adopted.

Mr. WISE moved to amend the report further, by inserting after the third section, the following, as an independent section:

“4. In all cases where the property in persons held to service or labor in any State or Territory of the United States, or in the District of Columbia, has been or hereafter may be taken for public use, as in cases of impressment in war or otherwise, the owner thereof shall be justly compensated as in cases of other property so taken; and in all cases involving questions of property in said persons, the rights of property in them shall be recognized and protected by the United States and their authorities as the rights of other property are recognized and protected.”

The question was put, and decided in the affirmative—yeas 60; nays 46.

On motion of Mr. WISE, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. William M. Ambler,
 William B. Aston,
 Alfred M. Barbour,
 Angus R. Blakey,
 Peter B. Borst,
 Wood Bouldin,
 William W. Boyd,
 Thomas Branch,
 James C. Bruce,
 Frederick M. Cabell,
 John A. Campbell,
 William P. Cecil,
 Manilius Chapinan,
 Sherrard Clemens,
 Samuel A. Coffinan,
 Raphael M. Conn,
 John Critcher,
 W. H. B. Custis,
 James B. Dorman,
 John Echols,
 Napoleon B. French,
 Colbert C. Fugate,
 Samuel M. Garland,

Messrs. Eppa Hunton,
 Lewis D. Isbell,
 Robert C. Kent,
 James Lawson,
 Walter D. Leake,
 James B. Mallory,
 John Q. Marr,
 John L. Marye, Sr.
 Horatio G. Moffett,
 Edmund T. Morris,
 Jeremiah Morton,
 Hugh M. Nelson,
 William C. Parks,
 George W. Richardson,
 James W. Shelfey,
 Thomas Sitlington,
 Charles R. Slaughter,
 Valentine W. Southall,
 John M. Speed,
 Samuel G. Staples,
 James M. Strange,
 John T. Thimmon,
 William M. Tredway,

Messrs. Samuel L. Graham,	Messrs. Robert H. Turner,
Peyton Gravely,	John Tyler,
William L. Goggin,	Edward Waller,
John Goode, Jr.	Robert H. Whitfield,
F. L. Hale,	Williams C. Wickham,
Lewis E. Harvie,	Benjamin Wilson,
James P. Holcombe,	Henry A. Wise—60.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. John N. Hughes,
Edward M. Armstrong,	George W. Hull,
John B. Baldwin,	John J. Jackson,
George Baylor,	Peter C. Johnston,
George W. Berlin,	John F. Lewis,
George Blow, Jr.	William McComas,
Caleb Boggess,	James Marshall,
George W. Brent,	Thomas Maslin,
William G. Brown,	Henry H. Masters,
James Burley,	Samuel McD. Moore,
Benjamin W. Byrne,	Logan Osburn,
John S. Carlile,	Spicer Patrick,
John A. Carter,	Edmund Pendleton,
C. B. Gonrad,	George McC. Porter,
Robert Y. Conrad,	Samuel Price,
James H. Couch,	David Pugh,
Marshall M. Dent,	John D. Sharp,
Harvey Deskins,	Burwell Spurlock,
Jubal A. Early,	Chapman J. Stuart,
H. L. Gillespie,	George W. Summers,
Ephraim B. Hall,	Campbell Tarr,
Allen C. Hammond,	William White,
Chester D. Hubbard,	Wait. T. Willey—46.

The fourth (as printed) section was then adopted:

Mr. WILSON moved to amend the fifth (as printed) section, by adding thereto, the following:

“But this section shall not be so construed as to prohibit the introduction of persons so held to service or labor into the United States, from the Confederate States, or any territory they may hereafter acquire.”

The question was put, and decided in the affirmative—yeas 49; nays 43.

On motion of Mr. SHEFFEY, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. Angus R. Blakey,	Messrs. John L. Marye, Sr.
James Boisseau,	Fleming B. Miller,

Messrs. Peter B. Borst,
 Wood Bouldin,
 James C. Bruce,
 Frederick M. Cabell,
 Manilius Chapman,
 Samuel A. Coffin,
 Rapheal M. Conn,
 Robert Y. Conrad,
 Richard H. Cox,
 Harvey Deskins,
 James B. Dorman,
 John Echols,
 Samuel M. Garland,
 William L. Goggin,
 John Goode, Jr.
 Thomas F. Goode,
 F. L. Hale,
 Allen C. Hammond,
 Eppa Hunton,
 Lewis D. Isbell,
 James Lawson,
 James B. Mallory,
 John Q. Marr,

Messrs. Horatio G. Moffett,
 Edmund T. Morris,
 Jeremiah Morton,
 Samuel McD. Moore,
 William C. Parks,
 George W. Richardson,
 William C. Scott,
 James W. Sheffey,
 Charles R. Slaughter,
 Valentine W. Southall,
 John M. Speed,
 Samuel G. Staples,
 James M. Strange,
 George P. Tayloe,
 William M. Tredway,
 Robert H. Turner,
 Edward Waller,
 Robert H. Whitfield,
 Samuel C. Williams,
 Benjamin Wilson,
 Henry A. Wise,
 Benj. F. Wysor—49.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. George W. Hull,
William B. Aston,	John J. Jackson,
George Baylor,	Peter C. Johnston,
George W. Berlin,	William McComas,
Caleb Boggess,	Thomas Maslin,
James Burley,	Henry H. Masters,
Benjamin W. Byrne,	Logan Osburn,
John A. Campbell,	Spicer Patrick,
John S. Carlile,	Edmund Pendleton,
John A. Carter,	George McC. Porter,
C. B. Conrad,	Samuel Price,
James H. Couch,	David Pugh,
Marshall M. Dent,	John D. Sharp,
Jubal A. Early,	Thomas Sitlington,
Napoleon B. French,	Burwell Spurlock,
Colbert C. Fugate,	Chapman J. Stuart,
Samuel L. Graham,	George W. Summers,
Peyton Gravely,	Campbell Tarr,
Ephraim B. Hall,	William White,
James W. Hoge,	Williams C. Wickham,
Chester D. Hubbard,	Wait. T. Willey—43.
John N. Hughes,	

Mr. CARLILE moved to amend the report by striking out the fifth section as amended.

Mr. WISE moved to amend the motion by inserting the following:

“5. The importation of slaves, coolies, or persons held to service or labor, into the United States, and the territories from places beyond the limits thereof, is hereby forever prohibited; provided that nothing herein contained shall be deemed to apply to the Southern States which have declared, or may hereafter declare their separation from this Confederacy, in case their separate independence shall be acknowledged.”

The question was first put on striking out, and decided in the affirmative.

Mr. EARLY then moved to amend the amendment submitted by Mr. WISE, by striking out the proviso; and the question being put, was decided in the negative—yeas 45; nays 61.

On motion of Mr. BOISSEAU, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. Chester D. Hubbard,
William B. Aston,	John N. Hughes,
John B. Baldwin,	George W. Hull,
George Baylor,	John J. Jackson,
George W. Brent,	Peter C. Johnston,
William G. Brown,	William McComas,
James Burley,	James Marshall,
Benjamin W. Byrne,	Thomas Maslin,
John A. Campbell,	Henry H. Masters,
John S. Carlile,	Samuel McD. Moore,
John A. Carter,	Logan Osburn,
Sherrard Clemens,	Spicer Patrick,
C. B. Conrad,	Edmund Pendleton,
James H. Couch,	George McC. Porter,
W. H. B. Custis,	Samuel Price,
Marshall M. Dent,	John D. Sharp,
Jubal A. Early,	Thomas Sitlington,
Napoleon B. French,	Chapman J. Stuart,
Colbert C. Fugate,	George W. Summers,
H. L. Gillespie,	Campbell Tarr,
Peyton Gravely,	William White,
Ephraim B. Hall,	Wait. T. Willey—45.
James W. Hoge,	

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. James Barbour,	Messrs. Walter D. Leake,
Angus R. Blakey,	James B. Mallory,
George Blow, Jr.	John Q. Marr,

Messrs. James Boisseau,
Peter B. Borst,
Wood Bouldin,
William W. Boyd,
Frederick M. Cabell,
Manilius Chapman,
Samuel A. Coffman,
Raphael M. Conn,
Robert Y. Conrad,
Richard H. Cox,
John Critcher,
Harvey Deskins,
James B. Dorman,
John Echols,
William W. Forbes,
Samuel M. Garland,
Samuel L. Graham,
Algernon S. Gray,
William L. Goggin,
John Goode, Jr.
F. L. Hale,
Allen C. Hammond,
Alphens F. Haymond,
James P. Holcombe,
Eppa Hunton,
Lewis D. Isbell,
Robert C. Kent,
James Lawson,

Messrs. John L. Marye, Sr.
Fleming B. Miller,
Horatio G. Moffett,
Edmund T. Morris,
Hugh M. Nelson,
William C. Parks,
David Pugh,
George W. Richardson,
William C. Scott,
James W. Shelley,
Charles R. Slaughter,
Valentine W. Southall,
John M. Speed,
Burwell Spurluck,
Samuel G. Staples,
James M. Strange,
George P. Tayloe,
William M. Tredway,
Robert H. Turner,
John Tyler,
Edward Waller,
Robert H. Whitfield,
Williams C. Wickham,
Samuel C. Williams,
Benjamin Wilson,
Henry A. Wise,
Benj. F. Wysox—61.

The amendment submitted by Mr. WISE was then adopted.
On motion of Mr. FORBES, the Committee rose.

itself into a Committee of the Whole, Mr. SOUTHALL in the chair. After some time passed in Committee of the Whole, the PRESIDENT resumed the chair, and Mr. SOUTHALL reported that the Committee had made some progress with the matter referred to them but had come to no final conclusion thereupon.

Mr. PRESTON submitted the following preamble and resolution:

Whereas, in the opinion of this Convention, the uncertainty which prevails in the public mind as to the policy which the General Government intends to pursue toward the seceded States is extremely injurious to the industrial and commercial interests of the country; tends to keep up an excitement which is unfavorable to the adjustment of pending difficulties, and threatens a disturbance of the public peace; therefore,

Resolved, That a committee of three delegates be appointed by this Convention to wait upon the President of the United States, present to him this preamble and resolution, and respectfully ask of him to communicate to this Convention the policy which the authorities of the Federal Government intend to pursue in regard to the Confederate States.

Mr. CARLILE raised a question of order, viz: "that no business is in order until the resolutions submitted by Mr. WILLEY on the 16th ultimo, with the amendments proposed thereto, are disposed of," which point of order the PRESIDENT overruled.

Mr. EARLY raised a question of order, viz: "that it is not competent to consider the preamble and resolution submitted by Mr. PRESTON, without first discharging the Committee on Federal Relations," which the PRESIDENT also overruled.

Mr. CARLILE moved that the Convention adjourn, which was negatived.

Mr. CARLILE moved to amend the preamble by inserting after the word "States," the following: "And as to the policy which the seceded States intend to pursue towards the General Government," and the question being put, was decided in the negative.

Mr. CARLILE moved to amend the resolution by adding thereto the following: "And that a like Committee be appointed to wait upon the seceded States, and report to this Convention what policy they intend to pursue towards the General Government;" and the question being put, was decided in the negative.

Mr. MARR called the previous question, which was seconded, and pending the further consideration thereof,

On motion of Mr. DORMAN, the Convention adjourned.

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MONDAY, April 8, 1861.

The Convention assembled at 10 o'clock, A. M., in the Hall of the House of Delegates.

The PRESIDENT presented a communication from the Executive of the Commonwealth transmitting two communications

from Hon. David Walker, President of the State Convention of Arkansas, enclosing an ordinance and resolutions adopted by the Convention on the 20th March, 1861.

On motion of Mr. JACKSON, the communication and accompanying documents, were laid upon the table, and ordered to be printed. [Doc. No. XVI.]

On motion of Mr. MACFARLAND, the Journal of Saturday was corrected so as to record the presentation of the resolution adopted by a meeting of the citizens of Richmond, "calling upon Messrs. JOHNSON and MACFARLAND not to consider themselves instructed by those who did not vote for them."

On motion of Mr. WISE, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That the Door Keepers be permitted to pass into the Hall such number of orderly persons as to fill, without excessively crowding the lobbies; and when the lobby is filled, to pass in no more persons.

Mr. SPEED submitted the following resolution:

Resolved, That the order, requiring the Convention to resolve into Committee of the Whole, at half-past ten o'clock, be suspended for this day, to complete the unfinished business under consideration when the Convention adjourned on Saturday last.

Mr. JACKSON moved that the resolution be laid upon the table, and the question being put, it was decided in the negative—yeas 64; nays 64.

On motion of Mr. JACKSON, the vote was recorded as follows:
The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. William L. Goggin,
Edward M. Armstrong,	Addison Hall,
William B. Aston,	Ephraim B. Hall,
John B. Baldwin,	Alpheus F. Haymond,
Alfred M. Barbour,	James W. Hoge,
George Baylor,	Chester D. Hubbard,
George W. Berlin,	John N. Hughes,
George Blow, Jr.	John J. Jackson,
Caleb Boggess,	Peter C. Johnston,
George W. Brent,	William McComas,
William G. Brown,	James C. McGrew,
John S. Burdett,	William H. Macfarland,
James Burley,	James Marshall,
Benjamin W. Byrne,	Henry H. Masters,
John A. Campbell,	Horatio G. Moffett,
John S. Carlile,	Samuel McD. Moore,
John A. Carter,	Logan Osburn,
Sherrard Clemens,	Spicer Patrick,
C. B. Conrad,	George McC. Porter,
Robert Y. Conrad,	Samuel Price,

Messrs. James H. Couch,
 John Critcher,
 W. H. B. Custis,
 Marshall M. Dent,
 James B. Dorman,
 William H. Dulany,
 Jubal A. Early,
 Napoleon B. French,
 Colbert C. Fugate,
 H. L. Gillespie,
 Peyton Gravely,
 Algernon S. Gray,

Messrs. David Pugh,
 Timothy Rives,
 William C. Scott,
 John D. Sharp,
 Burwell Spurlock,
 Alex. H. H. Stuart,
 Chapman J. Stuart,
 George W. Summers,
 Campbell Tarr,
 William White,
 Williams C. Wickham,
 Wait. T. Willey—64.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. Wm. M. Ambler,
 James Barbour,
 James Boisseau,
 Peter B. Borst,
 Wood Bouldin,
 James C. Bruce,
 Frederick M. Cabell,
 Allen T. Caperton,
 William P. Cecil,
 John R. Chambliss,
 Manilius Chapman,
 Samuel A. Coffman,
 Raphael M. Conn,
 Richard H. Cox,
 Harvey Deskins,
 John Echols,
 Miers W. Fisher,
 Thomas S. Flournoy,
 Samuel M. Garland,
 Samuel L. Graham,
 Fendall Gregory, Jr.
 John Goode, Jr.
 F. L. Hale,
 Cyrus Hall,
 L. S. Hall,
 Allen C. Hammond,
 James P. Holcombe,
 J. G. Holladay,
 Eppa Hunton,
 Lewis D. Isbell,
 Robert C. Kent,
 John R. Kilby,

Messrs. John J. Kindred,
 James Lawson,
 Walter D. Leake,
 Charles K. Mallory,
 James B. Mallory,
 John Q. Marr,
 Fleming B. Miller,
 Robert L. Montague,
 Edmund T. Morris,
 Jeremiah Morton,
 William J. Neblett,
 Johnson Orrick,
 William C. Parks,
 Wm. Ballard Preston,
 George W. Randolph,
 George W. Richardson,
 Robert E. Scott,
 John T. Seawell,
 James W. Sheffey,
 Charles R. Slaughter,
 Valentine W. Southall,
 John M. Speed,
 Samuel G. Staples,
 James M. Strange,
 William T. Sutherlin,
 George P. Tayloe,
 William M. Tredway,
 John Tyler,
 Edward Waller,
 Benjamin Wilson,
 Henry A. Wise,
 Benj. F. Wysor—64.

The question recurring upon the resolution submitted by Mr. SPEED was put, and decided in the affirmative—yeas 67; nays 64.

On motion of Mr. JACKSON, the vote was recorded as follows:
The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. William M. Ambler,	Messrs. John J. Kindred,
James Barbour,	James Lawson,
Angus R. Blakey,	Walter D. Leake,
James Boisseau,	Charles K. Mallory,
Peter B. Borst,	James B. Mallory,
Wood Bouldin,	John Q. Marr,
Thomas Branch,	Fleming B. Miller,
James C. Bruce,	Robert L. Montague,
Frederick M. Cabell,	Edmund T. Morris,
Allen T. Caperton,	Jeremiah Morton,
William P. Cecil,	William J. Neblett,
John R. Chambliss,	Johnson Orrick,
Manilius Chapman,	William C. Parks,
Samuel A. Coffman,	Wm. Ballard Preston,
Raphael M. Conn,	George W. Randolph,
Richard H. Cox,	George W. Richardson,
Harvey Deskins,	Robert E. Scott,
James B. Dorman,	John T. Seawell,
John Echols,	James W. Sheffey,
Miers W. Fisher,	Thomas Sitlington,
Thomas S. Flournoy,	Charles R. Slaughter,
Samuel M. Garland,	Valentine W. Southall,
Samuel L. Graham,	John M. Speed,
Fendall Gregory, Jr.	Samuel G. Staples,
William L. Goggin,	James M. Strange,
John Goode, Jr.	William T. Sutherlin,
F. L. Hale,	George P. Tayloe,
Cyrus Hall,	William M. Tredway,
L. S. Hall,	John Tyler,
Allen C. Hammond,	Edward Waller,
James P. Holcombe,	Benjamin Wilson,
Eppa Hunton,	Henry A. Wise,
Lewis D. Isbell,	Benj. F. Wysor—67.
Robert C. Kent,	

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. Ephraim B. Hall,
Edward M. Armstrong,	Alpheus F. Haymond,
William B. Aston,	James W. Hoge,
John B. Baldwin,	J. G. Holladay,
Alfred M. Barbour,	Chester D. Hubbard,

Messrs. George Baylor,
 George W. Berlin,
 George Blow, Jr.
 Caleb Boggess,
 George W. Brent,
 William G. Brown,
 John S. Burdett,
 James Burley,
 Benjamin W. Byrne,
 John A. Campbell,
 John S. Carlile,
 John A. Carter,
 Sherrard Clemens,
 C. B. Conrad,
 Robert Y. Conrad,
 James H. Couch,
 John Critcher,
 W. H. B. Custis,
 Marshall M. Dent,
 William H. Dulany,
 Jubal A. Early,
 Napoleon B. French,
 Colbert C. Fugate,
 H. L. Gillespie,
 Peyton Gravely,
 Algernon S. Gray,
 Addison Hall,

Messrs. John N. Hughes,
 John J. Jackson,
 Peter C. Johnston,
 William McComas,
 James C. McGrew,
 William H. Macfarland,
 James Marshall,
 Henry H. Masters,
 Horatio G. Moffett,
 Samuel McD. Moore,
 Logan Osburn,
 Spicer Patrick,
 Edmund Pendleton,
 George McC. Porter,
 Samuel Price,
 David Pugh,
 Timothy Rives,
 William C. Scott,
 John D. Sharp,
 Burwell Spurlock,
 Alex. H. H. Stuart,
 Chapman J. Stuart,
 George W. Summers,
 Campbell Tarr,
 William White,
 Williams C. Wickham,
 Wait. T. Willey—64.

The preamble and resolution submitted by Mr. PRESTON, on Saturday last, were taken up and modified by general consent, by Mr. PRESTON, so as to read as follows:

Whereas, In the opinion of this Convention, the uncertainty which prevails in the public mind as to the policy which the Federal Executive intends to pursue toward the seceded States is extremely injurious to the industrial and commercial interests of the country; tends to keep up an excitement which is unfavorable to the adjustment of pending difficulties, and threatens a disturbance of the public peace; therefore,

Resolved, That a committee of three delegates be appointed by this Convention to wait upon the President of the United States, present to him this preamble and resolution, and respectfully ask of him to communicate to this Convention the policy which the Federal Executive intend to pursue in regard to the Confederate States.

Pending the further consideration of the preamble and resolution,

On motion of Mr. MORTON, the Convention took a recess until 5 o'clock, P. M.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The PRESIDENT resumed the chair at 5 o'clock, P. M.

The pending question, "Shall the main question be now put?" was decided in the affirmative—yeas 59; nays 51.

On motion of Mr. BURDETT, the vote was recorded as follows:
The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. Wm. M. Ambler,
James Barbour,
Angus R. Blakey,
Wood Bouldin,
Thomas Branch,
Frederick M. Cabell,
Allen T. Caperton,
William P. Cecil,
John R. Chambliss,
Manilius Chapman,
Samuel A. Coffman,
Raphael M. Conn,
Richard H. Cox,
Harvey Deskins,
James B. Dorman,
John Echols,
Miers W. Fisher,
Thomas S. Flournoy,
Samuel M. Garland,
Samuel L. Graham,
John Goode, Jr.
F. L. Hale,
Addison Hall,
Cyrus Hall,
Allen C. Hammond,
James P. Holcombe,
Eppa Hunton,
Lewis D. Isbell,
Robert C. Kent,
John J. Kindred,

Messrs. James Lawson,
Walter D. Leake,
Charles K. Mallory,
James B. Mallory,
John Q. Marr,
Fleming B. Miller,
Robert L. Montague,
Edmund T. Morris,
Jeremiah Morton,
William J. Neblett,
Johnson Orrick,
William C. Parks,
Wm. Ballard Preston,
George W. Randolph,
George W. Richardson,
Timothy Rives,
Robert E. Scott,
John T. Seawell,
James W. Sheffey,
Charles R. Slaughter,
John M. Speed,
Samuel G. Staples,
James M. Strange,
William T. Sutherlin,
George P. Tayloe,
William M. Tredway,
Edward Waller,
Benjamin Wilson,
Benj. F. Wysor—59.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. Chester D. Hubbard,
Edward M. Armstrong,	John N. Hughes,
William B. Aston,	John J. Jackson,
John B. Baldwin,	Peter C. Johnston,
Alfred M. Barbour,	John F. Lewis,
George Baylor,	James C. McGrew,

Messrs. Caleb Boggess,
 George W. Brent,
 John S. Burdett,
 James Burley,
 John A. Campbell,
 John S. Carlile,
 John A. Carter,
 Robert Y. Conrad,
 James H. Couch,
 W. H. B. Custis,
 Marshall M. Dent,
 Napoleon B. French,
 Colbert C. Fugate,
 H. L. Gillespie,
 Algernon S. Gray,
 William L. Goggin,
 Ephraim B. Hall,
 Alpheus F. Haymond,
 James W. Hoge,
 J. G. Holladay,

Messrs. James Marshall,
 Henry H. Masters,
 Horatio G. Moffett,
 Samuel McD. Moore,
 Logan Osburn,
 Spicer Patrick,
 Edmund Pendleton,
 George McC. Porter,
 Samuel Price,
 David Pugh,
 William C. Scott,
 John D. Sharp,
 Thomas Sitlington,
 Alex. H. H. Stuart,
 George W. Summers,
 William White,
 Williams C. Wickham,
 Waitman T. Willey,
 Henry A. Wise—51.

The question recurred upon the adoption of the resolution, and was decided in the affirmative—yeas 63; nays 57.

On motion of Mr. MONTAGUE, the vote was recorded as follows:
 The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. William M. Ambler,
 James Barbour,
 Angus R. Blakey,
 Wood Bouldin,
 Thomas Branch,
 Frederick M. Cabell,
 Allen T. Caperton,
 William P. Cecil,
 John R. Chambliss,
 Manilius Chapman,
 Samuel A. Coffman,
 Raphael M. Conn,
 Robert Y. Conrad,
 Richard H. Cox,
 John Critcher,
 Harvey Deskins,
 John Echols,
 Miers W. Fisher,
 Thomas S. Flournoy,
 Samuel M. Garland,
 H. L. Gillespie,

Messrs. Robert C. Kent,
 John J. Kindred,
 James Lawson,
 Walter D. Leake,
 Charles K. Mallory,
 James B. Mallory,
 John Q. Marr,
 Fleming B. Miller,
 Robert L. Montague,
 Edmund T. Morris,
 Jeremiah Morton,
 William J. Neblett,
 Johnson Orrick,
 William C. Parks,
 Wm. Ballard Preston,
 George W. Randolph,
 George W. Richardson,
 Robert E. Scott,
 William C. Scott,
 John T. Seawell,
 James W. Sheffey,

Messrs. Samuel L. Graham,
Fendall Gregory, Jr.
John Goode, Jr.
F. L. Hale,
Addison Hall,
Cyrus Hall,
Allen C. Hammond,
Lewis E. Harvie,
James P. Holcombe,
Eppa Hunton,
Lewis D. Isbell,

Messrs. Charles R. Slaughter,
John M. Speed,
Samuel G. Staples,
James M. Strange,
William T. Sutherlin,
George P. Tayloe,
William M. Tredway,
Edward Waller,
Benjamin Wilson,
Benj. F. Wysor—63.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (*Pres't*)
Edward M. Armstrong,
William B. Aston,
John B. Baldwin,
Alfred M. Barbour,
George Baylor,
George W. Berlin,
George Blow, Jr.
Caleb Boggess,
George W. Brent,
John S. Burdett,
James Burley,
John A. Campbell,
John S. Carlile,
John A. Carter,
Sherrard Clemens,
C. B. Conrad,
James H. Couch,
W. H. B. Custis,
Marshall M. Dent,
James B. Dorman,
Jubal A. Early,
Napoleon B. French,
Colbert C. Fugate,
Algernon S. Gray,
William L. Goggin,
Ephraim B. Hall,
Alpheus F. Haymond,
James W. Hoge,

Messrs. J. G. Holladay,
Chester D. Hubbard,
John N. Hughes,
John J. Jackson,
Peter C. Johnston,
John F. Lewis,
James C. McGrew,
James Marshall,
Henry H. Masters,
Horatio G. Moffett,
Samuel McD. Moore,
Logan Osburn,
Spicer Patrick,
Edmund Pendleton,
George McC. Porter,
Samuel Price,
David Pugh,
Timothy Rives,
John D. Sharp,
Thomas Sitlington,
Alex. H. H. Stuart,
Chapman J. Stuart,
George W. Summers,
Campbell Tarr,
William White,
Williams C. Wickham,
Waitman T. Willey,
Henry A. Wise—57.

The PRESIDENT announced that the next business in order was the appointment of a committee in pursuance of the foregoing resolution.

Mr. SCOTT, of Fauquier, nominated Mr. WILLIAM BALLARD PRESTON, of the county of Westmoreland.

Mr. SUMMERS nominated Mr. ALEX. H. H. STUART, of the county of Augusta.

Mr. HOLCOMBE nominated Mr. GEORGE W. RANDOLPH, of the City of Richmond.

All of whom were unanimously elected.

On motion of Mr. PATRICK, the Convention adjourned.

45
TUESDAY, April 9, 1861.

The Convention assembled at 10 o'clock, A. M.

Mr. HUNTON presented a report of the proceedings of a meeting held in the county of Prince William, which was read, and ordered to be referred to the Committee on Federal Relations.

Mr. SCOTT, of Powhatan, presented a report of the proceedings of a meeting held in the county of Cumberland, which was read, and ordered to be referred to the Committee on Federal Relations.

Mr. GOGGIN presented a report of the proceedings of a meeting held in the county of Bedford, which was read, and ordered to be referred to the Committee on Federal Relations.

Mr. HULL submitted the following resolution, which, on motion of Mr. BURDETT, was laid upon the table:

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed to take into consideration the propriety of reducing the number of employees of the Convention, and make such reduction, if, in their opinion, it can be done without detriment to the public good.

In pursuance of the order of the day, the Convention resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, Mr. SOUTHWALL in the chair. After some time passed in Committee of the Whole, the PRESIDENT resumed the chair, and Mr. SOUTHWALL reported that the Committee had made some progress with the matter referred to them, but had come to no final conclusion thereupon.

On motion of Mr. STAPLES, the Convention adjourned.



46

WEDNESDAY, April 10, 1861.

The Convention assembled at 10 o'clock, A. M.

Prayer by the Rev. Mr. BOSSERMAN, of the Universalist Church.

Mr. Cox, of King and Queen, presented a report of the proceedings of a meeting held in the said county; which was ordered to be referred to the Committee on Federal Relations.

In pursuance of the order of the day, the Convention resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, Mr. SOUTHALL in the chair. After some time passed in Committee of the Whole, the PRESIDENT resumed the chair, and Mr. SOUTHALL reported that the Committee had made some progress with the matter referred to them but had come to no final conclusion thereupon.

The resolutions submitted by Mr. WILLEY, on the 16th ult., with the amendments proposed thereto, on the 5th inst., being the unfinished business, were taken up; and after the further consideration thereof,

Mr. HAYMOND called the previous question, which was sustained.

The question being upon the adoption of the amendment submitted by Mr. SEAWELL, was put, and decided in the negative—yeas 55; nays 65.

On motion of Mr. SEAWELL, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. Charles K. Mallory,
James Barbour,	James B. Mallory,
Angus R. Blakey,	James Marshall,
James Boisseau,	John Q. Marr,
Peter B. Borst,	John L. Marye, Sr.
Wood Bouldin,	Horatio G. Moffett,
Thomas Branch,	Edmund T. Morris,
George W. Brent,	Jeremiah Morton,
James C. Bruce,	William J. Neblett,
Frederick M. Cabell,	Hugh M. Nelson,
Allen T. Caperton,	George W. Richardson,
John A. Carter,	Robert E. Scott,
Raphael M. Conn,	William C. Scott,
Robert Y. Conrad,	John T. Seawell,
William H. Dulany,	Charles R. Slaughter,
Thomas S. Flournoy,	John M. Speed,
Samuel M. Garland,	Samuel G. Staples,

Messrs. Peyton Gravely,
Fendall Gregory, Jr.
John Goode, Jr.
Thomas F. Goode,
F. L. Hale,
Addison Hall,
Lewis E. Harvie,
James P. Holcombe,
Lewis D. Isbell,
Walter D. Leake,
William H. Macfarland,

Messrs. James M. Strange,
William T. Sutherlin,
John T. Thornton,
William M. Tredway,
John Tyler,
Edward Waller,
Robert H. Whitfield,
Williams C. Wickham,
Samuel C. Williams,
Henry A. Wise—55.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. Wm. M. Ambler,
Edward M. Armstrong,
William B. Aston,
John B. Baldwin,
Alfred M. Barbour,
George Baylor,
George W. Berlin,
Caleb Boggess,
William W. Boyd,
William G. Brown,
John S. Burdett,
James Burley,
Benjamin W. Byrne,
John A. Campbell,
John S. Carlile,
William P. Cecil,
Manilius Chapman,
Samuel A. Coffman,
C. B. Conrad,
James H. Couch,
Marshall M. Dent,
Harvey Deskins,
James B. Dorman,
Jubal A. Early,
John Echols,
Napoleon B. French,
Colbert C. Fugate,
H. L. Gillespie,
Algernon S. Gray,
William L. Goggin,
Cyrus Hall,
Ephraim B. Hall,
L. S. Hall,

Messrs. Allen C. Hammond,
Alpheus F. Haymond,
James W. Hoge,
Chester D. Hubbard,
John N. Hughes,
George W. Hull,
John J. Jackson,
Marmaduke Johnson,
Peter C. Johnston,
Robert C. Kent,
James Lawson,
John F. Lewis,
William McComas,
James C. McGrew,
Henry H. Masters,
Samuel McD. Moore,
Johnson Orrick,
Logan Osburn,
William C. Parks,
Spicer Patrick,
George McC. Porter,
Samuel Price,
David Pugh,
John D. Sharp,
James W. Sheffey,
Thomas Sitlington,
Chapman J. Stuart,
George W. Summers,
Campbell Tarr,
William White,
Waitman T. Willey,
Benjamin Wilson—65.

The question recurring upon the amendment submitted by Mr. TURNER, of Jackson, Mr. WILLEY moved to amend the amendment by striking out all after the word "resolved," and inserting the following, which was agreed to:

Resolved, That a committee of thirteen be appointed to inquire into the expediency of so amending the twenty-second and twenty-third sections of article four of the Constitution of Virginia, as to provide that taxation shall be equal and uniform throughout the Commonwealth, and that all property shall be taxed in proportion to its value.

Pending the further consideration of the resolutions and proposed amendments,

On motion of Mr. BRANCH, the Convention adjourned.



47

THURSDAY, April 11, 1861.

The Convention assembled at 10 o'clock, A. M.

Prayer by the Rev. Mr. BOSSERMAN, of the Universalist Church.

Mr. HARVIE presented a report of the proceedings of a meeting held in the county of Nottoway, which was ordered to be referred to the Committee on Federal Relations.

The hour having arrived for the execution of the order of the day, the Convention resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, Mr. SOUTHALL in the chair. After some time passed in Committee of the Whole, the PRESIDENT resumed the chair, and Mr. SOUTHALL reported that the Committee had made some progress with the matter referred to them, but had come to no final conclusion thereupon.

Mr. WYSOR presented an amendment, by way of addition, to the Report of the Committee on Federal Relations, which was ordered to be printed, and referred to the Committee of the Whole.

Mr. MORTON moved to adjourn, and the question being put, was decided in the negative—yeas 43; nays 73.

On motion of Mr. ARMSTRONG, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. Wm. M. Ambler,
 Angus R. Blakey,
 George Blow, Jr.
 Peter B. Borst,
 Wood Bouldin,
 James C. Bruce,
 John R. Chambliss,
 Samuel A. Coffman,
 W. H. B. Custis,
 William W. Forbes,
 Samuel M. Garland,
 H. L. Gillespie,
 Fendall Gregory, Jr.
 John Goode, Jr.
 Thomas F. Goode,
 Lewis E. Harvie,
 James P. Holcombe,
 J. G. Holladay,

Messrs. James Lawson,
 Walter D. Leake,
 Charles K. Mallory,
 John Q. Marr,
 Fleming B. Miller,
 Edmund T. Morris,
 Jeremiah Morton,
 William J. Neblett,
 Johnson Orrick,
 George W. Richardson,
 John T. Seawell,
 Valentine W. Southall,
 James M. Strange,
 William T. Sutherlin,
 George P. Tayloe,
 John T. Thornton,
 William M. Tredway,
 Robert H. Turner,

Messrs. John N. Hughes,
Eppa Hinton,
Lewis D. Isbell,
John R. Kilby,

Messrs. Robert H. Whitfield,
Samuel C. Williams,
Henry A. Wise—43.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (*Pres't*)
Ed'd M. Armstrong,
William B. Aston,
John B. Baldwin,
Alfred M. Barbour,
George Baylor,
George W. Berlin,
Caleb Boggess,
William W. Boyd,
George W. Brent,
William G. Brown,
John S. Burdett,
James Burley,
Benj. W. Byrue,
John A. Campbell,
Allen T. Caperton,
John S. Carlile,
Manilius Chapman,
Sherrard Clemens,
Raphael M. Conn,
C. B. Conrad,
James H. Couch,
John Critcher,
Harvey Deskins,
James B. Dorman,
William H. Dulany,
Jubal A. Early,
John Echols,
Napoleon B. French,
Colbert C. Fugate,
Peyton Gravely,
Algernon S. Gray,
William L. Goggin,
F. L. Hale,
Addison Hall,
L. S. Hall,
Alpheus F. Haymond,

Messrs. James W. Hoge,
Chester D. Hubbard,
George W. Hull,
John J. Jackson,
Mannaduke Johnson,
Peter C. Johnston,
Robert C. Kent,
John F. Lewis,
William McComas,
James C. McGrew,
James B. Mallory,
James Marshall,
Thomas Maslin,
Henry H. Masters,
Horatio G. Moffett,
Samuel McD. Moore,
Hugh M. Nelson,
Logan Osburn,
William C. Parks,
Spicer Patrick,
George McC. Porter,
Samuel Price,
David Pugh,
John D. Sharp,
Thomas Sidlington,
Burwell Spurlock,
Samuel G. Staples,
Chapman J. Stuart,
George W. Summers,
Campbell Tarr,
Edward Waller,
William White,
Williams C. Wickham,
Waitman T. Willey,
Benjamin Wilson,
Benj. F. Wysor—73.

The resolutions submitted by Mr. WILLEY, on the 16th ult., with the amendment proposed thereto, were taken up.

Mr. HAYMOND called the previous question, which was sustained.

The question being upon the adoption of the amendment submitted by Mr. WILLEY, was put, and decided in the affirmative. The proposition, as amended, reads as follows:

Resolved, That a committee of thirteen be appointed to inquire into the expediency of so amending the twenty-second and twenty-third sections of article four of the Constitution of Virginia, as to provide that taxation shall be equal and uniform throughout the Commonwealth, and that all property shall be taxed in proportion to its value.

Mr. BOISSEAU moved to amend the resolution, by adding the words "and that said committee shall report to an adjourned session of this body." Negatived.

The question recurring upon the adoption of the resolution, was put and decided in the affirmative—yeas 63; nays 26.

On motion of Mr. GOODE, of Mecklenburg, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. Cyrus Hall,
Edw'd M. Armstrong,	Ephraim B. Hall,
William B. Aston,	L. S. Hall,
John B. Baldwin,	Alpheus F. Haymond,
Alfred M. Barbour,	James W. Hoge,
George Baylor,	Chester D. Hubbard,
George W. Berlin,	George W. Hull,
Caleb Boggess,	John J. Jackson,
William W. Boyd,	Marmaduke Johnson,
George W. Brent,	Peter C. Johnston,
William G. Brown,	James Lawson,
John S. Burdett,	John F. Lewis,
James Burley,	William McComas,
Benjamin W. Byrne,	James C. McGrew,
John A. Campbell,	Henry H. Masters,
Allen T. Caperton,	Hugh M. Nelson,
John S. Carlile,	Logan Osburn,
John A. Carter,	William C. Parks,
Manilius Chapman,	George McC. Porter,
Sherrard Clemens,	Samuel Price,
Samuel A. Coffman,	David Pugh,
C. B. Conrad,	John D. Sharp,
James H. Concli,	Thomas Sitlington,
Harvey Deskins,	Burwell Spurlock,
James B. Dorman,	Samuel G. Staples,
William H. Dulany,	Chapman J. Stuart,
Jubal A. Early,	George W. Summers,
John Echels,	Campbell Tarr,

Messrs. Napoleon B. French, Colbert C. Fugate, H. L. Gillespie, William L. Goggin,	Messrs. Waitman T. Willey, Benjamin Wilson, Benj. F. Wysor—63.
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The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. William M. Ambler, Angus R. Blakey, George Blow, Jr. James Boisseau, Wood Bouldin, Raphael M. Conn, William W. Forbes, Samuel M. Garland, Peyton Gravely, Fendall Gregory, Jr. Thomas F. Goode, Addison Hall, J. G. Holladay,	Messrs. Lewis D. Isbell, John R. Kilby, Walter D. Leake, Charles K. Mallory, James B. Mallory, Horatio G. Moffett, Edmund T. Morris, George W. Richardson, Valentine W. Southall, James M. Strange, John T. Thornton, Robert H. Whitfield, W. C. Wickham—26.
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Mr. PRICE submitted the following resolution:

Resolved, That the thirty-third rule of the Convention shall be rescinded, and during the consideration of the report of the Committee on Federal Relations and the amendments thereto, which may be made by the Committee of the Whole, when the same shall be reported back to the Convention, each shall be limited to ten minutes.

Pending the consideration of which,
On motion of Mr. WILSON, the Convention adjourned.

50
MONDAY, April 15, 1861.

The Convention assembled at 10 o'clock, A. M.

Prayer by the Rev. Mr. BOGGS, of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Mr. PRESTON presented a report from the Committee appointed to wait upon the President of the United States, to ascertain "the policy which the Federal Executive intends to pursue in regard to the Confederate States." [Doc. XVII.]

Mr. HOLCOMBE submitted the following resolutions:

1. *Resolved*, That the standing order for resolving the Convention into Committee of the Whole, be suspended.

2. *Resolved*, That the Convention will immediately go into secret session, in order to consider the report of the Committee appointed to visit Washington.

The question upon agreeing to the first resolution was put, and decided in the affirmative—yeas 80; nays 43.

On motion of Mr. HALL, of Marion, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. John Janney, (<i>Pres't</i>)	Messrs. Lewis D. Isbell,
William M. Ambler,	Marmaduke Johnson,
Edward M. Armstrong,	Robert C. Kent,
William B. Aston,	James Lawson,
Alfred M. Barbour,	Walter D. Leake,
James Barbour,	William H. Macfarland,
Angus R. Blakey,	James B. Mallory,
George Blow, Jr.	James Marshall,
Caleb Boggess,	John L. Marye, Sr.
James Boisseau,	Fleming B. Miller,
Peter B. Borst,	Horatio G. Moffett,
Wood Bouldin,	Robert L. Montague,
William W. Boyd,	Edmund T. Morris,
James C. Bruce,	Jeremiah Morton,
Frederick M. Cabell,	Hugh M. Nelson,
John A. Campbell,	William C. Parks,
Allen T. Caperton,	Wm. Ballard Preston,
William P. Cecil,	David Pugh,
Manilius Chapman,	George W. Randolph,
Samuel A. Coffman,	George W. Richardson,
Raphael M. Conn,	Robert E. Scott,
Robert Y. Conrad,	William C. Scott,
Richard H. Cox,	James W. Sheffey,
John Critcher,	Charles R. Slaughter,
W. H. B. Custis,	Valentine W. Southall,
Harvey Deskins,	John M. Speed,

Messrs. James B. Dorman,
 John Echols,
 William W. Forbes,
 Napoleon B. French,
 Colbert C. Fugate,
 Samuel M. Garland,
 Fendall Gregory, Jr.
 William L. Goggin,
 John Goode, Jr.
 F. L. Hale,
 Cyrus Hall,
 L. S. Hall,
 Allen C. Hammond,
 James P. Holcombe,
 Eppa Hunton,

Messrs. Samuel G. Staples,
 James M. Strange,
 George P. Tayloe,
 John T. Thornton,
 William M. Tredway,
 Robert H. Turner,
 John Tyler,
 Edward Waller,
 William White,
 Robert H. Whitfield,
 Williams C. Wickham,
 Samuel C. Williams,
 Henry A. Wise,
 Benj. F. Wysor—80.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. John B. Baldwin,
 George Baylor,
 George W. Berlin,
 William G. Brown,
 James Burley,
 Benjamin W. Byrne,
 John S. Carlile,
 John A. Carter,
 Sherrard Clemens,
 C. B. Conrad,
 James H. Couch,
 Marshall M. Dent,
 Jubal A. Early,
 H. L. Gillespie,
 Peyton Gravely,
 Algernon S. Gray,
 Ephraim B. Hall,
 Alpheus F. Haymond,
 James W. Hoge,
 Chester D. Hubbard,
 John N. Hughes,
 George W. Hull,

Messrs. John J. Jackson,
 Peter C. Johnston,
 John F. Lewis,
 William McComas,
 James C. McGrew,
 Henry H. Masters,
 Samuel McD. Moore,
 Logan Osburn,
 Spicer Patrick,
 Edmund Pendleton,
 George McC. Porter,
 Samuel Price,
 John D. Sharp,
 Thomas Sitlington,
 Burwell Spurlock,
 Alex. H. H. Stuart,
 Chapman J. Stuart,
 George W. Summers,
 Campbell Tarr,
 Waitman T. Willey,
 Benjamin Wilson—43.

Pending the consideration of the second resolution,

Mr. WISE called the previous question, which was seconded.

Mr. EARLY moved an adjournment. Negatived.

Subsequently, the motion to adjourn was renewed by Mr. GILLESPIE, and the question being put, was decided in the affirmative.

SECOND ADJOURNED SESSION.

WEDNESDAY, November 13, 1861.

The Convention met at 10 o'clock, A. M.

The President, Mr. JANNEY, being absent,

On motion of Mr. MALLORY, of Brunswick, Mr. JAMES H. COX, was called to the chair.

Prayer by the Rev. Mr. YOUNG, of the Baptist Church.

The roll was then called, and the following members answered to their names:

Messrs. William B. Aston,
Angus R. Blakey,
Wood Bouldin,
William W. Boyd,
Benjamin W. Byrne,
John R. Chambliss,
C. B. Conrad,
Robert Y. Conrad,
James H. Cox,
John Critcher,
Harvey Deskins,
James B. Dorman,
Miers W. Fisher,
Thomas S. Flournoy,
William W. Forbes,
Napoleon B. French,
Samuel M. Garland,
William L. Goggin,
Addison Hall,
Cyrus Hall,
L. S. Hall,
Lewis E. Harvie,
Alpheus F. Haymond,

Messrs. John R. Kilby,
William H. Macfarland,
Charles K. Mallory,
James B. Mallory,
James Marshall,
John L. Marye, Sr.
Horatio G. Moffett,
Edmund T. Morris,
Samuel McD. Moore,
William J. Neblett,
William C. Parks,
Wm. Ballard Preston,
Peter Saunders, Sr.
Robert E. Scott,
John M. Speed,
Alex. H. H. Stuart,
James M. Strange,
George P. Tayloe,
Robert H. Turner,
Franklin P. Turner,
William White,
Robert H. Whitfield,
Samuel Woods.

No quorum being present,

On motion of Mr. FORBES, the Convention adjourned until to-morrow, at 12 o'clock, M.



THURSDAY, November 14, 1861.

The Convention assembled at 12 o'clock, M., Mr. Cox in the chair.

Prayer by the Rev. Mr. PETERKIN, of the Episcopal Church.

Messrs. THOMAS J. RANDOLPH, of Albemarle, who was elected to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Mr. SOUTHALL; JOHN N. HENDREN, of Augusta, who was elected to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Mr. BALDWIN; and JOHN B. YOUNG, of Henrico, who was elected to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Mr. WICKHAM, appeared and took their seats.

The roll was then called, and the following members answered to their names:

Messrs. William B. Aston,	Messrs. John N. Hendren,
James Barbour,	John R. Kilby,
George Baylor,	John J. Kindred.
Angus R. Blakey,	William H. Macfarland,
George Blow, Jr.	Charles K. Mallory,
James Boisseau,	James B. Mallory,
Wood Bouldin,	James Marshall,
William W. Boyd,	John L. Marye, Sr.
Thomas Branch,	Thomas Maslin,
James V. Brooke,	Horatio G. Moffett,
Benjamin W. Byrne,	Robert L. Montague,
Allen T. Caperton,	Edmund T. Morris,
Edward R. Chambers,	Samuel McD. Moore,
John R. Chambliss,	William J. Neblett,
Samuel A. Coffman,	William C. Parks,
C. B. Conrad,	Wm. Ballard Preston,
Robert Y. Conrad,	David Pugh,
James H. Cox,	George W. Randolph,
John Critcher,	Thomas J. Randolph,
Harvey Deskins,	Timothy Rives,
James B. Dorman,	Peter Saunders, Sr.
William H. Dulany,	Robert E. Scott,
Miers W. Fisher,	John T. Seawell,
Thomas S. Flournoy,	John M. Speed,
William W. Forbes,	Alex. H. H. Stuart,
Napoleon B. French,	James M. Strange,
Samuel M. Garland,	George P. Tayloe,
Peyton Gravely,	William M. Tredway,
Algernon S. Gray,	Robert H. Turner,
Fendall Gregory, Jr.	Franklin P. Turner,

Messrs. William L. Goggin,	Messrs. John Tyler,
Addison Hall,	Edward Waller,
Cyrus Hall,	William White,
L. S. Hall,	Robert H. Whitfield,
Allen C. Hammond,	Samuel C. Williams,
Lewis E. Harvie,	Samuel Woods,
Alpheus F. Haymond,	John B. Young.

No quorum being present, the Sergeant-at-Arms was directed to summons absentees;

Pending which Mr. PARQIE moved to adjourn until Saturday at 12 o'clock, and the question being put, was decided in the negative.

The following members then appeared and answered to their names: Messrs. JOHNSON, of Richmond City; ARMSTRONG and WYSOR; and the PRESIDENT announced that a quorum was then present.

The PRESIDENT presented the following communication from the Secretary of the Commonwealth:

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, }
Richmond, Nov. 14, 1861. }

To the Honorable the President of the Convention:

SIR,—On the 11th of October last, the Governor issued a proclamation authorizing elections to supply vacancies in the Convention, in cases in which the counties to elect were in possession of the enemy. In such cases, regulations were prescribed, authorizing the votes to be taken at military encampments, and at places other than the residences of the voters, and the returning officers were required to make returns of such votes to the Secretary of the Commonwealth. These regulations were subject to the ratification of the Convention.

Having received many of such returns I deem it my duty to enclose them herewith, for such action as the Convention may deem proper. A copy of the Governor's proclamation is also enclosed.

Very respectfully,

GEORGE W. MUNFORD,
Secretary of the Commonwealth.

The following is the proclamation of the Governor, referred to:

Whereas, in the elections about to be held in this State, for Electors of President and Vice President, and for members of Congress of the Confederate States, and also for members of the State Convention, and of the House of Delegates and Senate to supply vacancies now existing, it appears to the Executive that some of the counties, entitled to make said elections, are now, or may be, in the possession of the enemy, or of hostile parties, and that, in consequence of such possession, it may be impracticable to hold said elections at the places authorized by law; and the General Assembly and the Convention having made no provision for such emergency: Now, therefore, I, JOHN LETCHER, Governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia, do hereby prescribe the following regulations for holding said elections, subject to the ratification of the Legislature or the Convention:

In either of said elections, if from any cause proceeding from the action of the enemy, it be impracticable to hold the election at any place designated by law for holding the same, any person within the county may vote at any other place therein at which votes may be taken. And in the case of any District election, if the election cannot be held in any one county of the District, any voter therein may vote in any other county of the District in which votes may be taken.

In counties or Districts in which no election can be held, any voter of the county or District may present himself to the Commissioners at the Court House of any other county or corporation, or to the Commissioners at any encampment at which he may be, and ask that a separate poll be opened for the election or elections authorized to be held for his county, and on such poll, if he show that he is entitled to vote, the Commissioners shall cause his name to be recorded, as if it were in his county.

The officers whose duty it is to make returns of elections shall forthwith, at the conclusion of the election, return such separate polls to the Secretary of the Commonwealth.

In taking all such special polls the same proceedings shall be had, and under the regulations prescribed in regular elections.

In all cases where returning officers may not find it practicable, for the reasons aforesaid, to meet at the places designated by law, they may return the polls taken and in their custody, to the Secretary of the Commonwealth.

Given under my hand, as Governor, and under the seal of the Commonwealth, at Richmond, this 11th day of October, A. D., 1861, and in the eighty-sixth year of the Commonwealth.

JOHN LETCHER.

By the Governor,

GEORGE W. MUNFORD, *Secretary of the Commonwealth.*

The communications, with accompanying election returns, were ordered to be referred to the Committee on Elections.

Mr. BLAKEY submitted the following resolutions, which were laid upon the table, and ordered to be printed:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Constitution is instructed so to amend their report as to provide:

1. That no one who shall become a citizen of the Confederate States of America, after the close of the existing war, shall ever be entitled to vote.

2. That no such person shall be eligible to the General Assembly, or to the offices of Governor, Lieutenant Governor, or Judge of the Supreme Court of Appeals, or Circuit Courts.

3. That the Justices of each county shall be elected by the people of the whole during good behavior.

4. That the present Judges of the Supreme Court of Appeals, and of the Circuit Courts for the period prescribed in said report, the justices of the peace now in office during good behavior, and the other county officers until the expiration of the terms to which they have been respectively elected.

Mr. HAYMOND submitted the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, That the President pro tem. of the Convention be and he is hereby authorized to fill any vacancies that may exist in the Committee of Elections.

The PRESIDENT announced the following members to fill vacancies under the above resolution: Messrs. Wood and Hall of Pleasants and Ritchie.

Mr. HALL, of Lancaster, submitted the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, That when this Convention adjourns to-day, it will adjourn to Saturday at 12 o'clock, in order to afford an opportunity of observing to-morrow as a day of fasting and prayer, in accordance with the recommendation of the President of the Confederate States of America.

The PRESIDENT presented the following communication from

Mr. JOHN JANNEY, resigning his position as President of the Convention:

LEESBURG, LOUDOUN COUNTY, VA. }
November 6th, 1861. }

To the Members of the Virginia State Convention:

GENTLEMEN,—I hereby resign into your hands the office of President of your honorable body, which you conferred upon me on the 13th of February last. The state of my health renders this act absolutely necessary; and I avail myself of the occasion to tender you my cordial thanks for the uniform kindness and forbearance which have been extended to me during my administration of the duties of the office.

Very respectfully,

Your friend and fellow-citizen,

JOHN JANNEY.

On motion of Mr. MONTAGUE, the Convention adjourned.

SATURDAY, November 16, 1861.

The Convention assembled at 12 o'clock, M., Mr. Cox in the chair.

Prayer by the Rev Mr. PETERKIN, of the Episcopal Church.

The PRESIDENT announced that the first business in order was the election of President to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Mr. JOHN JANNEY.

Mr. BARBOUR nominated Mr. ROBERT L. MONTAGUE, of the county of Middlesex.

Mr. MOORE nominated Mr. JAMES H. COX, of the county of Chesterfield.

The roll was then called, with the following result:

The names of those who voted for Mr. MONTAGUE are—

Messrs. Edw'd M. Armstrong,	Messrs. Paul McNeil,
William B. Aston,	John L. Marye, Sr.
James Barbour,	Thomas Maslin,
George W. Berlin,	Fleming B. Miller,
Angus R. Blakey,	Horatio G. Moffett,
Wood Bouldin,	Edmund T. Morris,
George W. Brent,	Jeremiah Morton,
James V. Brooke,	William J. Neblett,
Benjamin W. Byrne,	Wm. Ballard Preston,
Allen T. Caperton,	David Pugh,
Edward R. Chambers,	George W. Randolph,
John R. Chambliss,	Thomas J. Randolph,
C. B. Conrad,	Peter Saunders, Sr.
James B. Dorman,	John T. Seawell,
Miers W. Fisher,	James W. Sheffey,
Napoleon B. French,	John M. Speed,
Samuel M. Garland,	Burwell Spurlock,
Muscoe R. H. Garnett,	William T. Sutherlin,
Samuel L. Graham,	George P. Tayloe,
Peyton Gravely,	Robert H. Turner,
John Goode, Jr.	Franklin P. Turner,
Addison Hall,	John Tyler,
Cyrus Hall,	Edward Waller,
L. S. Hall,	Robert H. Whitfield,
Lewis E. Harvie,	Samuel C. Williams,
Robert C. Kent,	Samuel Woods,
John R. Kilby,	Benjamin F. Wysor,
John J. Kindred,	John B. Young—57.
Walter D. Leake,	

The names of those who voted for Mr. Cox are—

Messrs. George Baylor,	Messrs. Wm. H. Macfarland,
George Blow, Jr.	James B. Mallory,
William W. Boyd,	Samuel McD. Moore,
Thomas Branch,	William C. Kent,
Samuel A. Coffman,	Samuel Price,
John Critcher,	Timothy Rives,
Harvey Deskins,	Robert E. Scott,
William H. Dulany,	John D. Sharp,
William W. Forbes,	Thomas Sitlington,
Colbert C. Fugate,	Alex. H. H. Stuart,
Algernon S. Gray,	James M. Strange,
Alpheus F. Haymond,	William M. Tredway,
John N. Hendren,	John Janney—27.
Peter C. Johnston,	

Mr. Goggin voted for Mr. FLEMING B. MILLER, of the county of Botetourt.

Mr. MONTGUE having received a majority of the whole vote cast, was declared duly elected.

On motion of Mr. FISHER, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That Waitman T. Willey be and hereby is expelled as a member of this body on account of his disloyalty to the Confederate States, and his adherence to the enemies of the same.

Mr. CHAMBLISS presented the following petition, which was ordered to be referred to the Committee on Elections:

RICHMOND, October 14th, 1861.

We, the undersigned citizens of Northwest Virginia, recommend the Convention of Virginia to elect representatives to supply vacancies in the Legislature about to assemble for the counties of Taylor, Harrison, Lewis, Ritchie, Wood, Dodridge and Pleasants, Tyler, Wetzel, Marshall, Ohio, Brooke, Hancock, Monongalia, Preston, Marion, Mason, Kanawha, Putnam, Wayne and such other counties as have been represented in the Wheeling Convention, by the delegates elected at the spring election, including Roane and Jackson.

T. S. HAYMOND,
J. H. HAYMOND,
JOHN BRANNON,
THOMAS EDWARDS,
JAMES NEESON,
E. J. ARMSTRONG,
J. M. HOGE,
J. M. BURNS,
WILLIAM PITTS,
CHAS. G. TAYLOR.

Mr. STUART, from the "Committee on Amendments to the Constitution," presented a report, which was laid upon the table, and ordered to be printed. [Doc. No. XXXIII.]

Mr. PRICE submitted the following amendment to the Constitution, which was laid upon the table, and ordered to be printed:

Amendment to §9, p. 27. After "years," in the 6th line, insert, "At the first court after the election and qualification of the Justices under this Constitution, or as soon thereafter as may be, they shall be divided into four classes; each class to consist of one Justice from each district to be numbered by lot. The term of service of the first class shall expire at the end of years; of the second class at the expiration of years; of the third class at the expiration of years; and of the fourth class at the expiration of years; and thus alternation shall be continued, so that one-fourth of the justices may be chosen every year.

On motion of Mr. CRITCHER, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That the Committee on Finance be instructed to inquire into the expediency of assuming to pay the taxes which may be assessed against the citizens of this State, by act of the Provisional Congress, approved August 9th, 1861, entitled "An act to authorize the issue of treasury notes, and to provide a war tax for their redemption." And if expedient, that the committee inquire and report whether the said taxes should be raised by a loan or taxation.

On motion of Mr. RANDOLPH, of the City of Richmond, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That a committee of seven be appointed to inquire into the expediency of reorganizing the militia of the Commonwealth, and that they report by ordinance or otherwise.

Mr. GARNETT submitted the following resolution; which, on motion of Mr. SCOTT, of Fauquier, was laid upon the table:

Resolved, That the Convention will immediately proceed to consider the proposed amendments to the State Constitution, and that they be made the special order, every day hereafter, at 10½ o'clock, A. M., until finally disposed of.

Mr. MALLORY, of Brunswick, submitted the following resolution:

Resolved, That when this Convention adjourns on Thursday next, it will adjourn *sine die*.

Mr. SCOTT, of Fauquier, submitted the following, as a substitute:

Resolved, That the present Constitution of this Commonwealth ought to be amended; and it is expedient that this Convention should submit amendments thereto for the ratification or rejection of the people.

Mr. NEBLETT called for a division of the question, and being put upon the first part of the substitute, it was decided in the affirmative—yeas 81; nays 3.

On motion of Mr. PRESTON, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. R. L. Montague (*Prest*) Messrs. William B. Aston,
Edw'd M. Armstrong, James Barbour,

Messrs. George Baylor,
 George W. Berlin,
 Angus R. Blakey,
 George Blow, Jr.
 Wood Bouldin,
 William W. Boyd,
 Thomas Branch,
 George W. Brent,
 James V. Brooke,
 Benjamin W. Byrne,
 Allen T. Caperton,
 Edward R. Chambers,
 John R. Chambliss,
 Samuel A. Coffman,
 James H. Cox,
 John Critcher,
 Harvey Deskins,
 James B. Dorman,
 William H. Dulany,
 Miers W. Fisher,
 William W. Forbes,
 Napoleon B. French,
 Colbert C. Fugate,
 Samuel M. Garland,
 Muscoe R. H. Garnett,
 Samuel L. Graham,
 Peyton Gravely,
 Algernon S. Gray,
 William L. Goggin,
 John Goode, Jr.
 Addison Hall,
 L. S. Hall,
 Lewis E. Harvie,
 Alpheus F. Haymond,
 Peter C. Johnston,
 Robert C. Kent,
 John R. Kilby,
 John J. Kindred,
 Walter D. Leake,

Messrs. Paul McNeil,
 William H. Macfarland,
 James B. Mallory,
 John L. Marye, Sr.
 Thomas Maslin,
 Fleming B. Miller,
 Horatio G. Moffett,
 Edmund T. Morris,
 Jeremiah Morton,
 Samuel McD. Moore,
 William J. Neblett,
 Wm. Ballard Preston,
 Samuel Price,
 David Pugh,
 George W. Randolph,
 Thomas J. Randolph,
 Peter Saunders, Sr.
 Robert E. Scott,
 John T. Seawell,
 John D. Sharp,
 James W. Sheffield,
 Thomas Sitlington,
 John M. Speed,
 Burwell Spurlock,
 Alex. H. H. Stuart,
 James M. Strange,
 William T. Sutherland,
 George P. Tayloe,
 William M. Tredway,
 Franklin P. Turner,
 Robert H. Turner,
 John Tyler,
 Edward Waller,
 Robert H. Whitfield,
 Samuel C. Williams,
 Samuel Woods,
 Benjamin F. Wysor,
 John B. Young—81.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. C. B. Conrad,
 William C. Parks,

Mr. Timothy Rives—3.

The question recurred upon the second part of the substitute, and being put, was decided in the affirmative—yeas 55; noes 26.

On motion of Mr. HARVIE, the vote was recorded as follows:
The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. R. L. Montague (<i>Prest</i>)	Messrs. John R. Kilby,
Edw'd M. Armstrong,	Paul McNeil,
William B. Aston,	Wm. H. Macfarland,
James Barbour,	John L. Marye, Sr.
George Baylor,	Thomas Maslin,
George W. Berlin,	Horatio G. Moffett,
Angus R. Blakey,	Edmund T. Morris,
George Blow, Jr.	Samuel McD. Moore,
Wood Bouldin,	Wm. Ballard Preston,
William W. Boyd,	Samuel Price,
Thomas Branch,	David Pugh,
George W. Brent,	George W. Randolph,
James V. Brooke,	Peter Saunders, Sr.
Benjamin W. Byrne,	Robert E. Scott,
James H. Cox,	John T. Seawell,
John Critcher,	John D. Sharp,
James B. Dorman,	Thomas Sitlington,
William H. Dulany,	John M. Speed,
Miers W. Fisher,	Burwell Spurlock,
William W. Forbes,	Alex. H. H. Stuart,
Napoleon B. French,	George P. Tayloe,
Samuel M. Garland,	William M. Tredway,
Samuel L. Graham,	Franklin P. Turner,
Peyton Gravely,	John Tyler,
Addison Hall,	Edward Waller,
Alphens F. Haymond,	Samuel Woods,
John N. Hendren,	Benj'n F. Wysor—55.
Peter C. Johnston,	

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. Edw'd R. Chambers,	Messrs. Fleming B. Miller,
John R. Chambliss,	Jeremiah Morton,
Samuel A. Coffman,	William J. Neblett,
Harvey Deskins,	William C. Parks,
Muscoe R. H. Garnett,	Thomas J. Randolph,
William L. Goggin,	Timothy Rives,
John Goode, Jr.	James W. Sheffield,
L. S. Hall,	James M. Strange,
Lewis E. Harvie,	William T. Sutherlin,
Robert C. Kent,	Robert H. Turner,
John J. Kindred,	Robert H. Whitfield,
Walter D. Leake,	Samuel C. Williams,
James B. Mallory,	John B. Young—26.

The resolution, as amended, was then adopted.

On motion of Mr. SCOTT, of Fauquier, the vote by which the following resolution was adopted, June 29th, was reconsidered:

Resolved, That the Convention will, on and after this day, take a recess from two to five o'clock, daily; and that no member shall be allowed to speak more than ten minutes on the same question, or oftener than once.

The resolution was then amended to read as follows:

Resolved, That no member shall be allowed to speak more than ten minutes on the same question, or more than once.

Mr. MACFARLAND presented a memorial from the Council of the City of Richmond, which was ordered to be referred to the Committee of Finance.

The PRESIDENT presented a communication from the Executive of the Commonwealth, transmitting the resignation of Hon. JAMES M. MASON as a member of the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States; also the resignation of Col. JOHN ECHOLS, from the county of Monroe, as a member of this Convention.

Mr. DORMAN submitted the following resolution, which, on motion of Mr. GARNETT, was laid upon the table:

Resolved, That the Committee on Military Affairs inquire into the expediency of extending the provisions of the Code upon the subject of military impressments, contained in the chapter on the militia, so as to authorize Confederate as well as State authorities to take possession of articles, necessary for military purposes, at a reasonable compensation.

Mr. SPEED submitted the following resolution; which, on motion of Mr. GARNETT, was laid upon the table:

Resolved, That the Committee on Finance be instructed to inquire into the expediency of authorizing the banks of discount and issue of this State, to invest such portion of their capital stock as they may deem proper, in the bonds of this Commonwealth, and of the Confederate States of America.

The PRESIDENT appointed JAMES H. CHRISTIAN, page, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of EDWARD S. GAY.

On motion of Mr. FISHER, the Convention adjourned.

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MONDAY, November 18, 1861.

The Convention assembled at 10 o'clock, A. M.

Prayer by the Rev. Mr. LEYBURN, of the Presbyterian Church.

Mr. WILLIAM G. BROWN, from the county of Prince William, elected to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Mr. EPPA HUNTON, appeared and took his seat.

The PRESIDENT announced the following committee under the resolution submitted by Mr. RANDOLPH, of the City of Richmond: Messrs. Randolph of Richmond City, Brent, Scott of Fauquier, Hendren, Johnston, Chambliss and Goode.

Mr. HAYMOND, from the Committee on Elections, presented a report, which was laid upon the table, and ordered to be printed. [Doc. No. XXXIV.]

On motion of Mr. KILBY, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That the Clerk of this Convention have printed for the use of the Convention the usual number of copies of the present State Constitution.

On motion of Mr. TYLER, the Convention went into secret session.

After some time passed in secret session the doors were again opened.

Mr. SEAWELL submitted the following resolution, which was laid upon the table, and ordered to be printed:

Resolved, That the committee appointed to report amendments to the Constitution, be directed to report alternate sections in lieu of the 1st section of article 1 of the report made by said committee on the 19th of June, 1861. The one basing the right of suffrage on some interest in real estate, and the other on the basis of their said report, to be submitted to the voters of the State for their adoption or rejection.

On motion of Mr. CAPERTON, the President of the Convention was ordered to issue his proclamation for the election of a delegate for the county of Monroe, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Mr. John Echols, late delegate from that county.

Mr. DORMAN submitted the following resolution, which was laid upon the table, and ordered to be printed:

Resolved, That the Committee on Constitutional Amendments be instructed to inquire into the expediency of such an amendment to article 4, section 19, as will render that section operative by making it the express duty of the Legislature to prescribe regulations for reducing emancipated negroes to slavery.

The resolution submitted by Mr. GARNETT, on Saturday last, was then taken up.

Mr. TURNER, of Jackson and Roane, moved to amend, by

striking out "10 $\frac{1}{2}$ o'clock," and inserting "*eleven;*" and the question being put, was decided in the negative.

The resolution was then adopted.

Mr. RANDOLPH, of Albemarle, announced the death of Mr. Valentine W. Southall, late delegate from that county, and submitted the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

1. *Resolved*, That this Convention lament, most deeply, the death of Valentine W. Southall, late a member of this body from the county of Albemarle, as a testimonial of his worth and in respect for his memory, the members thereof will wear the usual badges of mourning for thirty days.

2. *Resolved*, That the condolence of this Convention be expressed to his bereaved wife on this occasion of her distressing affliction.

On motion of Mr. RANDOLPH, of Albemarle, the Convention adjourned.

TUESDAY, November 19, 1861.

The Convention assembled at 10 o'clock, A. M.

Prayer by the Rev. Dr. REED, of the Presbyterian Church.

On motion of Mr. BRANCH, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That the Committee on Military Affairs inquire into the expediency of providing, by ordinance, that the commissions of field officers appointed in pursuance of the ordinance of April, 1861, shall expire whenever the regiments to which they are assigned shall be disbanded by the expiration of the terms of service of the companies composing their commands.

On motion of Mr. BRANCH, the Committee on Military Affairs was enlarged by the addition of three members.

The President announced the following members on said Committee: Messrs. Campbell, Branch and Dorman.

The PRESIDENT presented a communication from the Executive of the Commonwealth transmitting the nominations of J. E. B. Stuart, John B. Baldwin, Beverly H. Robertson, John McCausland, Francis H. Smith, Rob't C. Trigg, Wm. H. Harman, George W. Randolph, Chas. W. Field, Francis Mallory, S. H. Reynolds, William D. Stuart, Wm. R. Terry, Lewis A. Armistead, Edmund Goode, William E. Jones, John Echols, Harrison B. Tomlin and Armistead T. M. Rust as Colonels of Volunteers for confirmation, which was laid upon the table.

On motion of Mr. MORRIS, the Convention went into secret session.

After some time passed in secret session the doors were again opened.

Mr. RANDOLPH, of the City of Richmond, from the Committee "to provide for the reorganization of the militia," presented an ordinance, which, under the rule, was laid upon the table, and ordered to be printed.

On motion of Mr. CONRAD, of Frederick, the Convention then proceeded to fill the vacancy in the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States, occasioned by the resignation of James M. Mason.

Mr. CONRAD nominated A. R. Boteler, of the county of Jefferson.

No other nomination being made, the question was put and Mr. Boteler was declared duly elected.

The hour having arrived for the execution of the order of the day, (being the consideration of the report of the committee on amendments to the Constitution,) Mr. HAYMOND moved "that

it be recommitted to the committee, and the question being put, it was decided in the negative.

The SECRETARY then proceeded to read the report, and articles 1 and 2 were adopted.

Mr. SHERFFEY moved to amend the 1st section of article 3, by striking out all after the word "election," in the 4th line, to the word "and," in the 9th line; pending which, Mr. HALL, of Wetzel, moved to "pass by" the order of the day, and the question being put, was decided in the affirmative.

On motion of Mr. HALL, of Witzel, the report of the "Committee on Elections" was then taken up.

That part of the report which refers to the election of John N. Hendren, of the county of Augusta; William G. Brawner, of the county of Prince William; John B. Young, of the county of Henrico; and Thos. J. Randolph, of the county of Albemarle, to fill vacancies in their respective counties, was adopted.

The question then recurred upon that part of the report which referred to the election of Jacob W. Marshall, of the counties of Randolph and Tucker, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of John N. Hughes, and to the resolution in relation to the admission of members to fill vacancies occasioned by expulsions from the Convention.

Mr. BROOKE submitted the following substitute, by way of amendment:

"Whereas, by reason of the presence of the public enemy and other causes, it has been rendered impossible for the loyal citizens of the counties of Ohio, &c., &c., to fill the vacancies in this Convention created by the expulsion of their respective delegates; therefore,

"Resolved, That this Convention will now proceed to the election of delegates from said several counties to supply said vacancies."

Mr. STUART submitted the following, as an amendment to the amendment, and the question being put, was decided in the affirmative—yeas 79; noes 20.

"Whereas, vacancies have occurred in the representation of the counties of Ohio, Brooke, Marshall, Marion, Monongalia, Preston, Taylor, Harrison and Wood, by the expulsion of the late delegates from the said counties, and in the counties of Randolph and Tucker by the death of John N. Hughes, late delegate from those counties; and,

"Whereas, those vacancies could not be filled in the mode prescribed by law, in consequence of the occupation of said counties by the public enemy; and,

"Whereas, the Governor, in order to provide for the exigency, issued a proclamation (advisory in its character) inviting the loyal citizens of those counties to vote in their respective camps for delegates to fill those vacancies. Under which proclamation, elections were accordingly held in the several camps. At which elections, Joseph H. Pendleton was chosen representative for the county of Ohio; Joseph D. Pickett, for the county of Brooke; Jefferson T. Martin, for the county of Marshall; Stephen A. Morgan, for the county of Marion; Jonathan M. Heck, for the county of Monongalia; Robert E. Cowan and C. J. P. Cresap, for the county of Preston; John A. Robinson, for the county of Taylor, and William P. Cooper, for the county of Harrison; Edward D. McGuire, for the county of Wood, and Jacob W. Marshall, for the counties of Randolph and Tucker.

"Be it, therefore, ordained, That said elections be, and the same are hereby ratified, and the said Jos. H. Pendleton, Joseph D. Pickett, Jefferson T. Martin, Jonathan M. Heck, Robert E. Cowan, C. J. P. Cresap, Stephen A. Morgan, John A. Robinson, William P. Cooper, Edward D. McGuire and Jacob W. Marshall, are hereby admitted to seats in this Convention."

On motion of Mr. HARVIE, the vote was recorded as follows:
The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. R. L. Montague (<i>Prest</i>)	Messrs. John N. Hendren,
William B. Aston,	Peter C. Johnston,
James Barbour,	Robert C. Kent,
George Baylof,	John R. Kilby,
George W. Berlin,	Paul McNeil,
Angus R. Blakey,	Charles K. Mallory,
James Boisseau,	James Marshall,
William W. Boyd,	John L. Marye, Sr.
Thomas Branch,	Thomas Maslin,
William G. Brawner,	Henry H. Masters,
George W. Brent,	Fleming B. Miller,
Benjamin W. Byrne,	Horatio G. Moffett,
John A. Campbell,	Jeremiah Morton,
Allen T. Caperton,	Samuel McD. Moore,
John A. Carter,	Hugh M. Nelson,
John R. Chambliss,	William C. Parks,
Samuel A. Coffman,	David Pugh,
C. B. Conrad,	George W. Randolph,
Robert Y. Conrad,	Thomas J. Randolph,
James H. Cox,	Timothy Rives,
John Critcher,	Peter Saunders, Sr.
W. H. B. Custis,	John T. Seawell,
Harvey Deskins,	James W. Sheffey,
James B. Dorman,	Thomas Sitlington,
William H. Dulany,	Burwell Spurlock,
Miers W. Fisher,	Samuel G. Staples,
Thomas S. Flournoy,	Alex. H. H. Stuart,
Napoleon B. French,	James M. Strange,
Colbert C. Fugate,	William T. Sutherland,
Samuel M. Garland,	George P. Tayloe,
H. L. Gillespie,	William M. Tredway,
Samuel L. Graham,	Robert H. Turner,
Peyton Gravely,	Franklin P. Turner,
Algernon S. Gray,	Edward Waller,
William L. Goggin,	William White,
John Goode, Jr.	Robert H. Whitfield,
Addison Hall,	Samuel C. Williams,
Cyrus Hall,	Samuel Woods,
L. S. Hall,	Benj'n F. Wysor—79.
Alpheus F. Haymond,	

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. William M. Ambler,	Messrs. John Janney,
Edw'd M. Armstrong,	John J. Kindred,
George Blow, Jr.	Walter D. Leake,
Wood Bouldin,	William H. Macfarland,
James V. Brooke,	Jan es B. Mallory,
William W. Forbes,	Edmund T. Morris,
Muscoe R. H. Garnett,	William J. Neblett,
Lewis E. Harvie,	Samuel Price,
James P. Holcombe,	John M. Speed,
Lewis D. Isbell,	John B. Young—20.

The report of the Committee, as amended, was then adopted.

The President presented the following communication from Mr. Morton, of the counties of Orange and Greene, resigning his seat as a member of this Convention:

ROBERT L. MONTAGUE, *President of the Convention*:

Sir,—Private business *compels* me to visit the South for a few weeks, perhaps longer. I hereby resign my seat in this body that my constituents may cloathe another with the high trust they confided to me. I ask that a writ of election may issue.

JEREMIAH MORTON.

On motion of Mr. BLAKEY, the President was ordered to issue his proclamation for the election of a delegate for the counties of Orange and Greene to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Jeremiah Morton, late delegate from that county.

Mr. Woods, of the county of Barbour, announced the death of John N. Hughes, late delegate from the counties of Randolph and Tucker, and submitted the following resolutions which were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That this Convention has heard, with feelings of deep sorrow, of the death of Mr. John N. Hughs, the late representative from the counties of Randolph and Tucker, while engaged in the defence of his country during the battle on Rich Mountain, on the 11th of July last.

Resolved, That we tender our heartfelt sympathies to the widow and the orphan children of our departed fellow member and friend; and that in memory of his worth, we will wear the usual badge of mourning for thirty days.

On motion of Mr. Woods the Convention adjourned.

WEDNESDAY, November 20, 1861.

The Convention assembled at 10 o'clock, A. M.

Prayer by the Rev. Dr. Hoge, of the Presbyterian Church.

Messrs. Jos. H. Pendleton, of the county of Ohio; Jefferson T. Martin, of the county of Marshall; Stephen A. Morgan, of the county of Marion; Jonathan M. Heck, of the county of Monongalia; Robert E. Cowan and C. J. P. Cresap, of the county of Preston; Wm. P. Cooper, of the county of Harrison; Edw'd D. McGuire, of the county of Wood; and Jacob W. Marshall, of the counties of Randolph and Tucker, appeared and took their seats.

On motion of Mr. Scott, of Fauquier, it was ordered that the communication of the Executive in relation to the defences of the State, presented at the last session of this Convention, and the communication on the same subject, presented on Tuesday, the 7th day of this session, be printed. [Docs. Nos. XXXV. and XXXVI.]

On motion of Mr. Blow, the following resolution, submitted by him on Saturday, the 16th inst., was taken up, and adopted:

Resolved, That the Committee on Finance inquire into the expediency of providing, by law, for the settlement of the claims of such adjutants of regiments as were appointed under the provisions of an ordinance of this Convention, passed on the 27th day of June, 1861, and report by ordinance or otherwise.

On motion of Mr. Speed, the following resolution, submitted by him on Saturday, the 16th inst., was taken up, and adopted:

Resolved, That the Committee of Finance be instructed to inquire into the expediency of authorizing the banks of discount and issue of this State to invest such portion of their capital stock as they may deem proper, in the bonds of this Commonwealth and of the Confederate States of America.

Mr. MARVE presented a petition from the Mayor and Council of the town of Fredericksburg, on the subject of the issue of small notes, which was ordered to be referred to the Committee of Finance.

On motion of Mr. HAYMOND, the "Committee on Military Affairs" was enlarged, by the addition of one member.

The PRESIDENT then announced the following member on said committee: Mr. Slaughter.

Mr. CHAMBLISS submitted an ordinance to amend "an ordinance for the apportionment of representation in the Congress of the Confederate States," which (the rules being suspended) was adopted.

The hour having arrived for the execution of the order of the day, the consideration of the report of the "Committee on Amendments to the Constitution," was resumed.

The question being on the amendment to 1st section of Art.

III., offered by Mr. SHEFFEY, on yesterday, was put and decided in the affirmative—yeas 75; noes 33.

On motion of Mr. SHEFFEY, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. William B. Aston,	Messrs. Lewis D. Isbell,
James Barbour,	Peter C. Johnston,
George Baylor,	Robert C. Kent,
Angus R. Blakey,	John J. Kindred,
George Blow, Jr.	Paul McNeil,
James Boisseau,	William H. Macfarland,
Peter B. Borst,	Charles K. Mallory,
William G. Brawner,	Jacob W. Marshall,
George W. Brent,	J. T. Martin,
James V. Brooke,	Henry H. Masters,
Benjamin W. Byrne,	Fleming B. Miller,
John A. Campbell,	E. D. McGuire,
Allen T. Caperton,	S. A. Morgan,
John A. Carter,	William J. Neblett,
John R. Chambliss,	William C. Parks,
Samuel A. Coffman,	Joseph H. Pendleton,
C. B. Conrad,	Wm. Ballard Preston,
W. P. Cooper,	George W. Randolph,
R. E. Cowan,	Thomas J. Randolph,
John Critcher,	Timothy Rives,
W. H. B. Custis,	Robert E. Scott,
Harvey Deskins,	John T. Seawell,
James B. Dorman,	John D. Sharp,
William H. Dulany,	James W. Sheffey,
Thomas S. Flournoy,	Charles R. Slaughter,
Napoleon B. French,	John M. Speed,
Colbert C. Fugate,	Burwell Spurlock,
Samuel M. Garland,	Samuel G. Staples,
Samuel L. Graham,	James M. Strange,
Algernon S. Gray,	William T. Sutherlin,
William L. Goggin,	George P. Tayloe,
John Goode, Jr.	Robert H. Turner,
F. L. Hale,	Franklin P. Turner,
Cyrus Hall,	John Tyler,
L. S. Hall,	Samuel C. Williams,
Alpheus F. Haymond,	Samuel Woods,
J. M. Heck,	Benj'n F. Wysor—75.
James P. Holcombe,	

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. R. L. Montague (<i>Pr'st</i>)	Messrs. Miers W. Fisher,
William M. Ambler,	H. L. Gillespie,

Messrs. Edward M. Armstrong,
George W. Berlin,
Wood Bouldin,
William W. Boyd,
Thomas Branch,
Robert Y. Conrad,
James H. Cox,
Peyton Gravely,
Addison Hall,
John N. Hendren,
John Janney,
John R. Kilby,
James B. Mallory,
James Marshall,
Messrs. Thomas Maslin,

John L. Marye, Sr.
Horatio G. Moffett,
Edmund T. Morris,
Samuel McD. Moore,
Hugh M. Nelson,
Samuel Price,
David Pugh,
Peter Saunders, Sr.
Alex. H. H. Stuart,
William M. Tredway,
Edward Waller,
William White,
Robert H. Whitfield,
John B. Young—33.

Mr. MOFFETT moved to strike out "service," in the 16th line, and insert "regular army or navy;" and the question being put, it was decided in the affirmative.

Mr. HAYMOND moved to strike out "twelve," in the 4th line, and insert "six," and the question being put, it was decided in the negative.

Mr. TREDWAY moved to further amend this section, by adding thereto the following:

"Nor shall any person, not a citizen of some one of the Confederate States, at the conclusion of the present war, be entitled to vote, in any election, until he shall have been a citizen of the Confederate States for twenty-one years, and shall have acquired an interest in real estate or slaves."

Mr. WYSOR submitted the following amendment to the proposed amendment, by way of substitute, which was accepted by Mr. TREDWAY:

"Or any citizen naturalized after the close of the present war, unless he shall have been so naturalized twenty-one years before he shall offer to vote."

Mr. BLAKEY submitted the following amendment, by way of substitute:

"Or who shall, after the close of the existing war, become a citizen of this or any of the Confederate States under any naturalization law, unless such citizen shall have served in the Confederate States during the existing war in a civil or military capacity, and in the latter case, shall have been honorably discharged.

The question being put, it was decided in the negative—yeas 14; noes 98.

On motion of Mr. HAYMOND, the vote was recorded as follows:
The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. William M. Ambler,
James Barbour,
Angus R. Blakey,

Messrs. James V. Brooke,
Benjamin W. Byrne,
William H. Dulany,

Messrs. Miers W. Fisher,
 Napoleon B. French,
 John Janney,
 Paul McNeil,

Messrs. Hugh M. Nelson,
 Thomas J. Randolph,
 Peter Saunders, Sr.
 John T. Seawell—14.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. R. L. Montague, (*Prest*)
 Edw'd M. Armstrong,
 William B. Aston,
 George Baylor,
 George W. Berlin,
 George Blow, Jr.
 James Boisseau,
 Peter B. Brost,
 Wood Bouldin,
 William W. Boyd,
 Thomas Branch,
 William G. Brawner,
 George W. Brent,
 John A. Campbell,
 Allen T. Caperton,
 John A. Carter,
 John R. Chambliss,
 Samuel A. Coffinan,
 C. B. Conrad,
 Robert Y. Conrad,
 Robert E. Cowan,
 William P. Cooper,
 James H. Cox,
 C. J. P. Cresap,
 John Critcher,
 W. H. B. Custis,
 Harvey Deskins,
 James B. Dorman,
 Thomas S. Flournoy,
 William W. Forbes,
 Colbert C. Fugate,
 Samuel M. Garland,
 H. L. Gillespie,
 Samuel L. Graham,
 Peyton Gravely,
 Algernon S. Gray,
 William L. Goggin,
 John Goode, Jr.
 F. L. Hale,
 Addison Hall,

Messrs. Cyrus Hall,
 Jonathan M. Heck,
 L. S. Hall,
 Lewis E. Harvie,
 Alpheus F. Haymond,
 John N. Hendren,
 James P. Holcombe,
 J. G. Holladay,
 Lewis D. Isbell,
 Peter C. Johnston,
 Robert C. Kent,
 John R. Kilby,
 John J. Kindred,
 Walter D. Leake,
 Edward D. McGuire,
 William H. Macfarland,
 Charles K. Mallory,
 James B. Mallory,
 Jacob W. Marshall,
 James Marshall,
 Jefferson T. Martin,
 John L. Marye, Sr.
 Thomas Maslin,
 Henry H. Masters,
 Fleming B. Miller,
 Horatio G. Moffett,
 Edmund T. Morris,
 Stephen A. Morgan,
 Samuel McD. Moore,
 William J. Neblett,
 William C. Parks,
 Joseph H. Pendleton,
 Wm. Ballard Preston,
 Samuel Price,
 David Pugh,
 George W. Randolph,
 Timothy Rives,
 Robert E. Scott,
 John D. Sharp,
 James W. Sheffey,

Messrs. Thomas Sitlington,	Messrs. Franklin P. Turner,
Charles R. Slaughter,	John Tyler,
John M. Speed,	Edward Waller,
Samuel G. Staples,	William White,
Alex. H. H. Stuart,	Robert H. Whitfield,
William T. Sutherlin,	Samuel C. Williams,
George P. Tayloe,	Samuel Woods,
William M. Tredway,	Benjamin F. Wysor,
Robert H. Turner,	John B. Young—98.

Mr. BRANCH moved to amend the amendment, by striking out "twenty-one," and inserting "fourteen."

Mr. PRICE called for a division of the question, and being on "striking out," was put, and decided in the affirmative.

The question recurred upon the amendment submitted by Mr. BRANCH; and being put, it was decided in the negative—yeas 39; noes 73.

On motion of Mr. BLAKEY, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. R. L. Montague (<i>Prest</i>)	Messrs. William H. Macfarland,
William B. Aston,	Charles K. Mallory,
Angus R. Blakey,	John L. Marye, Sr.
Wood Bouldin,	Thomas Maslin,
Thomas Branch,	Fleming B. Miller,
James V. Brooke,	Edmund T. Morris,
Benjamin W. Byrne,	William J. Neblett,
John R. Chambliss,	Hugh M. Nelson,
Robert Y. Conrad,	William C. Parks,
William H. Dulany,	David Pugh,
Miers W. Fisher,	Thomas J. Randolph,
Thomas S. Flournoy,	Peter Saunders, Sr.
William W. Forbes,	John T. Seawell,
Napoleon B. French,	James W. Sheffield,
Colbert C. Fugate,	John M. Speed,
Samuel L. Graham,	Samuel G. Staples,
Peyton Gravely,	William M. Tredway,
F. L. Hale,	Samuel C. Williams,
Peter C. Johnston,	Benj. F. Wysor—39.
Paul McNeil,	

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. William M. Ambler,	Messrs. George Blow, Jr.
Edward M. Armstrong,	James Boisseau,
James Barbour,	Peter B. Borst,
George Baylor,	William W. Boyd,
George W. Berlin,	William G. Bawner,

Messrs. George W. Brent,
 John A. Campbell,
 Allen T. Caperton,
 John A. Carter,
 Samuel A. Coffman,
 C. B. Conrad,
 William P. Cooper,
 Robert E. Cowan,
 James H. Cox,
 C. J. P. Cresap,
 John Critcher,
 W. H. B. Custis,
 Harvey Deskins,
 James B. Dorman,
 Samuel M. Garland,
 H. L. Gillespie,
 Algernon S. Gray,
 William L. Goggin,
 John Goode, Jr.
 Addison Hall,
 Cyrus Hall,
 L. S. Hall,
 Lewis E. Harvie,
 Alphues F. Haymond,
 John N. Hendren,
 Jonathan M. Heck,
 James P. Holcombe,
 J. G. Holladay,
 Lewis D. Isbell,
 John Janney,
 Robert C. Kent,
 John R. Kilby,

Messrs. John J. Kindred,
 Walter D. Leake,
 Edward D. McGuire,
 James B. Mallory,
 Jacob W. Marshall,
 James Marshall,
 Jefferson T. Martin,
 Henry H. Masters,
 Horatio G. Moffett,
 Stephen A. Morgan,
 Samuel McD. Moore,
 Joseph H. Pendleton,
 Wm. Ballard Preston,
 Samuel Price,
 George W. Randolph,
 Timothy Rives,
 Robert E. Scott,
 John D. Sharp,
 Thomas Sitlington,
 Charles R. Slaughter,
 Burwell Spurlock,
 Alex. H. H. Stuart,
 George P. Tayloe,
 Robert H. Turner,
 Franklin P. Turner,
 John Tyler,
 Edward Waller,
 William White,
 Robert H. Whitfield,
 Samuel Woods,
 John B. Young—73.

Mr. BROOKE moved to fill the blank with the word "ten," and the question being put, was decided in the negative—yeas 50; noes 59.

On motion of Mr. WOODS, the vote was recorded as follows:
 The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. R. L. Montague (*Prest*) Messrs. Benjamin W. Byrne,
 William M. Ambler,
 William B. Aston,
 George W. Berlin,
 Angus R. Blakey,
 Peter B. Borst,
 Wood Bouldin,
 Thomas Branch,
 James V. Brooke,
 John R. Chambliss,
 Robert Y. Conrad,
 William H. Dulany,
 Miers W. Fisher,
 Thomas S. Flournoy,
 William W. Forbs,
 Napoleon B. French,
 Colbert C. Fugate,

Messrs. H. L. Gillespie,
 Samuel L. Graham,
 Peyton Gravely,
 F. L. Hale,
 Lewis E. Harvie,
 Lewis D. Isbell,
 Peter C. Johnston,
 John J. Kindred,
 Paul McNeil,
 William H. Macfarland,
 Charles K. Mallery,
 John L. Marye, Sr.
 Thomas Maslin,
 Flenning B. Miller,
 Horatio G. Moffett,
 Edmund T. Morris,

Messrs. William J. Neblett,
 Hugh M. Nelson,
 William C. Parks,
 David Pugh,
 Thomas J. Randolph,
 Peter Saunders, Sr.
 John T. Seawell,
 James W. Sheffey,
 John M. Speed,
 Burwell Spurlock,
 Samuel G. Staples,
 Alex. H. H. Stuart,
 William M. Tredway,
 Robert H. Turner,
 Robert H. Whitfield,
 Benj. F. Wysor—50.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. Edward M. Armstrong,
 James Barbour,
 George Baylor,
 James Boisseau,
 William W. Boyd,
 William G. Brawner,
 George W. Brent,
 John A. Campbell,
 Allen T. Caperton,
 John A. Carter,
 Samuel A. Coffman,
 C. B. Conrad,
 Robert E. Cowan,
 William P. Cooper,
 James H. Cox,
 C. J. P. Cresap,
 John Critcher,
 W. H. B. Custis,
 Harvey Deskins,
 James B. Dorman,
 Samuel M. Garland,
 Algernon S. Grey,
 William L. Goggin,
 John Goode, Jr.,
 Addison Hall,
 Cyrus Hall,
 L. S. Hall,
 Alpheus F. Haymond,
 John N. Hendren,
 Jonathan M. Heck,

Messrs. J. G. Holladay,
 John Janney,
 Robert C. Kent,
 John R. Kilby,
 Walter D. Leake,
 Edward D. McGuire,
 James B. Mallory,
 Jacob W. Marshall,
 James Marshall,
 Jefferson T. Martin,
 Henry H. Masters,
 Stephen A. Morgan,
 Samuel McD. Moore,
 Joseph H. Pendleton,
 Wm. Ballard Preston,
 Samuel Price,
 George W. Randolph.
 Timothy Rives,
 Robert E. Scott,
 John D. Sharp,
 Thomas Sitlington,
 Charles R. Slaughter,
 George P. Tayloe,
 Franklin P. Turner,
 John Tyler,
 Edward Waller,
 William White,
 Samuel Woods,
 John B. Young—59.

The question recurred upon the amendment submitted by Mr. WYSOR, and being put, was decided in the negative—yeas 53; noes 56.

On motion of Mr. Woods, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. R. L. Montague (<i>Prest</i>)	Messrs. Robert C. Kent,
William M. Ambler,	John J. Kindred,
William B. Aston,	Wm. H. Macfarland,
Angus R. Blakey,	Charles K. Mallory,
Peter B. Borst,	Jacob W. Marshall,
Wood Bouldin,	John L. Marye, Sr.
William W. Boyd,	Thomas Maslin,
Thomas Branch,	Fleming B. Miller,
James V. Brooke,	Horatio G. Moffett,
Benjamin W. Byrne,	William J. Neblett,
John R. Chamblis,	Hugh M. Nelson,
Robert Y. Conrad,	William C. Parks,
John Critcher,	Samuel Price,
William H. Dulany,	David Pugh,
Miers W. Fisher,	Thomas J. Randolph,
Thomas S. Flournoy,	Peter Saunders, Sr.
William W. Forbes,	John T. Seawell,
Napoleon B. French,	James W. Sheffield,
Colbert C. Fugate,	John M. Speed,
Samuel M. Garland,	Burwell Spurlock,
H. L. Gillespie,	Samuel G. Staples,
Samuel L. Graham,	Alex. H. H. Stuart,
Peyton Gravely,	William M. Tredway,
F. L. Hale,	Robert H. Turner,
Lewis E. Harvie,	Robert H. Whitfield,
Lewis D. Isbell,	Benj'n F. Wysor—53.
Peter C. Johnston,	

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. E. M. Armstrong.	Messrs. James H. Cox,
James Barbour,	C. J. P. Cresap,
George Bayler,	W. H. B. Custis,
George Blow, Jr.	Harvey Deskins,
James Boisseau,	James B. Dorman,
William G. Brawner,	Algernon S. Gray,
George W. Brent,	William L. Goggin,
John A. Campbell,	John Goode, Jr.
Allen T. Caperton,	Addison Hall,
John A. Carter,	Cyrus Hall,
Samuel A. Coffman,	L. S. Hall,
C. B. Conrad,	Alpheus F. Haymond,
Robert E. Cowan,	John N. Hendren,
William P. Cooper,	Jonathan M. Heck,

Messrs. James P. Helcombe,	Messrs. Wm. Ballard Preston,
J. G. Holladay,	George W. Randolph,
John Janney,	Timothy Rives,
John R. Kilby,	Robert E. Scott,
Walter D. Leake,	John D. Sharp,
Edward D. McGuire,	Thomas Sitlington,
James B. Mallory,	Charles R. Slaughter,
James Marshall,	George P. Tayloe,
Jefferson T. Martin,	Franklin P. Turner,
Henry H. Masters,	John Tyler,
Edmund T. Morris,	Edward Waller,
Stephen A. Morgan,	William White,
Samuel McD. Moore,	Samuel Woods,
Joseph H. Pendleton,	John B. Young—56.

Mr. GOGGIN moved to further amend the section, by adding thereto the following:

“Or who, on the conclusion of a treaty of peace between the United States and the Confederate States of America, shall then be a citizen of any one of the non-slaveholding States of the said United States.”

The question being put, was decided in the negative—yeas 35; noes 73.

On motion of Mr. GOGGIN, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. R. L. Montague (<i>Prest</i>)	Messrs. John Goode, Jr.
William M. Ambler,	F. L. Hale,
Angus R. Blakey,	Lewis E. Harvie,
James Boisseau,	Lewis D. Isbell,
Peter B. Borst,	Walter D. Leake,
Thomas Branch,	Edward D. McGuire,
John R. Chambliss,	Paul McNeil,
John Critcher,	Charles K. Mallory,
James B. Dorman,	Jefferson T. Martin,
William H. Dulany,	Edmund T. Morris,
Miers W. Fisher,	William J. Neblett,
Thomas S. Flournoy,	Hugh M. Nelson,
William W. Forbes,	Thomas J. Randolph,
Colbert C. Fugate,	Peter Saunders, Sr.
H. L. Gillespie,	John T. Seawell,
Samuel L. Graham,	Samuel G. Staples,
Peyton Gravely,	Wm. M. Tredway—35.
William L. Goggin,	

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. Edw'd M. Armstrong,	Messrs. James Barbour,
William B. Aston,	George Baylor,

Messrs. William H. Macfarland,
James B. Mallory,
Jacob W. Marshall,
James Marshall,
John L. Marye, Sr.
Thomas Maslin,
Henry H. Masters,
Fleming B. Miller,
Horatio G. Moffett,
Stephen A. Morgan,
Samuel McD. Moore,
Joseph H. Pendleton,
Wm. Ballard Preston,
Samuel Price,
David Pugh,
George W. Randolph,
Timothy Rives,
Robert E. Scott,
John D. Sharp,
James W. Sheffey,
Charles R. Slaughter,
John M. Speed,
Burwell Spurlock,
Alex. H. H. Stuart,
George P. Tayloe,
Robert H. Turner,
Franklin P. Turner,
John Tyler,
Edward Waller,
William White,
Robert H. Whitfield,
Samuel Woods,
Benjamin F. Wysor,
John B. Young—73.

On motion of Mr. BRANCH, the Convention adjourned.

THURSDAY, Nov. 21, 1861.

The Convention assembled at 10 o'clock, A. M.

Prayer by the Rev. Dr. HOGG, of the Presbyterian Church.

On motion of Mr. BLAKEY, secrecy was removed from that part of the Governor's Message, presented to the Convention on Tuesday, and referred to a special committee of "five."

On motion of Mr. CONRAD, of Frederick, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That the Governor of the Commonwealth be requested to communicate to the Convention the results of the inquiry into the conduct of Col. Porterfield.

On motion of Mr. PENDLETON, of Ohio, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That the Auditor of Public Accounts furnish to the Convention a table showing the white population of each county in the State, the number of white male inhabitants above the age of 21 years, the negro population of each county, and a statement showing the value of property in each county, real and personal.

The hour having arrived for the consideration of the order of the day, the consideration of the report of the committee on "Amendments to the Constitution," was resumed—the unfinished business being 1st section, Art. III.

Mr. HAYMOND moved to further amend the section under consideration, by inserting after the word "Commonwealth" in the first line, "and who is a citizen of the Confederate States." Negative.

Mr. WOODS moved to further amend the 2d section, by adding thereto the following:

"Or who, since the 1st day of August, 1861, shall have held or exercised any office or trust in this State under or by virtue of any authority derived from any Governments other than the State of Virginia, or who have taken up arms against the State of Virginia or the Confederate States."

Mr. HALL, of Wetzel, moved to amend the proposed amendment, by striking out the whole, and inserting the following:

"And the General Assembly may prohibit all persons from exercising the right of suffrage who have taken, or may hereafter take, any part in an effort to establish a separate Government within this State, or who holds or has, since the 1st day of August, 1861, accepted any offer of honor or profit under the Federal Government of the United States."

The question being put, was decided in the negative.

The question then recurred upon the amendment submitted by Mr. WOODS, and the question being put, was decided in the negative.

Mr. NELSON moved further to amend the 1st Section, by adding thereto the following:

"Or who has not been a naturalized citizen of some one of the Confederate States for ten years next preceding the election."

Mr. BROOKE moved to amend the proposed amendment, by striking out the whole, and inserting the following:

"But no naturalized citizen of the State who shall have become such after the termination of the existing war shall be privileged to vote until he shall have previously resided for 10 years in some one of the Confederate States."

* Mr. WYSOR demanded the previous question, which was sustained.

The main question being upon the adoption of the amendment submitted by Mr. BROOKE, was put, and decided in the negative—yeas 46; nays 63.

On motion of Mr. Woods, the vote was recorded as follows:
The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. R. L. Montague (<i>Prs't</i>)	Messrs. Charles K. Mallory,
Angus R. Blakey,	James Marshall,
Peter B. Borst,	John L. Marye, Sr.
Wood Bouldin,	Thomas Maslin,
Thomas Branch,	Fleming B. Miller,
James V. Brooke,	Horatio G. Moffett,
Edward R. Chambers,	Edmund T. Morris,
John R. Chambliss,	William J. Neblett,
Raphael M. Conn,	Hugh M. Nelson,
William H. Dulany,	William C. Parks,
Miers W. Fisher,	David Pugh,
Thomas S. Flournoy,	Thomas J. Randolph,
William W. Forbes,	James W. Sheffield,
Napoleon B. French,	John M. Speed,
Colbert C. Fugate,	Samuel G. Staples,
Samuel L. Graham,	Alex. H. H. Stuart,
Peyton Gravely,	William T. Sutherlin,
F. L. Hale,	George P. Tayloe,
Lewis E. Harvie,	William M. Tredway,
Lewis D. Isbell,	Robert H. Turner,
John J. Kindred,	Robert H. Whitfield,
Paul McNeil,	Samuel C. Williams,
William H. Macfarland,	Benj. F. Wysor—46.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. William M. Ambler,	Messrs. James Barbour,
Edward M. Armstrong,	George Baylor,
William B. Aston,	George W. Berlin,

Messrs. George Blow, Jr.
 James Boisseau,
 William W. Boyd,
 William G. Brawner,
 George W. Brent,
 Benjamin W. Byrne,
 John A. Campbell,
 Allen T. Caperton,
 John A. Carter,
 Samuel A. Coffman,
 C. B. Conrad,
 Robert Y. Conrad,
 William P. Cooper,
 James H. Cox,
 C. J. P. Cresap,
 W. H. B. Custis,
 Harvey Deskus,
 James B. Dorman,
 Samuel M. Garland,
 H. L. Gillespie,
 Algernon S. Gray,
 William L. Goggin,
 John Goode, Jr.,
 Cyrus Hall,
 L. S. Hall,
 Alpheus F. Haymond,
 John N. Hendren,
 J. M. Heck,
 James P. Holcombe,

Messrs. J. G. Holladay,
 John Janney,
 Peter C. Johnston,
 Robert C. Kent,
 John R. Kilby,
 Walter D. Leake,
 Edward D. McGuire,
 James B. Mallory,
 J. W. Marshall,
 J. T. Martin,
 Henry H. Masters,
 Stephen A. Morgan,
 Samuel McD. Moore,
 Joseph H. Pendleton,
 Wm. Ballard Preston,
 Samuel Price,
 Timothy Rives,
 Robert E. Scott,
 John D. Sharp,
 Thomas Sitlington,
 Charles R. Slaughter,
 Burwell Spurlock,
 Franklin P. Turner,
 John Tyler,
 Edward Waller,
 William White,
 Samuel Woods,
 John B. Young—63.

Mr. TREDWAY moved further to amend the amendment, by striking out the whole, and inserting the following:

“Or any citizen herefter naturalized unless he shall have resided in the Confederate States at least ten years before he offers to vote, and acquired an interest in real estate or slaves.”

Mr. CAPERTON demanded the previous question, which was sustained.

The main question being upon the adoption of the amendment proposed by Mr. TREDWAY, was put and decided in the negative—yeas 42; noes 63.

On motion of Mr. TREDWAY, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. R. L. Montague (*Prest*) Messrs. James Boisseau,
 William B. Aston,
 Angus R. Blakey,
 Peter B. Borst,
 Wood Bouldin,

Messrs. Thomas Branch,
 Benjamin W. Byrne,
 Edward R. Chambers,
 John R. Chambliss,
 William H. Dulany,
 Miers W. Fisher,
 Thomas S. Flournoy,
 William W. Forbes,
 Napoleon B. French,
 Colbert C. Fugate,
 Samuel L. Graham,
 Peyton Gravely,
 F. L. Hale,
 Lewis E. Harvie,
 Lewis D. Isbell,
 John J. Kindred,
 Paul McNeil,
 Charles K. Mallory,

Messrs. John L. Marye, Sr.
 Thomas Maslin,
 Fleming B. Miller,
 Horatio G. Moffett,
 Edmund T. Morris,
 William J. Neblett,
 Hugh M. Nelson,
 William C. Parks,
 David Pugh,
 Thomas J. Randolph,
 Peter Saunders, Sr.
 John M. Speed,
 Samuel G. Staples,
 William T. Sutherlin,
 William M. Tredway,
 Robert H. Turner,
 Robert H. Whitfield,
 Benj. F. Wysor—42.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. Edw'd M. Armstrong,
 James Barbour,
 George Baylor,
 George W. Berlin,
 George Blow, Jr.
 William W. Boyd,
 George W. Brent,
 John A. Campbell,
 Allen T. Caperton,
 John A. Carter,
 Samuel A. Coffman,
 Raphael M. Conn,
 C. B. Conrad,
 Robert Y. Conrad,
 William P. Cooper,
 James H. Cox,
 C. J. P. Cresap,
 W. H. B. Custis,
 Harvey Deskins,
 James B. Dorman,
 Samuel M. Garland,
 H. L. Gillespie,
 Algernon S. Gray,
 William L. Goggin,
 John Goode, Jr.
 Addison Hall,

Messrs. Cyrus Hall,
 L. S. Hall,
 Alpheus F. Haymond,
 John N. Hendren,
 J. M. Heck,
 James P. Holcombe,
 J. G. Holladay,
 John Janney,
 Peter C. Johnston,
 Robert C. Kent,
 John R. Kilby,
 Walter D. Leake,
 Edward D. McGuire,
 James B. Mallory,
 J. W. Marshall,
 James Marshall,
 J. T. Martin,
 Henry H. Masters,
 Stephen A. Morgan,
 Samuel McD. Moore,
 Joseph H. Pendleton,
 Samuel Price,
 George W. Randolph,
 Timothy Rives,
 Robert E. Scott,
 John D. Sharp,

Messrs. James W. Sheffey, Thomas Sitlington, Charles R. Slaughter, Alex. H. H. Stuart, George P. Tayloe, Franklin P. Turner,	Messrs. John Tyler, Edward Waller, William White, Samuel Woods, John B. Young—63.
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The question recurred upon the amendment proposed by Mr. NELSON, and being put, was decided in the negative—yeas 44; nays 60.

On motion of Mr. HAYMOND, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. R. L. Montague (<i>Prest</i>) William B. Aston, Angus R. Blakey, Peter B. Borst, Wood Bouldin, Thomas Branch, James V. Brooke, Benjamin W. Byrne, Edward R. Chambers, John R. Chambliss, Raphael M. Conn, William H. Dulany, Miers W. Fisher, Thomas S. Flournoy, Napoleon B. French, Colbert C. Fugate, H. L. Gillespie, Samuel L. Graham, Peyton Gravely, F. L. Hale, Lewis E. Harvie, Lewis D. Isbell,	Messrs. Peter C. Johnston, John J. Kindred, Paul McNeil, Charles K. Mallory, John L. Marye, Sr. Thomas Maslin, Fleming B. Miller, Horatio G. Moffett, Edmund T. Morris, William J. Neblett, Hugh M. Nelson, William C. Parks, David Pugh, Thomas J. Randolph, Peter Saunders, Sr. John M. Speed, Samuel G. Staples, Alex. H. H. Stuart, William T. Sutherlin, William M. Tredway, Robert H. Whitfield, Benj. F. Wysor—44.
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The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. Edw'd M. Armstrong, James Barbour, George Baylor, George W. Berlin, George Blow, Jr. James Boisseau, William W. Boyd, William G. Brawner, George W. Brent,	Messrs. John A. Campbell, Allen T. Caperton, John A. Carter, W. H. B. Custis, Samuel A. Coffman, C. B. Conrad, Robert Y. Conrad, William P. Cooper, James H. Cox,
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Messrs. C. J. P. Cresap,
 Harvey Deskins,
 James B. Dorman,
 Samuel M. Garland,
 Algernon S. Gray,
 William L. Goggin,
 John Goode, Jr.
 Addison Hall,
 Cyrus Hall,
 L. S. Hall,
 Alpheus F. Haymond,
 John N. Hendren,
 J. M. Heck,
 James P. Holcombe,
 J. G. Holladay,
 John Janney,
 John R. Kilby,
 Walter D. Leake,
 Edward D. McGuire,
 James B. Mallory,
 J. W. Marshall,

Messrs. James Marshall,
 J. T. Martin,
 Henry H. Masters,
 Stephen A. Morgan,
 Samuel McD. Moore,
 Joseph H. Pendleton,
 Samuel Price,
 George W. Randolph,
 Timothy Rives,
 Robert E. Scott,
 John D. Sharp,
 James W. Shelley,
 Thomas Sitlington,
 Charles R. Slaughter,
 George P. Tayloe,
 Franklin P. Turner,
 John Tyler,
 Edward Waller,
 William White,
 Samuel Woods,
 John B. Young—60.

The question recurred upon the original section, as amended.

Mr. DORMAN demanded the previous question, which was sustained.

The main question being upon the adoption of the section, as amended, was put, and decided in the affirmative.

The Secretary then proceeded to read the report, and sections 2d and 3d were passed by without objection.

Mr. HOLLADAY proposed to amend the 4th section by striking out all after the word "given," in the first line and inserting, "by secret ballot, and not otherwise;" and the question being put, was decided in the negative.

The 4th section, as reported, was then adopted.

"The Secretary then proceeded to read the report, and the 1st Section, Art. IV., was passed by without objection."

Mr. TURNER, of Jackson and Roane, moved to recommit Art. IV to the committee, and the question being put, was decided in the negative.

Mr. WYSON moved to amend the 2d section of Art. IV., by striking out all after the word, "Commonwealth," in the 4th line, and inserting the following:

The distribution and apportionment whereof shall remain as now provided by law until a reapportionment of the same shall be made by the General Assembly as hereinafter provided.

Mr. HALL, of Wetzel, moved to further amend the 2d section,

by striking out "annually," and inserting "biennially;" and the question being put, was decided in the negative.

Mr. SCOTT, of Fauquier, moved to strike out all, beginning with the words, "the counties," in the 2d paragraph, of the 2d section, down to the words "the General Assembly," in the first line of the 8th paragraph of the same section; and the question being put, was decided in the affirmative.

Mr. KILBY moved to amend the 8th paragraph of the 2d section, by adding thereto the following: "And the said General Assembly shall have like power on the application of a majority of the voters of the county of Norfolk to provide that, instead of two delegates to be elected by said county, the city of Portsmouth shall elect one delegate and the residue of the county shall elect one delegate;" and the question being put, was decided in the affirmative.

The 2d section as amended was then adopted.

On motion of Mr. TURNER, of Jackson and Roane, the Convention adjourned.

FRIDAY, November 22, 1861.

The Convention assembled at 10 o'clock, A. M.

Prayer by the Rev. Mr. HOGG, of the Presbyterian Church.

Mr. JOHNSTON from the "Committee on Military Affairs," presented the following report, which was adopted:

The Committee on Military Affairs, to whom the following resolution has been referred, viz. "*Resolved*, That the Committee on Military Affairs inquire into the expediency of providing, by ordinance, that the commissions of field officers appointed in pursuance of the ordinance of April, 1861, shall expire whenever the regiments to which they are assigned shall be disbanded by the expiration of the terms of service of the companies composing their commands," have had the same under consideration, and report the following resolution thereon:

Resolved, That it is inexpedient to make the provision proposed by the said resolution.

On motion of Mr. NEBLETT, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That the President of the Convention be, and he is hereby authorized to sign the name of Richard H. Cox, the late delegate from the counties of King and Queen and Essex, to the ordinance of secession.

On motion of Mr. FRENCH, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That the efficient protection of South-Western Virginia from Meadow Bluff in Greenbrier county to Cumberland Gap, is of the highest importance to this State and Confederacy; that the loss or destruction of the Virginia and Tennessee Rail Road, lead mines and salt works of that region would be a disaster to our cause beyond remedy; that for the effectual defence of this region of country, it is essential to press the enemy back from the Cumberland, Flat Top, Seawell and Sandy ranges of mountains, and that for the attainment of this object the strenuous efforts of the Governor of this Commonwealth are invoked in conjunction with those of the Confederate authorities.

Mr. TURNER, of Jackson and Roane, offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Convention be directed, at the close of the present session of this body, to issue his certificate for pay to Benjamin R. Linkous, Esq., Door-Keeper of the Convention during the present session, and that the said Benjamin R. Linkous be allowed mileage for his attendance at the last session of this Convention at the same rate as is allowed to members of the Convention, to be paid upon the certificate of the Secretary.

The question being put, was decided in the negative.

Mr. MACFARLAND from the "Committee on Finance," presented the following resolution, and asked to be discharged from the further consideration of the subject, which was adopted:

Resolved, That the Committee ask to be discharged from the further consideration of this resolution, without expressing any opinion thereon, but because the General Assembly will soon be in session and competent to act thereon.

Mr. MACFARLAND, from the same committee, presented the following report, which was adopted:

Resolved, That the committee ask to be discharged from the further consideration of the memorials of the Savings Banks and Common Council of the city of Richmond and town of Fredericksburg, not because they deem the subject unnecessary or unworthy of favorable action, but that it is more proper for the action of the General Assembly, which will soon be in session.

Mr. CONRAD, of Frederick, submitted the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, That the Committee on Military Affairs be instructed to inquire into the expediency of amending the 8th section of the ordinance "To reorganize the Militia," presented November 19th, and referred to said committee, by adding to said section provisions to the following effect:

"Whenever any portion of the militia shall be called into active service, it shall be the duty of the superior officer, at the place of rendezvous, to ascertain and report the number of rank and file actually present, and their pay and rations shall commence from that date. He shall, at the same time, arrange them into companies of _____ men; arrange such companies, if enough, into regiments of _____ men, and brigades of not less than _____ regiments; shall assign the complement of officers, and of such grades as conform to the actual numbers, and report the names of the officers, discharging the rest; and no other officers than those so selected shall receive any pay, nor in any case be entitled to receive pay when his command is in number less than that belonging to his rank."

On motion of Mr. MARTIN, the following resolution was adopted.

Resolved, That the Committee of Privileges and Elections inquire into the cause of the absence from this House of Sherrard Clemens, one of the delegates from the county of Ohio; Benjamin Wilson, one of the delegates from the county of Harrison, and Caleb Boggess, delegate from the county of Lewis, and report to the Convention whether, in their opinion, such absence is owing to the disloyalty of said Sherrard Clemens, Benjamin Wilson and Caleb Boggess to the State or Confederate States; and if so, whether, in the opinion of the committee, they should be expelled from this body.

On motion of Mr. RANDOLPH, of the city of Richmond, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That the Committee on Military Affairs be instructed to inquire into the best means of promoting the manufacture of nitre, and report by ordinance or otherwise.

On motion of Mr. SPEED, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That the Governor of the Commonwealth be requested to communicate to the Convention, whether there are any officers of the army or navy of the United States, who have resigned their positions, and applied for a corresponding service in the State or in the Confederate States of America, and have failed to obtain appointments.

On motion of Mr. TURNER, of Jackson and Roane, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That the Auditor of Public Accounts be requested to furnish to the Convention a statement showing the number of suits now pending upon the dockets of the circuit courts of the several counties in the Commonwealth respectively, distinguishing between the law and equity sides of the courts, and also, the num-

ber of suits brought during the year 1860, and the number of criminal cases pending on the dockets of said courts at the time of the report last made by the clerks of said courts.

Mr. CONRAD, of Frederick, presented an ordinance, "amending the 2d section of an ordinance, No. 71, passed June 28th, 1861, authorizing the issue of treasury notes," which was referred to the "Committee of Finance."

On motion of Mr. WOODS, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That the members of this body who have been elected in the place of those members who have been expelled, be permitted to sign the ordinance of session.

The PRESIDENT presented a communication from the Executive of the Commonwealth, transmitting the proceedings of the court of inquiry, in the case of Col. G. O. Porterfield, which was laid upon the table.

The PRESIDENT presented a communication from the Auditor of Public Accounts, in relation to the population of the State, &c., which was laid upon the table and ordered to be printed. [Doc. No. XXXVII.]

On motion of Mr. SHEFFEY, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That the Clerk be instructed to furnish to the Governor of this Commonwealth a copy of the resolution adopted this day, in relation to the defences of the South-Western portion of this State.

The hour having arrived for the execution of the order of the day, the consideration of the report of the "Committee on Amendments to the Constitution" was resumed.

The SECRETARY proceeded to read section 3d, Art. IV.

Mr. STUART moved to strike out the whole of section 3d and 4th, and insert the following:

"3. The other shall be called the Senate and consist of fifty members, for the election of whom the counties, cities and towns shall be divided into fifty districts. Each county, city and town of the respective district, at the time of the first election of delegates under this Constitution, shall vote for one Senator, and the Sheriffs or other officers holding the election for each county, city or town, within five days after the election, shall meet at the court house of the county, city or town first named in the district, and from the polls so taken in their respective counties, cities and towns, return as Senator the person who has received the greatest number of votes in the whole district. To keep up this Assembly by rotation, the districts shall be divided into four classes and numbered by lot. The first class shall consist of twelve; the second of thirteen; the third of twelve, and the fourth of thirteen. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the first year after the commencement of their term of office; of the second class at the expiration of the second year; of the third class at the expiration of the third year; and of the fourth class at the expiration of the fourth year, so that one class may be chosen every year; and the vacancies thereby occasioned shall be supplied from such class by new election in the manner aforesaid. This rotation shall be applied to each class according to its number, and continued in due order annually.

"4. For the election of Senators the districts shall remain as now arranged until representation in the two Houses shall be reapportioned in the manner provided in the Constitution."

The question being put, was decided in the affirmative.

The SECRETARY proceeded to read the 5th and 6th sections of Art. IV, which, on motion of Mr. STUART, were passed by without consideration.

The 7th section was read and passed by without objection.

The SECRETARY proceeded to read the 8th section.

Mr. DORMAN moved to amend the section by inserting after the word "Constitution," in the third line the following:

"No session of the General Assembly shall continue longer than ninety days without the concurrence of three-fifths of the members elected to each house, in which case, the session may be extended for a further period not exceeding thirty days."

The question being put, was decided in the negative—yeas 40; nays 64.

On motion of Mr. YOUNG, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. William B. Aston,
George Baylor,
Peter B. Borst,
James V. Brooke,
John A. Carter,
Raphael M. Conn,
C. B. Conrad,
William P. Cooper,
C. J. P. Cresap,
W. H. B. Custis,
James B. Dorman,
William H. Dulany,
H. L. Gillespie,
Samuel L. Graham,
Peyton Gravely,
Algernon S. Gray,
William L. Goggin,
Cyrus Hall,
J. M. Heck,
George W. Hull,

Messrs. Lewis D. Isbell,
Paul McNeil,
James B. Mallory,
J. W. Marshall,
Thomas Maslin,
Samuel McD. Moore,
William J. Neblett,
Logan Osburn,
William C. Parks,
David Pugh,
Timothy Rives,
Peter Saunders, Sr.
John D. Sharp,
James W. Sheffey,
Thomas Sitlington,
Burwell Spurlock,
Robert H. Turner,
Edward Waller,
Robert H. Whitfield,
John B. Young—40.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. R. L. Montague (*Prest*)
William M. Ambler,
Edw'd M. Armstrong,
George W. Berlin,
Angus R. Blakey,

Messrs. John Janney,
Peter C. Johnston,
Robert C. Kent,
John J. Kindred,
Edward D. McGuire,

Messrs. George Blow, Jr.
 Wood Bouldin,
 William W. Boyd,
 Thomas Branch,
 William G. Brawner,
 George W. Brent,
 Benjamin W. Byrne,
 Frederick A. Cabell,
 Edward R. Chambers,
 John R. Chambliss,
 Robert Y. Conrad,
 Robert E. Cowan,
 James H. Cox,
 Harvey Deskins,
 Miers W. Fisher,
 Thomas S. Flournoy,
 Napoleon B. French,
 Colbert C. Fugate,
 Samuel M. Garland,
 F. L. Hale,
 Addison Hall,
 L. S. Hall,
 Lewis E. Harvie,
 Alpheus F. Haymond,
 John N. Hendren,
 James P. Holcombe,
 J. G. Holladay,

Messrs. William H. Macfarland,
 Charles K. Mallory,
 James Marshall,
 J. T. Martin,
 John L. Marye, Sr.
 Henry H. Masters,
 Fleming B. Miller,
 Horatio G. Moffett,
 Edmund T. Morris,
 Stephen A. Morgan,
 Hugh M. Nelson,
 Joseph H. Pendleton,
 Samuel Price,
 George W. Randolph,
 Robert E. Scott,
 Charles R. Slaughter,
 John M. Speed,
 Samuel G. Staples,
 Alex. H. H. Stuart,
 William T. Sutherlin,
 George P. Tayloe,
 John T. Thornton,
 William M. Tredway,
 Franklin P. Turner,
 William White,
 Samuel Woods,
 Benj'n F. Wysor—64.

Mr. BORST moved further to amend the section, by inserting after the word "Constitution," in the third line, the following: "and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in January, unless otherwise provided by law."

The question being put was decided in the negative.

The section as originally reported was then adopted.

The 9th, 10th, 11th 12th, 13, 14th and 15th sections were read and passed by without objection.

The SECRETARY proceeded to read the 16th section.

Mr. TURNER, of Jackson and Roane, moved to amend the section, by adding thereto the following:

"Nor shall any law be revived or amended by reference to its title, but the act revived or section amended shall be reenacted and published at length."

Mr. SCOTT, of Fauquier, moved to amend the amendment, by striking out all after the word "title."

The question being put, was decided in the negative.

Mr. MACFARLAND moved to amend the amendment, by substituting for the whole *section and amendment*, the following: "Every law shall declare the subject in the title thereof;" but

subsequently withdrew it, and accepted the following, submitted by Mr. STUART: "Every law, or resolution, having the force of law, shall relate to but one subject, which shall be expressed in the title."

The question being put, the amendment was adopted.

The section as amended was then adopted.

The SECRETARY then proceeded to read the 17th section.

Mr. MOORE moved to amend the section, by striking out, in the first line, "the General Assembly may provide that."

The question being put, was decided in the negative.

The 18th section was passed by without objection.

The SECRETARY then proceeded to read the 19th section.

Mr. DORMAN moved to strike out, in the third line, all after the word "and," and insert the following: "It shall be the duty of the General Assembly to prescribe proper regulations for reducing such negroes to slavery."

Mr. HARVIE moved to amend the amendment, by way of substitute, by striking out the whole section, and inserting the following: "No slave shall be emancipated in this Commonwealth after the adoption of this Constitution."

The question being put was decided in the negative—yeas 52; nays 54.

Mr. GRAY, on his own motion, was excused from voting.

On motion of Mr. HARVIE, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. R. L. Montague (<i>Prest</i>)	Messrs. Lewis E. Harvie,
William M. Ambler,	John N. Hendren,
William B. Aston,	J. M. Heck,
James Barbour,	Jas. P. Holcombe,
Angus R. Blakey,	Lewis D. Isbell,
George Blow, Jr.	Peter C. Johnston,
Wood Bouldin,	Robert C. Kent,
William W. Boyd,	Edw'd D. McGuire,
Wm. G. Brawner,	Wm. H. Macfarland,
George W. Brent,	James Marshall,
James V. Brooke,	J. T. Martin,
Frederick M. Cabell,	Horatio G. Moffett,
John A. Campbell,	Edmund T. Morris,
Edw'd R. Chambers,	William J. Neblett,
Samuel A. Coffman,	Hugh M. Nelson,
Raphael M. Conn,	William C. Parks,
Rob't Y. Conrad,	Wm. Ballard Preston,
James B. Dorman,	George W. Randolph,
Miers W. Fisher,	Samuel G. Staples,
Thos. S. Flournoy,	Wm. T. Sutherlin,
Colbert C. Fugate,	George P. Tayloe,

Messrs. Samuel L. Graham,	Messrs. William M. Tredway,
Peyton Gravely,	Robert H. Turner,
John Goode, Jr.	Franklin P. Turner,
F. L. Hale,	William White,
L. S. Hall,	Samuel Woods—52.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. Edw'd M. Armstrong,	Messrs. James B. Mallory,
George Baylor,	J. W. Marshall,
George W. Berlin,	John L. Marye, Sr.
Thomas Branch,	Thomas Maslin,
Benjamin W. Byrne,	Fleming B. Miller,
John A. Carter,	Stephen A. Morgan,
John R. Chambliss,	Samuel McD. Moore,
C. B. Conrad,	Logan Osburn,
Robert E. Cowan,	Joseph H. Pendleton,
William P. Cooper,	Samuel Price,
James H. Cox,	David Pugh,
C. J. P. Cresap,	Timothy Rives,
W. H. B. Custis,	Peter Saunders, Sr.
Harvey Deskins,	Robert E. Scott,
William H. Dulany,	John D. Sharp,
Samuel M. Garland,	James W. Sheffey,
H. L. Gillespie,	Thomas Sitlington,
William L. Goggin,	Chas. R. Slaughter,
Addison Hall,	John M. Speed,
Cyrus Hall,	Burwell Spurlock,
Alpheus F. Haymond,	Alex. H. H. Stuart,
J. G. Holladay,	John T. Thornton,
George W. Hull,	John Tyler,
John Janney,	Edward Waller,
John J. Kindred,	Robert H. Whitfield,
Paul McNeil,	Benjamin F. Wysor,
Charles K. Mallory,	John B. Young—54.

Mr. HOLLADAY moved to amend the amendment by striking out all after the word "free," in the third line, and inserting the following:

"And shall pass to the distributees of the testator, when the emancipation was by will, and when by deed, to such persons as would be the distributees of the grantor, were he dead at the time, subject to debts of the testator or grantor, as in due course of administration."

Mr. BARBOUR demanded the previous question, which was sustained.

The main question being upon the adoption of the amendment submitted by Mr. HOLLADAY, was put, and decided in the negative.

The question recurred upon the amendment submitted by Mr. DORMAN.

Mr. DORMAN demanded the previous question, which was sustained.

The main question being upon the amendment submitted by Mr. DORMAN, was put, and decided in the affirmative.

Mr. MORRIS moved to further amend the section, by striking out the word "twelve," in the second line, and inserting the word "six."

Mr. TURNER, of Jackson and Roane, moved to amend the amendment, by striking out the word "six," and inserting "three." Negatived.

The question recurred upon the amendment submitted by Mr. MORRIS, and being put, was decided in the negative.

Mr. CHAMBERS moved to amend the amendment, by adding thereto the following: "But emancipated slaves who had not forfeited their right to freedom on the 19th of April, 1861, shall not incur the forfeiture of their freedom if they remove from this Commonwealth in twelve months next after the termination of the existing War between the United States and the Confederate States of America," and the question being put was decided in the negative.

Mr. BROOKE moved to strike out the whole section and insert the following:

"If any slave hereafter emancipated shall remain in the Commonwealth more than twelve months after becoming actually free, such emancipation shall become void, and the condition of such slave shall thenceforth be and continue as if no such emancipation had been made."

The question being put was decided in the negative.

The section, as amended, was then adopted.

The SECRETARY proceeded to read the twentieth section.

Mr. BOULDIN moved to amend the section, by inserting after the word "may," in the first line, the words "prohibit the future emancipation of slaves or," and the question being put was decided in the affirmative.

The section, as amended, was then adopted.

The twenty-first section was then read and passed by without objection.

On motion of Mr. BLAKEY the Convention adjourned.

SATURDAY, November 23, 1861.

The Convention assembled at 10 o'clock, A. M.

Prayer by the Rev. Dr. HOGE of the Presbyterian Church.

Mr. MASLIN submitted an ordinance "authorizing officers in the service of the State to accept commissions from the government of the Confederate States."

On motion of Mr. MASLIN the rules were suspended and the ordinance adopted.

The PRESIDENT presented a communication from the Executive of the Commonwealth, transmitting a communication from Hon. J. P. Benjamin, Secretary of War of the Confederate States, which was laid upon the table.

On motion of Mr. PRICE, the Convention went into secret session.

After some time passed in secret session the doors were again opened.

Mr. MORRIS submitted the following resolution, which, on motion of Mr. STUART, was laid upon the table:

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed by the President to inquire into the loyalty of Judge Edward P. Pitts to the State of Virginia, and the Confederate States, and that such committee have power to summon witnesses, and by proclamation, to summon the said Edward P. Pitts, before them.

Mr. HAYMOND submitted the following resolution, which, on motion of Mr. STUART, was laid upon the table.

Resolved, That the Committee of Elections, have power to send for persons and papers in the matter referred to them in relation to Sherrard Clemens, Benjamin Wilson and Caleb Boggess.

The hour having arrived for the execution of the order of the day, the consideration of the report of the "Committee on Amendments to the Constitution" was resumed.

The SECRETARY proceeded to read the report—the unfinished business being section 22, Art. IV., which was passed by without objection.

Mr. STUART moved to amend section 23 by striking out all after the word "years," in the fourth line down to "but" in the sixth line.

Mr. WHITFIELD demanded the previous question which was sustained.

The main question being upon the amendment submitted by Mr. STUART, was put, and decided in the affirmative—yeas 55; nays 43.

On motion of Mr. PENDLETON, of Ohio, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. R. L. Montague, (<i>Prest</i>)	Messrs. Robert C. Kent,
William M. Ambler,	Paul McNeil,
James Barbour,	William H. Macfarland,
George Baylor,	Charles K. Mallory,
Angus R. Blakey,	James B. Mallory,
Wood Bouldin,	James Marshall,
William W. Boyd,	John L. Marye, Sr.
Thomas Branch,	Fleming B. Miller,
William G. Brawner,	Horatio G. Moffett,
George W. Brent,	Edmund T. Morris,
Frederick M. Cabell,	Samuel McD. Moore,
Edward R. Chambers,	William J. Neblett,
Manilius Chapman,	Logan Osburn,
Samuel A. Coffman,	Wm. Ballard Preston,
Robert Y. Conrad,	Samuel Price,
William H. Dulany,	Peter Saunders, Sr.
Miers W. Fisher,	James W. Sheffey,
Samuel M. Garland,	Charles R. Slaughter,
H. L. Gillespie,	Samuel G. Staples,
Peyton Gravely,	Alex. H. H. Stuart,
William L. Goggin,	William T. Sutherlin,
John Goode, Jr.	George P. Tayloe,
Lewis E. Harvie,	William M. Tredway,
John N. Hendren,	Robert H. Turner,
J. G. Holladay,	John Tyler,
Lewis D. Isbell,	Robert H. Whitfield,
John Janney,	Benj. F. Wysor—55.
Peter C. Johnston,	

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. Edw'd M. Armstrong,	Messrs. Alpheus F. Haymond,
William B. Aston,	J. M. Heck,
George W. Berlin,	James P. Holcombe,
Benjamin W. Byrne,	George W. Hull,
John A. Carter,	John J. Kindred,
William P. Cecil,	Edward D. McGuire,
John R. Chambliss,	J. T. Martin,
Raphael M. Conn,	Thomas Maslin.
C. B. Conrad,	Henry H. Masters,
Robert E. Cowan,	Stephen A. Morgan,
William P. Cooper,	Hugh M. Nelson,
James H. Cox,	Joseph H. Pendleton,

Messrs. C. J. P. Cresap,
 W. H. B. Custis,
 Harvey Deskins,
 James B. Dorman,
 William W. Forbes,
 Colbert C. Fugate,
 Samuel L. Graham,
 Addison Hall,
 Cyrus Hall,
 L. S. Hall,

Messrs. David Pugh,
 George W. Randolph,
 John D. Sharp,
 Burwell Spurlock,
 John T. Thornton,
 Franklin P. Turner,
 Edward Waller,
 Samuel Woods,
 John B. Young—43.

Mr. PENDLETON moved to strike out the whole section and insert the following: "A capitation may be levied upon every white male inhabitant who has attained the age of twenty-one years."

The question being put, was decided in the negative.

The section, as amended, was then adopted.

Sections 25th and 26th were read and passed by without objection.

Mr. TREDWAY moved to amend the 26th section, by adding thereto the following:

"And every act making an appropriation of money, except for the ordinary expenses of the Government, three-fifths of the members of each house, shall be recorded for it before it becomes a law."

The question being put, was decided in the negative.

The section was then adopted.

Mr. PENDLETON, of Ohio, moved to amend the 27th section, by striking out, in the fourth line, the words "or which may be hereafter made." The question being put was decided in the negative.

Mr. MORRIS moved to amend the section by adding thereto the following, "or make any loan of any kind to any company or corporation."

The question being put was decided in the negative—yeas 29: nays 73.

On motion of Mr. PENDLETON, of Ohio, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. R. L. Montague (<i>Pr'st</i>)	Messrs. J. T. Martin,
George W. Berlin,	John L. Marye, Sr.
John A. Carter,	Thomas Maslin,
Raphael M. Conn.	Henry H. Masters,
C. B. Conrad,	Edmund T. Morris,
R. E. Cowan,	S. A. Morgan,
James H. Cox,	William J. Neblett,

Messrs. C. J. P. Cresap,
W. H. B. Custis,
William H. Dulany,
Miers W. Fisher,
Samuel L. Graham,
Addison Hall,
L. S. Hall,
John J. Kindred,

Messrs. Joseph H. Pendleton,
William M. Tredway,
John Tyler,
Edward Waller,
Samuel C. Williams,
Samuel Woods,
John B. Young—29.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. William M. Ambler,
Edward M. Armstrong,
William B. Aston,
James Barbour,
George Baylor,
Angus R. Blakey,
Wood Bouldin,
William W. Boyd,
Thomas Branch,
William G. Brawner,
George W. Brent,
Benjamin W. Byrue,
Frederick M. Cabell,
John A. Campbell,
Allen T. Caperton,
Edward R. Chambers,
John R. Chambliss,
Manilius Chapman,
Samuel A. Coffman,
Robert Y. Courad,
W. P. Cooper,
Harvey Deskins,
James B. Dorman,
William W. Forbes,
Colbert C. Fugate,
Samuel M. Garland,
H. L. Gillespie,
Peyton Gravely,
William L. Goggin,
John Goode, Jr.
Cyrus Hall,
Lewis E. Harvie,
John N. Hendren,
J. M. Heck,
James P. Holcombe,
J. G. Holladay,

Messrs. George W. Hull,
Lewis D. Isbell,
John Janney,
Peter C. Johnston,
Robert C. Kent,
E. D. McGuire,
Paul McNeil,
William H. Macfarland,
Charles K. Mallory,
James B. Mallory,
James Marshall,
Fleming B. Miller,
Horatio C. Moffett,
Samuel McD. Moore,
Hugh M. Nelson,
Logan Osburn,
Wm. Ballard Preston,
Samuel Price,
David Pugh,
George W. Randolph,
Peter Saunders, Sr.
John D. Sharp,
James W. Sheffey,
Thomas Sitlington,
Charles R. Slaughter,
John M. Speed,
Burwell Sparlock,
Samuel G. Staples,
Alex. H. H. Stuart,
William T. Sutherlin,
George P. Tayloe,
John T. Thornton,
Robert H. Turner,
Franklin P. Turner,
Robert H. Whitfield,
Benj'n F. Wysor—73.

The section was then adopted.

Mr. RANDOLPH, of the city of Richmond, moved to amend the 28th section, by inserting after the word "annually," in the first line, the words "by the auditing and disbursing officers of the treasury and Secretary of the treasury."

The question being put, was decided in the negative.

Mr. HAYMOND moved to strike out the words "there shall be" in the first line, and insert "the Legislature may."

Mr. KINDRED demanded the previous question, which was sustained.

The main question being upon the amendments submitted by Mr. HAYMOND, was put, and decided in the negative—yeas 0; nays 95.

On motion of Mr. PRESTON the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are —

Messrs. R. L. Montague (<i>Prest</i>)	Messrs. John Janney,
William M. Ambler,	Peter C. Johnston,
Edward M. Armstrong,	Robert C. Kent,
William B. Aston,	John J. Kindred,
George Baylor,	Edward D. McGuire,
George W. Berlin,	Paul McNeil,
Angus R. Blakey,	William H. Macfarland,
George Blow, Jr.	Charles K. Mallory,
Wood Bouldin,	James B. Mallory,
William W. Boyd,	James Marshall,
William G. Brawner,	Jefferson T. Martin,
George W. Brent,	John L. Marye, Sr.
Benjamin W. Byrne,	Thomas Maslin,
Frederick M. Cabell,	Henry H. Masters,
John A. Campbell,	Fleming B. Miller,
Allen T. Caperton,	Horatio G. Moffett,
John A. Carter,	Edmund T. Morris,
William P. Cecil,	Stephen A. Morgan,
Edward R. Chambers,	Samuel McD. Moore,
John R. Chambliss,	William J. Neblett,
Manilins Chapman,	Joseph H. Pendleton,
Samuel A. Coffman,	Wm. Ballard Preston,
Raphael M. Conn,	Samuel Price,
C. B. Conrad,	David Pugh,
Robert Y. Conrad,	George W. Randolph,
Robert E. Cowan,	Peter Saunders, Sr.
James H. Cox,	John D. Sharp,
C. J. P. Cresap,	James W. Sheffey,
W. H. B. Custis,	Thomas Sitlington,
Harvey Deskins,	Charles R. Slaughter,
James B. Dorman,	John M. Speed,
William H. Dulany,	Burwell Spurlock,

Messrs. Miers W. Fisher,
Colbert C. Fugate,
Samuel M. Garland;
H. L. Gillespie,
Samuel L. Graham;
Peyton Gravely,
William L. Goggin;
Addison Hall,
Cyrus Hall,
Lewis E. Harvie,
John N. Hendren,
Jonathan M. Heck,
James P. Holcombe,
J. G. Holladay,
George W. Hull,
Lewis D. Isbell,

Messrs. Samuel G. Staples,
Alex. H. H. Stuart,
William T. Sutherlin;
George P. Tayloe,
John T. Thornton,
William M. Tredway;
Robert H. Turner,
Franklin P. Turner,
John Tyler,
Edward Waller,
Robert H. Whitfield,
Samuel C. Williams,
Samuel Woods,
Benj. F. Wysor,
John B. Young—95.

Mr. BOULDIN moved to strike out the word "fifty," in the fifth line, and insert the word "sixty." Negatived.

Mr. STUART moved to insert after the word "debt," in the thirteenth line, the words "shall have been or."

The question being put, was decided in the affirmative.

The section, as amended, was then adopted.

The 29th, 30th, 31st and 32d sections were then read and passed by without objection.

Mr. HAYMOND moved to amend the 33d section, by striking out the word "six," in the second line, and inserting the word "four." Negatived.

Mr. CONRAD, of Frederick, moved further to amend the section, by striking out all after the word "Assembly," in the tenth line.

The question being put, was decided in the affirmative.

Mr. HAYMOND moved further to amend the section, by adding thereto the following: "The voters in any county or corporation may vote at the place or places provided by law."

The question being put, was decided in the negative.

Mr. CECIL moved to further amend the section by striking out all beginning with the word "but," in the seventh line.

The question being put, was decided in the affirmative.

Mr. BYRNE moved to further amend the section, by adding thereto the following:

"But counties heretofore formed shall be valid, although they may contain an area of less than six hundred square miles."

The question being put, was decided in the negative.

The section as amended was then adopted.

The 34th and 35th sections were then read and passed by without objection.

Mr. STUART moved to strike out the *whole* of the 36th section. The question being put was decided in the affirmative.

Mr. STUART moved to amend the 37th section, by striking all from the word "law," in the fourth line, down to "and," in the sixth line.

The question being put, was decided in the affirmative.

The SECRETARY then proceeded to read Article V.

The first section was read and passed by without objection.

Mr. MOFFETT moved to amend the 2d section by striking out all after the word "elected" in the first line, and inserting the words "by joint ballot of the two Houses of the General Assembly."

Mr. PRICE demanded the previous question, which was sustained.

The main question being upon the adoption of the amendment, submitted by Mr. MOFFETT, was put, and decided in the negative—yeas 42; nays 60.

On motion of Mr. PRNDLETON, of Ohio, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. R. L. Montague (<i>Prest</i>)	Messrs. Charles K. Mallory,
William M. Anibler,	James B. Mallory,
James Barbour,	James Marshall,
Angus R. Blakey,	John L. Marye, Sr.
Wood Bouldin,	Thomas Maslin,
Fred. M. Cabell,	Horatio G. Moffett,
Allen T. Caperton,	Edmund T. Morris,
Edw'd R. Chambers,	Samuel McD. Moore,
Robert Y. Conrad,	William J. Neblett,
James H. Cox,	Hugh M. Nelson,
William H. Dulany,	David Pugh,
William W. Forbes,	George W. Randolph,
Colbert C. Fugate,	Peter Saunders, Sr.
H. L. Gillespie,	Charles R. Slaughter,
Addison Hall,	Alex. H. H. Stuart,
L. S. Hall,	John T. Thornton,
Lewis E. Harvie,	William M. Tredway,
John N. Hendren,	Robert H. Turner,
James P. Holcombe,	John Tyler,
John Janney,	Robert H. Whitfield,
Wm. H. Macfarland,	Benj'n F. Wysor—42.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. E. M. Armstrong,	Messrs. Cyrus Hall,
William B. Aston,	Alpheus F. Haymond,
George Baylor,	Jonathan M. Heck,

Messrs. George W. Berlin,
George Blow, Jr.
William W. Boyd,
William G. Brawner,
George W. Brent,
Benj. W. Byrne,
John A. Campbell,
John A. Carter,
William P. Cecil,
John R. Chambliss,
Manilius Chapman,
Samuel A. Coffman,
Raphael M. Conn,
C. B. Conrad,
Robert E. Cowan,
William P. Cooper,
C. J. P. Cresap,
Harvey Deskins,
James B. Dorman,
Miers W. Fisher,
Napoleon B. French,
Samuel M. Garland,
Samuel L. Graham,
Peyton Gravely,
Algernon S. Gray,
William L. Goggin,
John Goode, Jr.

Messrs. J. G. Holladay,
George W. Hull,
Lewis D. Isbell,
Peter C. Johnston,
Robert C. Kent,
John J. Kindred,
Edward D. McGuire,
Paul McNeil,
Jefferson T. Martin,
Henry H. Masters,
Fleming B. Miller,
Stephen A. Morgan,
Logan Osburn,
Win. Ballard Preston,
Samuel Price,
John D. Sharp,
James W. Sheffey,
Thomas Sitlington,
Burwell Spurlock,
Samuel G. Staples,
William T. Sutherland,
George P. Tayloe,
Franklin P. Turner,
Edward Waller,
Sam'l C. Williams,
Samuel Woods,
John B. Young—60.

Mr. BLAKEY, from the committee to whom was referred "a portion of the communication of the Governor of the Commonwealth," presented on the 19th instant, presented an ordinance, which was, under the rule, laid upon the table, and ordered to be printed.

On motion of Mr. KENT the Convention adjourned.

WEDNESDAY, November 27, 1861.

The Convention assembled at 10 o'clock, A. M.

Prayer by the Rev. Dr. BURROWS, of the Baptist Church.

Mr. MORRIS, from the Committee "to inquire into the loyalty of Judge Edward P. Pitts," presented a report, which was laid upon the table, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. PENDLETON, of Ohio, indicated that at the proper time he would submit the following amendment to the report of the Committee "On Amendments to the Constitution," which, on his motion, was laid upon the table, and ordered to be printed:

"All free white persons, born in this State; all free white persons born in any other State of this Confederacy, who may be, or become, residents of this State; all aliens, being free white persons, naturalized under the laws of the Confederate States, who may be, or become, residents of this State; all persons who have obtained a right to citizenship under former laws, and all children, wherever born, whose father, or if he be dead, whose mother, shall be a citizen of this State at the time of the birth of such children, shall be deemed citizens of this State; but no person shall be deemed a citizen of this State who has given, or may hereafter give, any aid in establishing, without authority of the Legislature, any government within the limits of this State, separate from the existing government, or holding or executing, in such usurped government, any office, post, place of trust or emolument, legislative, executive or judicial, civil or military."

Mr. RANDOLPH, from the Committee "for the Reorganization of the Militia," presented amendments to the "Ordinance for Reorganization of the Militia," which were laid upon the table, and ordered to be printed.

On motion of Mr. DORMAN, the ordinance "for the effectual defence of the State," submitted by him on the 25th instant, was referred to the "Committee on Military Affairs."

Mr. PRICE, from the committee to whom was referred the letter of the Secretary of War of the Confederate States, presented an ordinance, which was laid upon the table, and ordered to be printed.

On motion of Mr. TYLER, the Convention went into secret session.

After sometime passed in secret session the doors were again opened.

Mr. BLAKEY submitted the following resolution, which, on motion of Mr. STUART, was laid upon the table:

Resolved, That hereafter the amendments to the Constitution shall be the order of the day from 11½ o'clock, A. M., until otherwise provided.

The hour having arrived for the execution of the order of the day, the consideration of the report of the Committee "on Amendments to the Constitution," was resumed.

The unfinished business being the consideration of the 5th section of Art. VI.

Mr. GRAHAM moved to further amend the section, by striking out all after the word "offices," in the third line, down to the word "or," in the fourth line, and inserting the following: "for the term of twelve years."

The question being put, was decided in the negative—yeas 34; nays 74.

On motion of Mr. GRAHAM, the vote was recorded as follows:
The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. William B. Aston,	Messrs. Alpheus F. Haymond,
George W. Berlin,	Jonathan M. Heck,
Manilius Chapman,	Robert C. Kent,
Samuel A. Coffinan,	Edw'd D. McGuire,
Raphael M. Conn,	Paul McNeil,
C. B. Conrad,	J. W. Marshall,
Robert E. Cowan,	J. T. Martin,
William P. Cooper,	Henry H. Masters,
James H. Cox,	Fleming B. Miller,
C. J. P. Cresap,	Stephen A. Morgan,
John Critcher,	William C. Parks,
W. H. B. Custis,	Joseph H. Pendleton,
Napoleon B. French,	Timothy Rives,
Colbert C. Fugate,	John A. Robinson,
Samuel L. Graham,	James W. Sheffey,
Robert E. Grant,	Burwell Spurlock,
Cyrus Hall,	Samuel Woods—34.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. R. L. Montague (<i>Prest</i>)	Messrs. John Janney,
William M. Ambler,	Marmaduke Johnson,
Edward M. Armstrong,	John R. Kilby,
James Barbour,	John J. Kindred,
George Baylor,	William H. Macfarland,
Angus R. Blakey,	James Marshall,
George Blow, Jr.	John L. Marye, Sr.
James Boisseau,	Thomas Maslin,
Peter B. Borst,	Horatio G. Moffett,
Wood Bouldin,	Edmund T. Morris,
William W. Boyd,	Samuel McD. Moore,
William G. Brawner,	William J. Neblett,
George W. Brent,	Hugh M. Nelson,
James V. Brooke,	Logan Osburn,
Benjamin W. Byrne,	Win. Ballard Preston,
Frederick M. Cabell,	Samuel Price,

Messrs. John A. Campbell,
 Allen T. Caperton,
 John A. Carter,
 Edw'd R. Chambers,
 John R. Chambliss,
 Robert Y. Conrad,
 James B. Dorman,
 William H. Dulany,
 Miers W. Fisher,
 Thomas S. Flournoy,
 Samuel M. Garland,
 H. L. Gillespie,
 Peyton Gravely,
 John Goode, Jr.
 Addison Hall,
 L. S. Hall,
 John N. Hendren,
 James P. Holcombe,
 J. G. Holladay,
 George W. Hull,
 Lewis D. Isbell,

Messrs. David Pugh,
 George W. Randolph,
 Thomas J. Randolph,
 Peter Saunders, Sr.
 John T. Seawell,
 John D. Sharp,
 Thomas Sitlington,
 Charles R. Slaughter,
 John M. Speed,
 Samuel G. Staples,
 Alex. H. H. Stuart,
 George P. Tayloe,
 John T. Thornton,
 William M. Tredway,
 Robert H. Turner,
 Franklin P. Turner,
 John Tyler,
 Edward Waller,
 William White,
 Robert H. Whitfield,
 Benj. F. Wysor—74.

Mr. HAYMOND moved to further amend the section, by striking out all after the word "offices," in the third line, down to the word "or" in the fourth line, and inserting the following: "for such term or terms as the General Assembly may prescribe."

Mr. WYSOR demanded the previous question, which was sustained.

The main question being upon the amendment submitted by Mr. HAYMOND, was put, and decided in the negative.

The question recurred upon the adoption of the section, as amended.

Mr. KILBY demanded the previous question, which was sustained.

The main question being upon the adoption of the section, as amended, was put, and decided in the affirmative—yeas 81; nays 25.

On motion of Mr. SHEFFEX, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. R. L. Montague (<i>Prest</i>)	Messrs. Lewis D. Isbell,
William M. Ambler,	John Janney,
Edward M. Armstrong,	Marmaduke Johnson,
William B. Aston,	John R. Kilby,
James Barbour,	John J. Kindred,
George Baylor,	Paul McNeil,
George W. Berlin,	William H. Macfarland,

Messrs. Angus R. Blakey,
 George Blow, Jr.
 James Boisseau,
 Peter B. Borst,
 Wood Bouldin,
 William W. Boyd,
 William G. Brawner,
 George W. Brent,
 James V. Brooke,
 Benj. W. Byrne,
 Frederick M. Cabell,
 John A. Campbell,
 Allen T. Caperton,
 John A. Carter,
 Edward R. Chambers,
 John R. Chambliss,
 C. B. Conrad,
 Robert Y. Conrad,
 James H. Cox,
 John Critcher,
 Harvey Deskins,
 James B. Dorman,
 William H. Dulany,
 Miers W. Fisher,
 Thomas S. Flournoy,
 Samuel M. Garland,
 H. L. Gillespie,
 Peyton Gravely,
 Addison Hall,
 L. S. Hall,
 John N. Hendren,
 James P. Holcombe,
 J. G. Holladay,
 George W. Hull,

Messrs. J. W. Marshall,
 James Marshall,
 John L. Marye, Sr.
 Thomas Maslin,
 Horatio G. Moffett,
 Edmund T. Morris,
 Samuel McD. Moore,
 William J. Neblett,
 Hugh M. Nelson,
 Logan Osburn,
 William Ballard Preston,
 Samuel Price,
 David Pugh,
 George W. Randolph,
 Thomas J. Randolph,
 Peter Saunders, Sr.
 John T. Seawell,
 John D. Sharp,
 Thomas Sitlington,
 Charles R. Slaughter,
 John M. Speed,
 Samuel G. Staples,
 Alex. H. H. Stuart.
 George P. Tayloe,
 John T. Thornton,
 William M. Tredway,
 Robert H. Turner,
 Franklin P. Turner,
 John Tyler,
 Edward Waller,
 William White,
 Robert H. Whitfield,
 Benj. F. Wysor—Sl.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. Manilius Chapman,
 Samuel A. Coffman,
 Raphael M. Conn,
 William P. Cooper,
 C. J. B. Cresap,
 W. H. B. Custis,
 Napoleon B. French,
 Colbert C. Fugate,
 Samuel L. Graham,
 Robert E. Grant,

Messrs. Edward D. McGuire,
 J. T. Martin,
 Henry H. Masters,
 Fleming B. Miller,
 Stephen A. Morgan,
 William C. Parks,
 Joseph H. Pendleton,
 Timothy Rives,
 John A. Robinson,
 James W. Sheffey,

Messrs. Alpheus F. Haymond, Messrs. Burwell Spurlock,
 J. M. Heck, Samuel Woods—25.
 Robert C. Kent,

The 6th section was then read and passed by without objection.

The SECRETARY then proceeded to read the 7th section.

Mr. STUART moved to amend the section, by inserting after the word "thereof," in the third line, the following: "in such manner as may be prescribed by law."

The question being put, was decided in the affirmative.

The section, as amended, was then adopted.

The SECRETARY then proceeded to read the 8th section.

Mr. CARTER moved to amend the section, by striking out all after the word "by" in the second line, down to the word "except," in the third line, and inserting the following: "three justices of the peace."

The question being put, was decided in the affirmative.

The section, as amended, was then adopted.

The SECRETARY then proceeded to read the 8th section.

Mr. BLAKEY moved to amend the section, by striking out all from the beginning down to "the," in the sixth line and inserting the amendment indicated by him, on the 25th instant.

Mr. BROOKE moved to amend the amendment, by striking out the word "thereof," in the third line, and inserting the words "in the county."

Mr. CAPERTON demanded the previous question, which was sustained.

The main question being upon the amendment submitted by Mr. BROOKE, was put, and decided in the negative.

Mr. CHAMBLISS moved to amend the original section, by filling the blank with the word "eight."

Mr. PUGH moved to amend the amendment, by filling the blank with the word "twelve."

The question was put upon the amendment substituted by Mr. PUGH, and decided in the affirmative.

The question then recurred upon the amendment submitted by Mr. BLAKEY.

Mr. CAPERTON demanded the previous question, which was sustained.

Mr. PRICE demanded a division of the question, and it was put upon striking out, and decided in the negative—yeas 26; nays 83.

On motion of Mr. COWAN, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. R. L. Montague (*Prest*) Messrs. Marmaduke Johnson,
 James Barbour, J. T. Martin,

Messrs. Angus R. Blakey,
 Wood Bouldin,
 Thomas Branch,
 Benjamin W. Byrne,
 Frederick M. Cabell,
 Edward R. Chambers,
 Miers W. Fisher,
 Thomas S. Flournoy,
 Samuel L. Graham,
 John Goode, Jr.
 Addison Hall,

Messrs. Horatio G. Moffett,
 Edmund T. Morris,
 Samuel McD. Moore,
 Hugh M. Nelson,
 George W. Randolph,
 John T. Seawell,
 Charles R. Slaughter,
 John M. Speed,
 William M. Tredway,
 John Tyler,
 Benj. F. Wysor—26.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. William M. Ambler,
 Edw'd M. Armstrong,
 William B. Aston,
 George Baylor,
 George W. Berlin,
 George Blow, Jr.
 James Boisseau,
 Peter B. Borst,
 William W. Boyd,
 William G. Brawner,
 George W. Brent,
 James V. Brooke,
 John A. Campbell,
 Allen T. Caperton,
 John A. Carter,
 William P. Cecil,
 John R. Chambliss,
 Manilius Chapman,
 Raphael M. Conn,
 C. B. Conrad,
 Robert Y. Courad,
 Robert E. Cowan,
 James H. Cox,
 C. J. P. Cresap,
 John Critcher,
 W. H. B. Custis,
 Harvey Deskins,
 James B. Dorman,
 William H. Dulany,
 William W. Forbes,
 Napoleon B. French,
 Colbert C. Fugate,
 Samuel M. Garland,

Messrs. James P. Holcombe,
 J. G. Holladay,
 George W. Hull,
 Lewis D. Isbell,
 John Janney,
 Robert C. Kent,
 John R. Kilby,
 John J. Kindred,
 Edward D. McGuire,
 Paul McNeil,
 Charles K. Mallory,
 J. W. Marshall,
 James Marshall,
 John L. Marye, Sr.
 Thomas Maslin,
 Henry H. Masters,
 Fleming B. Miller,
 Stephen A. Morgan,
 William J. Neblett,
 Logan Osburn,
 William C. Parks,
 Joseph H. Pendleton,
 William Ballard Preston,
 Samuel Price,
 David Pugh,
 Thomas J. Randolph,
 John A. Robinson,
 Peter Saunders, Sr.
 John D. Sharp,
 James W. Sheffey,
 Thomas Sitlington,
 Samuel G. Staples,
 Alex. H. H. Stuart,

Messrs. Muscoe R. H. Garnett,	Messrs. George P. Tayloe,
Robert E. Grant,	John T. Thornton,
Peyton Gravely,	Franklin P. Turner,
Algernon S. Gray,	Edward Waller,
L. S. Hall,	William White,
Lewis E. Harvie,	Robert H. Whitfield,
Alphens F. Haymond,	Samuel Woods,
John N. Hendren,	John B. Young—S3.
J. M. Heck,	

Mr. TURNER, of Jackson and Roane, moved to further amend the section, by striking out all from the beginning down to "The," in the sixth line, and inserting the following:

"At the expiration of the term of service of the justices now in commission, four justices of the peace for each district shall be chosen by the qualified voters thereof, in the mode prescribed by law, who shall be commissioned by the Governor, reside in their respective districts, and hold their offices during good behavior. Whenever hereafter a vacancy shall occur in the office of justice of the peace in any district, or an increase in the number of justices for any county may be authorized by law, such vacancy may be filled and such increase made by the appointment of the Governor, upon the recommendation of the county court,—the justices thereof having been previously summoned for that purpose, and a majority being actually present and voting upon such recommendation."

Mr. WHITFIELD demanded the previous question, which was sustained.

Mr. PRESTON demanded a division of the question, and it was put upon striking out, and decided in the negative.

Mr. PRICE moved to further amend the section, and submitted the amendment indicated by him on the 16th instant.

The question being put, was decided in the affirmative.

The blanks in the amendment were then filled, so as to read as follows:

"After 'years' in the 6th line, insert, 'at the first court after the election and qualification of the justices under this Constitution, or as soon thereafter as may be, they shall be divided into four classes; each class to consist of one justice from each district to be numbered by lot. The term of service of the first class shall expire at the end of three years; of the second class at the expiration of six years; of the third class at the expiration of nine years; and of the fourth class at the expiration of twelve years; and thus alternation shall be continued, so that one-fourth of the justices may be chosen every twelfth year.'"

Mr. HAYMOND moved to further amend the section, by striking out all after the word "years," in the sixth line, down to the word "whose," in the eighth line, and inserting the following:

"The presiding justices of the county courts shall be elected by the voters of the respective counties, and their salaries shall be fixed by the General Assembly and paid out of the county levy, and the term of their office shall be years."

The question being put, was decided in the negative.

Mr. SPEED moved to further amend the section, by adding to the amendment submitted by Mr. PRICE, the following:

"Vacancies occurring in the office of justice after the first election, shall be filled by the justices of the county, having been first assembled for the purpose, and a majority of those present shall be necessary to make an election."

Mr. PRICE moved to amend the amendment, by adding thereto the following: "the term of the justice so elected shall expire at the end of the term for which his predecessor was elected."

The question being put, was decided in the affirmative.

The amendment submitted by Mr. SPEED, was then adopted.

Mr. RANDOLPH, of Albemarle, moved to further amend the section by adding thereto the following:

"That at their June court the magistrates of each county shall elect members of their own body, to constitute a police court for the ensuing twelve months, who shall be specially charged with the superintendence of roads, bridges and all subjects involving the appropriation and expenditure from the county treasury. Any act of this body may be revised, amended or rejected by the regular court—the parties being personally summoned for the purpose."

The question being put, was decided in the negative.

Mr. PRICE moved to further amend the section, by inserting after the word "shall," in the sixth line, the words "every third year."

Mr. HARVIE moved to amend the amendment, by inserting "twelve," in lieu of "three." Negatived.

Mr. CECIL moved to amend the amendment, by inserting "six," in lieu of "three." Negatived.

The amendment submitted by Mr. PRICE was then rejected.

Mr. MOFFETT moved to further amend the section, by inserting after the word "county," in the eighth line, the following: "who shall hold his office during the term for which he was elected a justice."

The question being put, was decided in the negative.

Mr. YOUNG moved to further amend the amendment by adding to the section the following:

"But no election of justices shall be held within thirty days of the time of holding any election of electors of President and Vice President of the Confederate States, or members of Congress, or of the General Assembly."

Mr. MASLIN moved to amend the amendment by striking out all after the words, "Confederate States." Negatived.

The question then recurred upon the amendment submitted by Mr. YOUNG.

Mr. WHITFIELD demanded the previous question, which was sustained.

The main question being upon the amendment submitted by Mr. Young, was put, and decided in the negative.

Mr. BERLIN moved to further amend the section, by way of substitute, by striking out the whole, and inserting the following:

"Each county shall be laid off into districts, as nearly equal as may be in territory and population, for each of which, two justices of the peace shall be elected by the county court, who shall be commissioned, by the Governor, reside in their respective districts, and shall hold their offices during good behavior. But all the justices of the county shall be summoned, and a majority shall be present to hold such election, and all vacancies shall be filled in like manner; the justices now in office to remain in office until their several terms shall expire. But at least one half of the justices so elected at the first election to be held by the county courts, under this constitution, shall not be taken from the justices now in office. The justices of each county shall select one of their own body to be the presiding justice of the county court of their county, whose duty it shall be to attend each term of the said court. The other justices shall be classified by law for the performance of their duty in court."

The question being put, was decided in the negative.

Mr. FLOURNOY moved to further amend the section, by striking out that part embracing Mr. SPEED's amendment, as amended by Mr. PRICE, and inserting the following:

"After the first general election of justices, all vacancies occurring in the office of justice in any county, whether by expiration of the term of office, death, removal from office or otherwise, shall be filled by the justices of such county—all the acting justices of the county having been first summoned for the purpose, and a majority of the whole number being actually present."

Pending which, on motion of Mr. BRANCH, the Convention adjourned.



MONDAY, November 25, 1861.

The Convention assembled at 10 o'clock, A. M.

Prayer by the Rev. Dr. BURROWS, of the Baptist Church.

Mr. HAYMOND, from the Committee of Elections, presented a report "in relation to vacancies in the General Assembly of Virginia," which was laid upon the table and ordered to be printed.

Mr. MALLORY, of Elizabeth City, moved to take up a resolution submitted by Mr. MORRIS, on the 22d inst.

The question being put, was decided in the affirmative.

The resolution after being amended, so as to read as follows, was adopted:

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed by the President to inquire into the loyalty of Judge Edward P. Pitts to the State of Virginia and the Confederate States, and that such committee have power to send for papers.

The PRESIDENT announced the following members on said committee: Messrs. Morris, Mallory, of Elizabeth City, Custis, Slaughter and Turner, of Warran.

Mr. STUART moved to take up an ordinance "Relative to the promotion and election of company officers of volunteers in actual service;"—laid upon the table 29th June last—and the question being put, it appeared that no quorum was present.

On motion of Mr. FISHER, a call of the House was ordered to ascertain if a quorum was present.

The roll was then called, and the following members responded to their names:

Messrs. R. L. Montague (<i>Prest</i>)	Messrs. Lewis D. Isbell,
William M. Ambler,	John Janney,
Edward M. Armstrong,	Marmaduke Johnson,
William B. Aston,	Robert C. Kent,
James Barbour,	John J. Kindred,
George W. Berlin,	Edward D. McGuire,
Angus R. Blakey,	Paul McNeil,
Wood Bouldin,	Charles K. Mallory,
William W. Boyd,	James B. Mallory,
William G. Brawner,	Jacob W. Marshall,
George W. Brent,	James Marshall,
Benj. W. Byrne,	Jefferson T. Martin,
Frederick M. Cabell,	Thomas Maslin,
John R. Chambliss,	Horatio G. Moffett,
Samuel A. Coffman,	Edmund T. Morris,
Raphael M. Conn,	Stephen A. Morgan,
C. B. Conrad,	Samuel McD. Moore,
Robert E. Cowan,	William J. Neblett,

Messrs. William P. Cooper,
 James H. Cox,
 C. J. P. Cresap,
 W. H. B. Custis,
 Harvey Deskins,
 James B. Dorman,
 William H. Dulany,
 Miers W. Fisher,
 William W. Forbes,
 Napoleon B. French,
 Colbert C. Fugate,
 Samuel M. Garland,
 H. L. Gillespie,
 Peyton Gravely,
 Addison Hall,
 Cyrus Hall,
 L. S. Hall,
 Alpheus F. Haymond,
 John N. Hendren,
 Jonathan M. Heck,
 James P. Holcombe,
 J. G. Holladay,
 George W. Hull,

Messrs. Logan Osburn,
 William C. Parks,
 Joseph H. Pendleton,
 Samuel Price,
 David Pugh,
 James W. Sheffey,
 Thomas Sitlington,
 Charles R. Slaughter,
 John M. Speed,
 Burwell Spurlock,
 Samuel G. Staples,
 Alex. H. H. Stuart,
 William T. Sutherlin,
 George P. Tayloe,
 William M. Tredway,
 Robert H. Turner,
 Franklin P. Turner,
 John Tyler,
 Edward Waller,
 Robert H. Whitfield,
 Samuel Woods,
 Benj. F. Wysor.

A quorum being present,

On motion of Mr. MALLORY, of Brunswick, all further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

The PRESIDENT presented a communication from the Executive of the Commonwealth, "in relation to the transfer of property to the Confederate States," which was ordered to be referred to the Committee "on Foreign Relations."

Mr. MOORE, from the Committee "to provide against the sacrifice of property," presented an ordinance "to provide against the sacrifice of property, and to repeal an ordinance passed on the 30th day of April last," entitled an ordinance, to prevent the sacrifice of property, and suspend proceedings in certain cases, which was laid upon the table and ordered to be printed.

Mr. DORMAN presented "an ordinance for the effectual defence of the State," which was laid upon the table and ordered to be printed.

On motion of Mr. BLAKEY, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That the Governor of this Commonwealth is requested to communicate to this Convention in secret or open session, as to him may seem proper, any correspondence which has been held between the authorities of Virginia and of the Confederate States, in regard to muskets or other arms belonging to this State, which have been collected and are held by the Confederate Government.

Mr. BLAKEY indicated that at the proper time he would submit the following amendment to the report of the Committee on "Amendments to the Constitution," which, on his motion, was laid upon the table and ordered to be printed:

9. Each county shall be laid off into districts, as nearly equal as may be in territory and population. In each district four justices of the peace shall be chosen by the qualified voters thereof, who shall be commissioned by the Governor, reside in their respective districts, and hold their offices during good behavior. Those who may be in office on the day of 1862, shall remain in office until the expiration of their terms, to be ascertained by lot as herein provided. At the term of the county court of each county, or as soon thereafter as may be, all the justices having been first summoned for that purpose, the justices thereof shall be divided into four classes, each class to be composed of one justice from each district, to be numbered by lot. The term of service of the first class shall expire at the end of years, from the day of 1862, that of the second class at the end of years, that of the third class at the end of years, and that of the fourth class at the end of years.

On motion of Mr. CONRAD, of Frederick, the President was directed to fill vacancies existing in the Committee on Foreign Relations.

The PRESIDENT announced the following members on said committee: Messrs. Stuart, Bouldin, Martin, Speed, Seawell, Holcombe, Pendleton, of Ohio, and Chambliss.

The hour having arrived for the execution of the order of the day, the consideration of the report of the "Committee on Amendments to the Constitution" was resumed.

The SECRETARY proceeded to read the report, the unfinished business being the 2d section of Article V.

Mr. MOFFETT moved to amend the section by striking out all after the word "elected" in the 11th line down to "contested" in the 14th line and insert the followings "if such number be a majority of the whole number of votes cast. And if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest number of votes, not exceeding three, the General Assembly shall be a joint vote of the two houses elect the Governor."

Mr. BARBOUR demanded the previous question, which was sustained.

Mr. MARTIN demanded a division of the question, and it was put, upon striking out, and decided in the affirmative—yeas 76; nays 21.

On motion of Mr. HAYMOND, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. R. L. Montague (<i>Prest</i>)	Messrs. George W. Hull,
William M. Ambler,	Lewis D. Isbell,
Edw'd M. Armstrong,	John Janney,
William B. Aston,	John J. Kindred,
James Barbour,	Paul McNeil,
George Baylor,	William H. Macfarland,

Messrs. Angus R. Blakey,
 George Blow, Jr.
 Wood Bouldin,
 William W. Boyd,
 William G. Brawner,
 Benjamin W. Byrne,
 Frederick M. Cabell,
 John A. Campbell,
 Allen T. Caperton,
 John A. Carter,
 John R. Chambliss,
 Manilius Chapman,
 Samuel A. Coffinan,
 Robert Y. Conrad,
 James H. Cox,
 W. H. B. Custis,
 Harvey Deskins,
 James B. Dorman,
 William H. Dulany,
 Miers W. Fisher,
 William W. Forbes,
 Napoleon B. French,
 Colbert C. Fugate,
 Samuel M. Garland,
 H. L. Gillespie,
 Peyton Gravely,
 Algernon S. Gray,
 John Goode, Jr.
 Addison Hall,
 L. S. Hall,
 John N. Hendren,
 James P. Holcombe,

Messrs. Charles K. Mallory,
 James B. Mallory,
 J. W. Marshall,
 James Marshall,
 Thomas Maslin,
 Fleming B. Miller,
 Horatio G. Moffett,
 Edmund T. Morris,
 Samuel McD. Moore,
 William J. Neblett,
 Hugh M. Nelson,
 Logan Osburn,
 William C. Parks,
 Joseph H. Pendleton,
 William Ballard Preston,
 Samuel Price,
 David Pugh,
 George W. Randolph,
 Peter Saunders, Sr.
 James W. Sheffey,
 Thomas Sitlington,
 Charles R. Slaughter,
 John M. Speed,
 Samuel G. Staples,
 Alex. H. H. Stuart,
 George P. Tayloe,
 William M. Tredway,
 Robert H. Turner,
 John Tyler,
 Robert H. Whitfield,
 Benj. F. Wysor
 John B. Young—76.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. George W. Berlin,
 George W. Brent,
 William P. Cecil,
 Raphael M. Conn,
 C. B. Conrad,
 Robert E. Cowan,
 C. J. P. Cresap,
 Samuel L. Graham,
 Cyrus Hall,
 Alpheus F. Haymond,
 J. M. Heck,

Messrs. J. G. Holladay,
 Robert C. Kent,
 Edward D. McGuire,
 J. T. Martin,
 Henry H. Masters,
 Stephen A. Morgan,
 Timothy Rives,
 Burwell Spurlock,
 Franklin P. Turner,
 Samuel Woods—21.

The question then recurred upon filling the amendment, submitted by Mr. MOFFETT.

The question being put, was decided in the affirmative.

The section, as amended, was then adopted.

Mr. STUART moved to amend the third section, by inserting, after the word "of," in the second line, the words "one of."

The question being put, was decided in the affirmative.

The succeeding sections of Art. V. were then read, and passed by.

The first section of Art. VI. was then read.

Mr. WYSON moved to strike out the whole of the first section, and insert the following:

"The judicial power shall be vested in one Supreme Court of Appeals, in such superior courts as the General Assembly may, from time to time, ordain and establish, and in justices of the peace,"

Pending which, on motion of Mr. KENT, the Convention adjourned.





TUESDAY, November 26, 1861.

The Convention assembled at 10 o'clock, A. M.

Prayer by the Rev. Dr. BARROWS, of the Baptist Church.

On motion of Mr. RANDOLPH, of the city of Richmond, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That the further calling of the Committees be dispensed with, and that from and after to-day, the ordinance for the reorganization of the militia be made the order of the day during the morning hour, until the consideration thereof shall be completed.

Mr. CHAMBLISS asked to be excused from serving on the committee on "Foreign Relations," and the President announced Mr. KINDRED in his stead.

Mr. BARBOUR presented the following letter from General T. S. Haymond, which was read and ordered to be entered upon the journal:

RICHMOND, VA., Nov. 26, 1861.

JAMES BARBOUR, Esq., *Virginia Convention*:

Dear Sir:—Mr. Dorman, of Rockbridge, a member of your body, on yesterday, in discussion, misrepresented me, (unintentionally, no doubt.) The Governor and Council never advised that troops should be sent to North-western Virginia, while I was a member of the Advisory Council, as represented by Mr. Dorman. Immediately after I learned that the ordinance of secession had passed, I sent Major William P. Thompson, of the county of Marion, to the seat of government, with a requisition for arms, and authority to call out the militia in North-West Virginia, with a view of taking possession of the two rail roads, the one terminating at Parkersburg and the other at the city of Wheeling, to prevent their use by the enemy in case of invasion, with a determination to destroy these roads at points near the Ohio and in the mountains, if necessary, for our defence and protection. For some cause the arms were refused. It may be that the Governor advised with the Council—of this I am not informed. At that time three-fourths of the people of Marion County were in favor of the ordinance of secession, and if we had been furnished with arms, and authority to call out the militia, so that our people could have been assured of the aid and protection of the government, I have no hesitation in saying, that a large majority of the people of North-West Virginia would have voted for the ordinance of secession, and would be now in arms in defence of the State. Those rail roads afforded rapid facilities for the transportation of troops. The State of Ohio had her troops at the termini of those rail roads, on the Ohio side of the river, ready to march into Virginia immediately after the ratification of the ordinance of secession. This was made known to our people. Many were induced to vote against the ordinance, with a hope that they would not be interrupted by the expected invaders. Others did not go to the polls. Our people felt paralyzed. They had no arms of any consideration to protect themselves. In conclusion, let me say, the Governor and every member of the Council knows, that so far as I am concerned, I urged the occupation of North-West Virginia with an armed force, sufficient to protect that section from invasion, and I have no doubt now, that if we had been furnished with arms and authority to call out the militia at once, we should now be in the possession of the most of that section of the State, and have now the support of a great majority of the people. As the action of your body will present a history of the times for my protection, I hope you will ask that this letter may be recorded upon your journal.

Your friend,

T. S. HAYMOND.

Mr. SUTHELIN indicated that at the proper time he would submit the following amendment to the 24th section, Article IV.,

which, on his motion, was laid upon the table and ordered to be printed:

"Nor shall licenses for any mercantile or manufacturing business (unless the privilege of manufacturing or selling by retail, wine, ardent spirits, or a mixture thereof be included therein) be taxed at a higher rate than the capital employed in such business would otherwise be taxed."

Mr. GRAY indicated that at the proper time he would submit the following amendment to the 24th Section, Article IV, which, on his motion, was laid upon the table and ordered to be printed:

"But it shall not be lawful to require a license for the sale or use of any property, the value of which can be ascertained and assessed under the provisions of the 23d clause of this Constitution."

The PRESIDENT presented two communications from the Executive of the Commonwealth, in response to a resolution adopted on the 23d instant, in relation "to the officers of the army and navy of the United States from Virginia, who have resigned their commissions in the United States service and returned to their native State," which were ordered to be referred to the "Committee on Foreign Relations.

The hour having arrived for the execution of the order of the day, the consideration of the report of the "Committee on Amendments to the Constitution," was resumed. The unfinished business being the substitute for the 1st Section of Article VI, submitted by Mr. WYSOR on yesterday.

Mr. HOLCOMBE moved to further amend the 1st section, by striking out in the second line the words "in the Circuit Courts," and inserting the words "in such superior Courts as the General Assembly may from time to time ordain and establish," and to add to the 1st section, the following:

"No law abolishing any court shall be construed to deprive a Judge thereof of his office unless enacted by the concurrent vote of a majority of the members elected of both houses of the General Assembly, and the Legislature may assign other judicial duties to the Judges of the courts abolished by a similar concurrent vote."

Which was accepted by Mr. WYSOR.

Mr. CONRAD, of Frederick, moved to amend the amendment, by way of substitute, by striking out in the 2d line the words "in the Circuit Court," and inserting the words, "such special and other intermediate courts, as may be hereafter established by the Legislature, under this Constitution," and to add to the section the following:

"And may also establish District Courts of Chancery, to be held by Chancellors, to be appointed in the same manner and with like tenure of office as the Circuit Court Judges, not to exceed six in number."

Mr. PRESTON demanded the previous question, which was sustained.

Mr. MARTIN demanded a division of the question, and it was put upon the first branch of the substitute submitted by Mr. CONRAD, and decided in the negative.

The question was then put upon the second branch of the substitute submitted by Mr. CONRAD, and decided in the negative.

The question recurred upon the amendment submitted by Mr. HOLCOMBE.

Mr. PENDLETON, of Ohio, demanded a division of the question, and it was put upon the first branch of the amendment submitted by Mr. HOLCOMBE, and decided in the negative.

The second branch of the amendment was then withdrawn.

Mr. HALL, of Wetzel, moved to further amend the section by striking out all, beginning with the word "the" in the fifth line, to the end of the section.

The question being put was decided in the negative.

Mr. CHAMBLISS moved to further amend the section by inserting after the word "thereof," in the 10th line, the words, "or upon which the Courts may be equally divided in opinion on a hearing."

The question being put, was decided in the negative.

Mr. STUART moved to further amend the section by inserting after the word "Judges," in the 7th line, the words "formed of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Appeals, and of the Circuit Courts, or any of them."

The question being put, was decided in the affirmative.

Mr. WOODS moved to further amend the section by inserting after the word "cases," in the eleventh line, the word "now."

The question being put, was decided in the negative.

Mr. PENDLETON, of Ohio, moved further to amend the section by striking out the word "the," in the second line.

The question being put, was decided in the negative.

The section as amended was then adopted.

The Secretary then proceeded to read the 2d section.

Mr. PRICE moved to fill the blank with "two hundred dollars."

Mr. HAYMOND moved to fill the blank with "one hundred dollars."

Mr. STUART moved to fill the blank with "three hundred dollars."

The question being put, upon the amendment submitted by Mr. STUART, was decided in the affirmative.

The section after being verbally amended, was then adopted.

The 3d section was then read, and passed by without objection.

The SECRETARY then proceeded to read the 4th section.

Mr. BLAKEY moved to amend the section by inserting after the word "into" in the first line the words "not less than"—and to add to the section the following: "But the number of circuits shall not be increased, except by a concurrent vote of a majority of the members elected to both Houses of the General Assembly."

The question being put, was decided in the affirmative.

The section as amended was then adopted.

Mr. STUART moved to strike out the rest of the 4th section.

The question being put, was decided in the affirmative.

The SECRETARY then proceeded to read the 5th section.

Mr. HAYMOND moved to amend the section by inserting after the word "and" in the second line, the following: "the Judges of the Supreme Court of Appeals shall be appointed for the term of twelve years, and the Judges of the Circuit Courts shall be appointed for the term of eight years."

The question being put, was decided in the negative.

Mr. PRICE moved to amend the section by inserting after the word "be" in the second line the words "appointed by joint vote of the two Houses of the General Assembly and,"

Mr. TREDWAY moved to amend the amendment, by way of substitute, by inserting after the word "be," in the first line, the words "appointed by the Senate of Virginia."

The question being put, was decided in the negative—yeas 4; nays 93.

On motion of Mr. WOODS, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. Edw'd M. Armstrong,	Messrs. Wm. G. Brawner,
Thomas Branch,	Wm. M. Tredway—4.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. R. L. Montague (<i>Prest</i>)	Messrs. George W. Hull,
William M. Ambler,	Lewis D. Isbell,
William B. Aston,	John Janney,
James Barbour,	Marmaduke Johnson,
George Baylor,	Robert C. Kent,
George W. Berlin,	John R. Kilby,
Angus R. Blakey,	John J. Kindred,
George Blow, Jr.	Edw'd D. McGuire,
Wood Bouldin,	Paul McNeil,
William W. Boyd,	Charles K. Mallory,
George W. Brent,	J. W. Marshall,
Benjamin W. Byrne,	James Marshall,
Frederick M. Cabell,	J. T. Martin,
John A. Campbell,	John L. Marye, Sr.
Allen T. Caperton,	Thomas Maslin,
John A. Carter,	Fleming B. Miller,
William P. Cecil,	Horatio G. Moffett,
Edw'd R. Chambers,	Edmund T. Morris,
John R. Chambliss,	Stephen A. Morgan,
Manilius Chapman,	Samuel McD. Moore,
Samuel A. Coffman,	William J. Neblett,
Raphael M. Conn,	Logan Osburn,
C. B. Conrad,	William C. Parks,

Messrs. Rob't Y. Conrad,
 Robert E. Cowan,
 James H. Cox,
 C. J. P. Cresap,
 W. H. B. Custis,
 Harvey Deskins,
 James B. Dorman,
 William H. Dulany,
 Miers W. Fisher,
 Thos. S. Flournoy,
 Colbert C. Fugate,
 Samuel M. Garland,
 H. L. Gillespie,
 Samuel L. Graham,
 Peyton Gravely,
 John Goode, Jr.
 Addison Hall,
 Cyrus Hall,
 L. S. Hall,
 Alpheus F. Haymond,
 John N. Hendren,
 J. M. Heck,
 Jas. P. Holcombe,
 J. G. Holladay,

Messrs. Joseph H. Pendleton,
 Wm. Ballard Preston,
 Samuel Price,
 David Pugh,
 George W. Randolph,
 Thomas J. Randolph,
 Timothy Rives,
 Peter Saunders, Sr.
 James W. Sheffey,
 Thomas Sitlington,
 Chas. R. Slaughter,
 John M. Speed,
 Burwell Spurlock,
 Samuel G. Staples,
 Alex. H. H. Stuart,
 George P. Tayloe,
 John T. Thornton,
 Robert H. Turner,
 Edward Waller,
 Robert H. Whitfield,
 Samuel Woods,
 Benjamin F. Wysor,
 John B. Young—93.

The question recurred upon the amendment submitted by Mr. PRICE, and being put, the amendment was adopted.

Mr. DORMAN moved to further amend the section, by striking out in the first and second lines the words "of the Circuit Courts."

The question being put, was decided in the negative.

Mr. KENT moved to further amend the section, by striking out all from the beginning down to "and," in the fifth line, and inserting the following:

"The Judges of the Supreme Court of Appeals shall be elected by joint vote of the two houses of the General Assembly, and the Judges of the Circuit Courts shall be elected by the voters of their respective circuits. They shall hold their offices during good behavior, or until they arrive at the age of years, or until removed in the manner prescribed in this Constitution"

Mr. SHEFFEY moved to amend the amendment by way of substitute, by striking out the whole section, and inserting the following:

"The Judges of the Court of Appeals shall be elected by a joint vote of the two houses of the General Assembly, and shall hold their offices for fifteen years or until removed in the manner prescribed in this Constitution. The Judges of the Circuit Courts shall be elected by the people of their respective circuits, and shall hold their offices for twelve years, or until removed in the manner herein provided, and said Judges of the Supreme Circuit Courts shall, at the same time, hold no other office, appointment, or public trust, and the acceptance thereof by either of them shall vacate his office."

Mr. TAYLOE demanded the previous question, which was sustained.

The main question being upon the adoption of the substitute submitted by Mr. SHEFFEY, was put and decided in the negative—yeas 7; nays 8.

On motion of Mr. PENDLETON, of Ohio, the vote was recorded as follows;

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. Samuel A. Coffman,	Messrs. Cyrus Hall,
Raphael M. Conn,	Fleming B. Miller,
C. J. P. Cresap,	James W. Sheffey,
W. H. B. Custis,	Samuel Woods—8.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. R. L. Montague (<i>Prest</i>)	Messrs. J. G. Holladay,
William M. Ambler,	George W. Hull,
Edw'd M. Armstrong,	Lewis D. Isbell,
William A. Aston,	John Janney,
James Barbour,	Marmaduke Johnson,
George Baylor,	Robert C. Kent,
George W. Berlin,	John R. Kilby,
Angus R. Blakey,	John J. Kindred,
George Blow, Jr.	Edward D. McGuire,
Wood Bouldin,	Paul McNeil,
William W. Boyd,	Charles K. Mallory,
Thomas Branch,	J. W. Marshall,
William G. Brawner,	James Marshall,
George W. Brent,	John L. Marye, Sr.
Benjamin W. Byrne,	Thomas Maslin,
Frederick A. Cabell,	Henry H. Masters,
John A. Campbell,	Horatio G. Moffett,
Allen T. Caperton,	Edmund T. Morris,
John A. Carter,	Stephen A. Morgan,
William P. Cecil,	Samuel McD. Moore,
Edward R. Chambers,	William J. Neblett,
John R. Chambliss,	Logan Osburn,
Manilius Chapman,	Joseph H. Pendleton,
C. B. Conrad,	Wm. Ballard Preston,
Robert Y. Conrad,	Samuel Price,
James H. Cox,	David Pugh,
Harvey Deskins,	George W. Randolph,
James B. Dorman,	Thomas J. Randolph,
William H. Dulany,	Peter Saunders, Sr.
Miers W. Fisher,	Thomas Sitlington,
Thomas S. Flournoy,	Charles R. Slaughter,
Colbert C. Fugate,	John M. Speed,
Samuel M. Garland,	Samuel G. Staples,

Messrs. H. L. Gillespie,
 Samuel L. Graham,
 Peyton Gravely,
 John Goode, Jr.
 Addison Hall,
 L. S. Hall,
 Alpheus F. Haymond,
 John N. Hendren,
 J. M. Heck,
 James P. Holcombe,

Messrs. Alex. H. H. Stuart,
 George P. Tayloe,
 John T. Thornton,
 William M. Tredway,
 Robert H. Turner,
 Edward Waller,
 William White,
 Robert H. Whitfield,
 Benj'n F. Wysor,
 John B. Young—86.

The question recurred upon the amendment submitted by Mr. KENT.

Mr. BLAKEY demanded the previous question, which was sustained.

Mr. PRICE demanded a division of the question, and it was put upon striking out, and decided in the negative—yeas 19; nays 70.

On motion of Mr. GOODE, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. Samuel A. Coffinan,	Messrs. John R. Kilby,
Raphael M. Conn,	Paul McNeil,
C. J. P. Cresap,	J. W. Marshall,
James B. Dorman,	Fleming B. Miller,
John Goode, Jr.	Stephen A. Morgan,
Alpheus F. Haymond,	James W. Shesley,
J. M. Heck,	John T. Thornton,
J. G. Holladay,	Robert H. Whitfield,
George W. Hull,	Samuel Woods—19.
Robert C. Kent,	

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. R. L. Montague, (<i>Prest</i>)	Messrs. James P. Holcombe,
William M. Ambler,	Lewis D. Isbell,
Edw'd M. Armstrong,	John Janney,
William B. Aston,	Marmaduke Johnson,
James Barbour,	John J. Kindred,
George Baylor,	Edward D. McGuire,
George W. Berlin,	Charles K. Mallory,
Angus R. Blakey,	James Marshall,
George Blow, Jr.,	John L. Marye, Sr.
Wood Bouldin,	Thomas Maslin,
William W. Boyd,	Horatio G. Moffett,
Thomas Branch,	Edmund T. Morris,
William G. Brawner,	Samuel McD. Moore,
Benjamin W. Byrne,	William J. Neblett,
Frederick M. Cabell,	Logan Osburn,

Messrs. John A. Campbell,
 Allen T. Caperton,
 John A. Carter,
 William P. Cecil,
 Edward R. Chambers,
 John R. Chambliss,
 Manilius Chapman,
 C. B. Conrad,
 Robert Y. Conrad,
 James H. Cox,
 Harvey Deskins,
 Miers W. Fisher,
 Thomas S. Flournoy,
 Colbert C. Fugate,
 Samuel M. Garland,
 H. L. Gillespie,
 Samuel L. Graham,
 Peyton Gravely,
 L. S. Hall,
 John N. Hendren,

Messrs. Joseph H. Pendleton,
 Wm. Ballard Preston,
 Samuel Price,
 David Pugh,
 George W. Randolph,
 Thomas J. Randolph,
 Peter Saunders, Sr.
 Thomas Sitlington,
 Charles R. Slaughter,
 John M. Speed,
 Burwell Spurlock,
 Samuel G. Staples,
 Alex. H. H. Stuart,
 George P. Tayloe,
 William M. Tredway,
 Robert H. Turner,
 Edward Waller,
 William White,
 Benj. F. Wysor,
 John B. Young—70.

Mr. SPEED moved to further amend the section by striking out all after the word "behavior," in the third line, down to "or," in the fourth line.

The question being put, was decided in the negative.

Mr. RANDOLPH, of the city of Richmond, moved to further amend the section by striking out all after the word "behavior," in the third line, down to "until," in the fourth line, and insert "unless," instead of "until," and striking out all after the word "Constitution," in the fifth line, and inserting the following: "No Judge shall hold office after he is seventy years of age, unless reelected, or hold any other office, appointment or public trust, during his term of service, and the acceptance thereof shall vacate his judicial office."

The question being put, was decided in the negative.

The question then recurred upon the adoption of the section as amended.

Pending which, on motion of Mr. PENDLETON, of Ohio, the Convention adjourned.

FRIDAY, November 29, 1861.

The Convention assembled at 10 o'clock, A. M.

On motion of Mr. BLAKEY, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That the paymaster-general of the Virginia forces, report to this Convention whether there are any officers belonging to the Virginia forces, connected with the militia or volunteer service, receiving pay without active commands; and if so, the aggregate amount thereof per month.

Prayer by the Rev. Mr. BOSSERMAN, of the Universalist Church.

Mr. HAYMOND, from the "Committee on Elections," presented a report in relation "to the loyalty of Sherrard Clemens, from the county of Ohio; Caleb Bogges, of the county of Lewis; and Benj. Wilson, from the county of Harrison," which was laid upon the table and ordered to be printed. (Doc. No. XXXIX.)

On motion of Mr. CONRAD, of Frederick, the Committee "on Foreign Relations," were excused from the further consideration of the several messages of the Governor referred to them, and were ordered to be referred to the Committee "on Confederate Relations."

On motion of Mr. RANDOLPH, of the city of Richmond, the consideration of the "Ordinance, for the reorganization of the militia," was resumed.

The pending question being upon the adoption of the amendment to the amendment to the 7th section, submitted by Mr. CHAMBLISS, on yesterday.

Mr. PRICE demanded the previous question, which was sustained.

The main question being upon the adoption of the amendment submitted by Mr. CHAMBLISS, on yesterday, was put, and decided in the negative—yeas 22; nays 77.

On motion of Mr. DORMAN the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. William B. Aston,
George Baylor,
James Boisseau,
William W. Boyd,
Manilius Chapman,
Samuel A. Coffinan,
C. B. Conrad,
W. H. B. Custis,
Miers W. Fisher,
Samuel L. Graham,
Peyton Gravely,

Messrs. Addison Hall,
George W. Hull,
Lewis D. Isbell,
Jefferson T. Martin,
Thomas Maslin,
Henry H. Masters,
Logan Osburn,
Timothy Rives,
John A. Robinson,
William C. Scott,
F. P. Turner—22.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. R. L. Montague (<i>Prest</i>)	Messrs. Robert C. Kent,
Edw'd M. Armstrong,	John R. Kilby,
George W. Berlin,	John J. Kindred,
Angus R. Blakey,	Edward D. McGuire,
George Blow, Jr.,	Paul McNeil,
George W. Brent,	J. W. Marshall,
James V. Brooke,	John L. Marye, Sr.
Benjamin W. Byrne,	Fleming B. Miller,
Frederick M. Cabell,	Horatio G. Moffett,
John A. Campbell,	Edmund T. Morris,
Allen T. Caperton,	Stephen A. Morgan,
John A. Carter,	Samuel McD. Moore,
William P. Cecil,	Hugh M. Nelson,
Edward R. Chambers,	William C. Parks,
Robert Y. Conrad,	Wm. Ballard Preston,
Robert E. Cowan,	Samuel Price,
William P. Cooper,	David Pugh,
James H. Cox,	George W. Randolph,
C. J. P. Cresap,	Thomas J. Randolph,
John Critcher,	Peter Saunders, Sr.
Harvey Deskins,	Robert E. Scott,
James B. Dorman,	John D. Sharp,
William H. Dulany,	James W. Sheffey,
Thomas S. Flournoy,	Thomas Silington,
William W. Forbes,	Charles R. Slaughter,
Napoleon B. French,	John M. Speed,
Colbert C. Fugate,	Burwell Spurlock,
Samuel M. Garland,	Samuel G. Staples,
H. L. Gillespie,	Alex. H. H. Stuart,
Robert E. Grant,	William T. Sutherland,
Algernon S. Gray,	George P. Tayloe,
Fendall Gregory, Jr.	Robert H. Turner,
John Goode, Jr.	John Tyler,
L. S. Hall,	Edward Waller,
Alphens F. Haymond,	William White,
John N. Hendren,	Samuel Woods,
J. M. Heck,	Benj. F. Wisor,
J. G. Holladay,	John B. Young—77.
Marinaduke Johnson,	

Mr. RANDOLPH moved to amend the amendment, by striking out all after the word "Governor," in the twenty-third line, down to "appointments," in the twenty-fifth line, and inserting the word "and all," and to add at the end of the amendment the following:

"Commandants of regiments and independent battalions shall recommend

suitable persons to fill vacancies among company officers in their respective regiments and battalions, which recommendation shall not be obligatory, but shall be communicated to the Senate by the Governor with his nomination to fill such vacancy. And all nominations to fill such vacancies and of general field officers shall lie on the table one week before being acted on."

The question being put, was decided in the affirmative.

Mr. GOODE moved to amend the amendment, by striking out all beginning with "before," in the 16th line, down to "the company," in the 20th line, and inserting the following:

"Vacancies in volunteers and militia companies occurring before and after they have been mustered into the service shall be filled as heretofore."

Mr. PRICE demanded the previous question, which was sustained.

The main question, being upon the adoption of the amendment submitted by Mr. GOODE, was put, and decided in the affirmative—yeas 88; nays 15.

On motion of Mr. FORBES, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. R. L. Montague (<i>Prest</i>)	Messrs. John N. Hendren,
William M. Ambler,	Jonathan M. Heck,
Edward M. Armstrong,	George W. Hull,
William B. Aston,	Lewis D. Isbell,
George Baylor,	Marmaduke Johnson,
George W. Berlin,	Robert C. Kent,
Angus R. Blakey,	John R. Kilby,
James Boisseau,	John J. Kindred,
Peter B. Borst,	Paul McNeil,
William W. Boyd,	William H. Macfarland,
James V. Brooke,	J. W. Marshall,
Benjamin W. Byrne,	J. T. Martin,
Frederick M. Cabell,	John L. Marye, Sr.
John A. Campbell,	Thomas Maslin,
John A. Carter,	Henry H. Masters,
William P. Cecil,	Fleming B. Miller,
Edw'd R. Chambers,	Horatio G. Moffett,
Manilius Chapman,	Stephen A. Morgan,
Samuel A. Coffman,	Samuel McD. Moore,
Raphael M. Conn,	Hugh M. Nelson,
C. B. Conrad,	William C. Parks,
Robert E. Cowan,	Joseph H. Pendleton,
C. J. P. Cresap,	David Pugh,
John Critcher,	John A. Robinson,
W. H. B. Custis,	Peter Saunders, Sr.
Harvey Deskins,	Robert E. Scott,
William H. Dulany,	William C. Scott,
Miers W. Fisher,	John D. Sharp,
William W. Forbes,	James W. Sheffey,

Messrs. Napoleon B. French,
Colbert C. Fugate,
Samuel M. Gailand,
H. L. Gillespie,
Samuel L. Graham,
Robert E. Grant,
Peyton Gravely,
Algernon S. Gray,
Fendall Gregory, Jr.
John Goode, Jr.
Addison Hall,
Cyrus Hall,
L. S. Hall,
Lewis E. Harvie,
Alpheus F. Haymond,

Messrs. Thomas Sitlington,
Charles R. Slaughter,
John M. Speed,
Burwell Spurlock,
Alex. H. H. Stuart,
William T. Sutherlin,
George P. Tayloe,
John T. Thornton,
Robert H. Turner,
Franklin P. Turner,
John Tyler,
Edward Waller,
Samuel Woods,
Benj. F. Wysor,
John B. Young—58.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. George Blow, Jr.
George W. Brent,
Robert Y. Conrad,
William P. Cooper,
James B. Dorman,
Thomas S. Flournoy,
J. G. Holladay,
James Marshall,

Messrs. Edmund T. Morris,
Wm. Ballard Preston,
Samuel Price,
George W. Randolph,
Thomas J. Randolph,
Samuel G. Staples,
William White—15.

Mr. STUART moved to further amend the amendment, by adding to it the following:

“When a vacancy shall occur among the commissioned officers of any volunteer or militia company in actual service, the officers remaining shall be promoted according to their rank so as to leave the vacancy in the lowest grade of the commissioned officers, and the vacancy thus left shall be filled by vote of the company as now provided by law.

“The certificate of any such election shall state the rank of the company officers resulting from such promotion and election, in order that commissions may be issued.”

The question being put was decided in the negative—yeas, 13; noes, 86.

On motion of Mr. STUART, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. Angus R. Blakey,
Allen T. Caperton,
Robert Y. Conrad,
C. J. R. Cresap,
J. G. Holladay,
James Marshall,

Messrs. Wm. Ballard Preston,
George W. Randolph,
John A. Robinson,
Alex. H. H. Stuart,
William White,
Benj. F. Wysor—12.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. R. L. Montague (<i>Prest</i>)	Messrs. J. M. Heck,
William M. Ambler,	George W. Hull,
Edw'd M. Armstrong,	Lewis D. Isbell,
William B. Aston,	Marmaduke Johnson,
George Baylor,	Robert C. Kent,
George W. Berlin,	John R. Kilby,
James Boisseau,	John J. Kindred,
Peter B. Borst,	Edward D. McGuire,
William W. Boyd,	Paul McNeil,
Thomas Branch,	William H. Macfarland,
George W. Brent,	J. W. Marshall,
James V. Brooke,	J. T. Martin,
Benjamin W. Byrne,	John L. Marye, Sr.
Frederick M. Cabell,	Thomas Maslin,
John A. Campbell,	Fleming B. Miller,
John A. Carter,	Horatio G. Moffett,
Edward R. Chambers,	Edmund T. Morris,
Manilius Chapman,	Stephen A. Morgan,
Samuel A. Coffinan,	Samuel McD. Moore,
Raphael M. Conu,	Hugh M. Nelson,
C. B. Conrad,	William C. Parks,
Robert E. Cowan,	Joseph H. Pendleton,
William P. Cooper,	Samuel Price,
James H. Cox,	David Pugh,
John Critcher,	Thomas J. Randolph,
W. H. B. Custis,	Peter Saunders, Sr.
Harvey Deskins,	Robert E. Scott,
William H. Dulany,	William C. Scott,
Miers W. Fisher,	James W. Sheffey,
Thomas S. Flournoy,	Thomas Sitlington,
William W. Forbes,	Charles R. Slaughter,
Samuel M. Garland,	John M. Speed,
H. L. Gillespie,	Burwell Spurlock,
Robert E. Grant,	Samuel G. Staples,
Peyton Gravely,	William P. Sutherlin,
Fendall Gregory, Jr.	George P. Tayloe,
John Goode, Jr.	John T. Thornton,
Addison Hall,	Robert H. Turner,
Cyrus Hall,	Franklin P. Turner,
L. S. Hall,	John Tyler,
Lewis E. Harvey,	Edward Waller,
Alpheus F. Haymond,	Samuel Woods,
John N. Hendren,	John B. Young—86.

Mr. RANDOLPH moved to further amend the amendment, by

striking out all after the word "volunteers," in the 22d line, down to "appointments," in the 25th line.

The question being put was decided in the affirmative.

Mr. SHEEFFY moved to amend the amendment added to the section by Mr. RANDOLPH, by adding after the word "officer," in the second line, the words, "of the militia."

The question being put, was decided in the negative.

The 8th section was then read and passed by without objection.

Mr. KINDRED moved to amend the 9th section by adding thereto the following:

"Provided, that not more than one-half of the volunteers now in service, between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-one years, shall be required to perform duty as a portion of the active class, which half shall be made up first by those who voluntarily remain in the service, if sufficient, and the deficiency by lot. The remainder, sufficient to make up a number equal to those subject to military duty between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-one years, shall be made up by draft from those of the reserve and active classes who have not volunteered in this war."

Mr. BLAKEY demanded the previous question, which was sustained.

The main question being upon the adoption of the amendment, submitted by Mr. KINDRED, was put, and decided in the negative.

Mr. RANDOLPH, of the city of Richmond, moved to amend the 10th section in the following manner:

"Strike out, in the 3d line, 'four,' and insert 'three,' strike out '28, three,' insert '29, two.' In the 4th line strike out 'over 28, three,' insert '29, two.' In the 4th line strike out 'over 28, and under 30, two years.' Add to the section: 'But if such volunteer be in service at the time of the passage of this ordinance, and shall serve continuously two years, no further service shall be required from him in the active class, and he shall be deemed in the reserve. If the term of service due from a member of the active class be not rendered continuously, he may again be called out for the remainder of the term, but not longer.'"

The question being put, was decided in the negative.

Mr. THORNTON moved to amend the original section, by striking out all after the word "follows," in the 2d line, down to the word "service," in the 5th line, and inserting the following: "All under 26 years of age, three years, and the rest two years."

The question being put, was decided in the affirmative.

Mr. BOISSEAU moved to further amend the section by inserting after the word "volunteer," in the fifth line, the words "as well heretofore as hereafter."

The question being put, was decided in the affirmative.

Mr. GOODE moved to amend the 11th section, by striking out all after the word "heretofore," in the second line, down to the word "when," in the fourth line.

The question being put, was decided in the affirmative.

Mr. RANDOLPH, of the City of Richmond, moved to further amend the section by striking out all after the word "for," in the eighth line, down to the word "or," in the ninth line, and inserting the words "one year more."

The question being put, was decided in the affirmative.

The 12th and 13th sections were then read and passed by without objection.

Mr. HECK moved to return to the 2d section, and to amend it, by striking out all after the word "or," in the seventh line, to "by," in the 8th line, and inserting the following: "in case of their absence, inability, refusal, or failure to act."

The question being put, was decided in the affirmative.

Mr. HECK moved the same amendment to the 4th section, after the word "or," in the seventh line, to the word "by," in the eighth line; and to strike out the word "within," in the seventh line, and insert the word "for."

The question being put was decided in the affirmative.

Mr. HECK moved to further amend the 2d section, by striking out all after the word "organized," in the sixth line, down to the word "or," in the seventh line, and inserting the following: "Each board acting for its present district."

The question being put was decided in the affirmative.

Mr. RANDOLPH, of the City of Richmond, moved to return to the 4th section, and to amend it, by adding thereto the following:

"Notices requiring enrolment shall be posted at three or more places of public resort in each company district not less than thirty days before the organization of a company. Persons subject to service under this ordinance belonging to districts occupied by the enemy, may be enrolled and called into service under temporary regulations to be prescribed by the Governor of the Commonwealth in his discretion."

The question being put, was decided in the affirmative.

Mr. NELSON moved to further amend the 7th section, by striking out all after the word "organized," in the 26th and 27th lines, down to the word "officers," in the 29th line.

The question being put was decided in the affirmative.

Mr. CURTNER moved to amend the 12th section, by striking out all after the word "they," in the 12th line, and adding the following: "Show good cause, before a court of inquiry, for such absence or failure to enrol."

Mr. CAPERTON demanded the previous question, which was sustained.

The main question being upon the adoption of the amendment submitted by Mr. CRITCHER, was put, and decided in the affirmative.

The ordinance, as amended, was then adopted.

On motion of Mr. RANDOLPH, the Convention adjourned.



SATURDAY, November 30, 1861.

The Convention assembled at 10 o'clock, A. M.

Prayer by the Rev. Mr. BOSSERMAN, of the Universalist Church.

On motion of Mr. NELSON, the Journal of the 26th instant, was so changed as to record his name with *the majority*, on all questions voted upon on that day.

On motion of Mr. AMBLER, the Journal was so changed as to cause the following letter to be entered upon the Journal of the 26th instant, to read as follows:

RICHMOND, VA., Nov. 26, 1861.

JAMES BARBOUR, Esq., *Virginia Convention*:

Dear Sir.—Mr. Dorman, of Rockbridge, a member of your body, on yesterday, in discussion, misrepresented me, (unintentionally, no doubt.) The Governor and Council never advised that no troops should be sent to North-Western Virginia, while I was a member of the Advisory Council, as represented by Mr. Dorman. Immediately after I learned that the ordinance of secession had passed, I sent Major William P. Thompson, of the county of Marion, to the seat of government, with a requisition for arms, and authority to call out the militia in North-West Virginia, with a view of taking possession of the two rail roads, the one terminating at Parkersburg and the other at the city of Wheeling, to prevent their use by the enemy in case of invasion, with a determination to destroy these roads at points near the Ohio and in the mountains, if necessary for our defence and protection. For some cause the arms were refused. It may be that the Governor advised with the Council—of this I am not informed. At that time three-fourths of the people of Marion county were in favor of the ordinance of secession, and if we had been furnished with arms, and authority to call out the militia, so that our people could have been assured of the aid and protection of the government, I have no hesitation in saying, that a large majority of the people of North-West Virginia would have voted for the ordinance of secession, and would be now in arms in defence of the State. Those rail roads afforded rapid facilities for the transportation of troops. The State of Ohio had her troops at the termini of those rail roads, on the Ohio side of the river, ready to march into Virginia immediately after the ratification of the ordinance of secession. This was made known to our people. Many were induced to vote against the ordinance, with a hope that they would not be interrupted by the expected invaders. Others did not go to the polls. Our people felt paralyzed. They had no arms of any consideration to protect themselves. In conclusion, let me say, the Governor and every member of the Council knows, that, so far as I am concerned, I urged the occupation of North-West Virginia with an armed force, sufficient to protect that section from invasion, and I have no doubt now, that if we had been furnished with arms and authority to call out the militia at once, we should now be in the possession of the most of that section of the State, and have now the support of a great majority of the people. As the action of your body will present a history of the times, for my protection, I hope you will ask that this letter may be recorded upon your journal.

Your friend,

T. S. HAYMOND.

The ordinance "relative to the proceedings against judges," presented by Mr. MORRIS, from a special committee, on the 27th instant, was taken up and adopted.

The ordinance "for the trial of persons offending against the

laws of the Commonwealth, in counties in possession of the common enemy," submitted by Mr. PRICE, November 27th, 1861, was taken up.

Mr. HAYMOND moved to amend the ordinance, by striking out the word "convenient," in the 6th line.

The question being put, was decided in the negative.

The ordinance was then adopted.

Mr. MACFARLAND presented an ordinance concerning treasury notes, which was laid upon the table and ordered to be printed.

Mr. MOORE submitted the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Committee on Amendments to the Constitution, be instructed to insert in the ordinance, by which the Constitution shall be submitted to the people for ratification or rejection, a provision, requiring the officers conducting the election, to take at the same time, a separate vote on the question of so restricting the right of suffrage, that no person shall vote at any election who has not paid, within the year they were assessed, all State and county or corporation taxes, assessed on him in the county in which he resides, for the year preceding that in which he offers to vote.

Mr. PRICE moved to lay the resolution on the table, and the question being put, was decided in the negative—yeas 34; nays 61.

On motion of Mr. STUART, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. Angus R. Blakey,	Messrs. Algernon S. Gray,
George Blow, Jr.	Cyrus Hall,
James Boisseau,	Alpheus F. Haymond,
John A. Campbell,	J. M. Heck,
John A. Carter,	James P. Holcombe,
Samuel A. Coffman,	Robert C. Kent,
Raphael M. Conn,	Edward D. McGuire,
Robert E. Cowan,	J. T. Martin,
William P. Cooper,	Fleming B. Miller,
C. J. P. Cresap,	Stephen A. Morgan,
John Critcher,	William C. Parks,
Harvey Deskins,	Joseph H. Pendleton,
Napoleon B. French,	John T. Seawell,
Colbert C. Fugate,	John D. Sharp,
Samuel M. Garland,	James W. Sheffey,
Samuel L. Graham,	Burwell Spurlock,
Robert E. Grant,	Frank. P. Turner—34.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. R. L. Montague (<i>Prest</i>)	Messrs. John L. Marye, Sr.
William M. Ambler,	Thomas Maslin,
Edw'd M. Armstrong,	Horatio G. Moffett,
George Baylor,	Edmund T. Morris,
George W. Berlin,	Samuel McD. Moore,

Messrs. George W. Brent,	Messrs. Hugh M. Nelson,
James V. Brooke,	Logan Osburn,
Benjamin W. Byrne,	William Ballard Preston,
Frederick M. Cabell,	Samuel Price,
Allen T. Caperton,	David Pugh,
Edward R. Chambers,	George W. Randolph,
Manilius Chapman,	Thomas J. Randolph,
Robert Y. Conrad,	John A. Robinson,
W. H. B. Custis,	Peter Saunders, Sr.
James B. Dorman,	Robert E. Scott,
William H. Dulany,	Thomas Sitlington,
Miers W. Fisher,	Charles R. Slaughter,
William W. Forbes,	John M. Speed,
H. L. Gillespie,	Samuel G. Staples,
Fendall Gregory, Jr.	Alex. H. H. Stuart,
Addison Hall,	William T. Sutherland,
L. S. Hall,	George P. Tayloe,
John N. Hendren,	John T. Thornton,
George W. Hull,	William M. Tredway,
Lewis D. Isbell,	Robert H. Turner,
John Janney,	John Tyler,
John R. Kilby,	Edward Waller,
John J. Kindred,	William White,
William H. Macfarland,	Samuel Woods,
J. W. Marshall,	John B. Young—61.
James Marshall,	

The resolution submitted by Mr. MOORE, was then adopted.

On motion of Mr. BLAKEY, the ordinance "on Salt," was taken up for consideration.

Mr. STUART moved to "pass by" the consideration of the ordinance for the purpose of resuming the consideration of the report of the Committee "on Amendments to the Constitution."

Mr. CARTER demanded the previous question, which was sustained.

The main question being upon the adoption of the motion made by Mr. STUART, was put, and decided in the affirmative—yeas 51; nays 41.

On motion of Mr. FORBES, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. R. L. Montague (<i>Prest</i>)	Messrs. Paul McNeil,
William M. Ambler,	James Marshall,
Edw'd M. Armstrong,	John L. Marye, Sr.
George W. Berlin,	Thomas Maslin,
George W. Brent,	Henry H. Masters,
James V. Brooke,	Fleming B. Miller,

Messrs. Allen T. Caperton,
 John A. Carter,
 Edward R. Chambers,
 Manilius Chapman,
 Robert Y. Conrad,
 Robert E. Cowan,
 John Critcher,
 Harvey Deskins,
 James B. Dorman,
 Colbert C. Fugate,
 Samuel M. Garland,
 Samuel L. Graham,
 Peyton Gravely,
 Fendall Gregory, Jr.
 Addison Hall,
 John N. Hendren,
 John Janney,
 Robert C. Kent,
 John R. Kilby,
 John J. Kindred,

Messrs. Logan Osburn,
 William C. Parks,
 Wm. Ballard Preston,
 Samuel Price,
 David Pugh,
 George W. Randolph,
 John D. Sharp,
 James W. Sheffey,
 Thomas Sitlington,
 Charles R. Slaughter,
 John M. Speed,
 Samuel G. Staples,
 Alex. H. H. Stuart,
 William T. Sutherlin,
 George P. Tayloe,
 John T. Thornton,
 William M. Tredway,
 John Tyler,
 Edward Waller—51.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. George Baylor,
 Angus R. Blakey,
 James Boisseau,
 William G. Brawner,
 Frederick M. Cabell,
 John A. Campbell,
 Samuel A. Coffman,
 Raphael M. Conn,
 C. B. Conrad,
 William P. Cooper,
 C. J. P. Cresap,
 W. H. B. Custis,
 William H. Dulany,
 Miers W. Fisher,
 William W. Forbes,
 Napoleon B. French,
 H. L. Gillespie,
 Robert E. Grant,
 John Goode, Jr.
 Cyrus Hall,
 L. S. Hall,

Messrs. Alpheus F. Haymond,
 J. M. Heck,
 James P. Holcombe,
 Lewis D. Isbell,
 Edward D. McGuire,
 William H. Macfarland,
 J. W. Marshall,
 J. T. Martin,
 Horatio G. Moffett,
 Edmund T. Morris,
 Stephen A. Morgan,
 Hugh M. Nelson,
 John A. Robinson,
 Peter Saunders, Sr.
 John T. Seawell,
 Burwell Spurlock,
 Robert H. Turner,
 Franklin P. Turner,
 Samuel Woods,
 John B. Young—41.

The report of the Committee "on Amendments to the Constitution" was then taken up—the pending question being upon

the amendment to the 9th section, submitted by Mr. FLOURNOY, on the 27th instant.

The question being put, was decided in the negative—yeas 23; nays 72.

On motion of Mr. SHEFFEY, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. R. L. Montague (<i>Prst</i>)	Messrs. Marmaduke Johnson,
William M. Ambler,	James Marshall,
George W. Berlin,	Samuel McD. Moore,
Angus R. Blakey,	Hugh M. Nelson,
Frederick M. Cabell,	Robert E. Scott,
Allen T. Caperton,	Charles R. Slaughter,
Edward R. Chambers,	John M. Speed,
Miers W. Fisher,	Alex. H. H. Stuart,
William W. Forbes,	Franklin P. Turner,
Fendall Gregory, Jr.	John Tyler,
Addison Hall,	Edward Waller—23.
John N. Hendren,	

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. Edward M. Armstrong,	Messrs. John R. Kilby,
George Baylor,	John J. Kindred,
George Blow, Jr.	Edward D. McGuire,
James Boisseau,	Paul McNeil,
George W. Brent,	William H. Macfarland,
James V. Brooke,	J. W. Marshall,
Benjamin W. Byrne,	J. T. Martin,
John A. Campbell,	John L. Marye, Sr.
John A. Carter,	Thomas Maslin,
William P. Cecil,	Henry H. Masters,
Manilius Chapman,	Fleming B. Miller,
Samuel A. Coffman,	Horatio G. Moffett,
Raphael M. Conn,	Edmund T. Morris,
C. B. Conrad,	Stephen A. Morgan,
Robert Y. Conrad,	Logan Osburn,
Robert E. Cowan,	William C. Parks,
C. J. P. Cresap,	Wm. Ballard Preston,
John Critcher,	Samuel Price,
W. H. B. Custis,	David Pugh,
Harvey Deskins,	George W. Randolph,
William H. Dulany,	John A. Robinson,
Napoleon B. French,	Peter Saunders, Sr.
Colbert C. Fugate,	John T. Seawell,
Samuel M. Garland,	John D. Sharp,
H. L. Gillespie,	James W. Sheffey,

Messrs. Samuel L. Graham,	Messrs. Thomas Sitlington,
Robert E. Grant,	Burwell Spurlock,
Peyton Gravely,	Samuel G. Staples,
John Goode, Jr.	George P. Tayloe,
Cyrus Hall,	John T. Thornton,
L. S. Hall,	William M. Tredway,
J. M. Heck,	Robert H. Turner,
James P. Holcombe,	Samuel Woods,
Lewis D. Isbell,	Benjamin F. Wysor,
John Janney,	John B. Young—72.
Robert C. Kent,	

Mr. MORGAN moved to further amend the section, by inserting after the word "shall," in the 6th line, the following:

"Every twelfth year, elect a presiding justice, who is not one of their own number, and whose salary shall be fixed by the General Assembly."

The question being put, was decided in the negative.

Mr. BROOKE moved to further amend the section, by striking out the whole and inserting the following:

"Each county shall be laid off into districts as nearly equal as may be in territory and population. In each district, four justice of the peace shall be chosen by the qualified voters thereof, who shall be commissioned by the Governor, reside in their respective districts and hold their offices for the term of twelve years, except as hereinafter provided. At the first court after the election and qualification of the justices under this Constitution, or so soon thereafter as may be; they shall be divided into two classes; each class to consist of two justices from each district, to be numbered by lot. The term of service of the first class shall expire at the end of six years, and of the second class, at the expiration of twelve years, and this alternation shall be continued, so that one half of the justices may be chosen every sixth year," &c.

Mr. BLAKEY moved to amend the amendment, by striking out all after the words, "or as soon thereafter as may be," and inserting the following:

"The county court of each county shall divide all the justices thereof into twelve classes, as nearly equal as may be, each class as far as possible to be composed of justices from different districts, and numbered by lot. The justices of each class shall continue in office for the number of years designated by the number of their respective classes. As the term of each justice shall expire, his successor shall be chosen by the voters of the county residing in the district in which such justice resided at the time of his election."

The question being put, was decided in the negative—yeas 41; nays 50.

On motion of Mr. HAYMOND, the vote was recorded as follows:
The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. R. L. Montague (<i>Prest</i>)	Messrs. Addison Hall,
William M. Ambler,	George W. Hull,
George W. Berlin,	John Janney,
James Boisseau,	Marmaduke Johnson,

Messrs. Thomas Branch,	Messrs. Robert C. Kent,
William G. Brawner,	John R. Kilby,
George W. Brent,	John J. Kindred,
James V. Brooke,	William H. Macfarland,
Frederick M. Cabell,	John L. Marye, Sr.
John A. Campbell,	Edmund T. Morris,
John A. Carter,	Samuel McD. Moore,
Edward R. Chambers,	Hugh M. Nelson,
C. B. Conrad,	Joseph H. Pendleton,
C. J. P. Cresap,	Robert E. Scott,
James B. Dorman,	John M. Speed,
William H. Dulany,	John T. Thornton,
Miers W. Fisher,	Franklin P. Turner,
William W. Forbes,	Edward Waller,
Robert E. Grant,	William White,
Algernon S. Gray,	John B. Young—41.
Fendall Gregory, Jr.	

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. Edwd. M. Armstrong,	Messrs. J. W. Marshall,
George Baylor,	James Marshall,
Angus R. Blakey,	J. T. Martin,
Peter B. Borst,	Thomas Maslin,
Benjamin W. Byrne,	Henry H. Masters,
William P. Cecil,	Fleming B. Miller,
Manilius Chapman,	Horatio G. Moffet,
Samuel A. Coffman,	Stephen A. Morgan,
Raphael M. Conn,	Logan Osburn,
John Critcher,	William C. Parks,
W. H. B. Custis,	Wm. Ballard Preston,
Harvey Deskins,	Samuel Price,
Napoleon B. French,	David Pugh,
Colbert C. Fugate,	George W. Randolph,
Samuel M. Garland,	Peter Saunders, Sr.
H. L. Gillespie,	John D. Sharp,
Samuel L. Graham,	James W. Sheffield,
Peyton Gravely,	Thomas Sitlington,
John Goode, Jr.	Charles R. Slaughter,
Alpheus F. Haymond,	Burwell Spurlock,
John N. Hendren,	Samuel G. Staples,
J. M. Heck,	Alex. H. H. Stuart,
James P. Holcombe,	George P. Tayloe,
Lewis D. Isbell,	John Tyler,
Paul McNeil,	Samuel Woods—50

The question recurred upon the adoption of the substitute

submitted by Mr. BROOKE, and being put, was decided in the negative.

Mr. BAYLOR demanded the previous question which was sustained.

The main question being upon the adoption of the section as amended, was put and decided in the affirmative.

Mr. SEAWELL moved to amend the 10th section by way of substitute, by striking out the whole and inserting the following:

The presiding justice of each county court shall receive a per diem compensation for his services in court, to be ascertained by law and paid out of the county treasury; but shall not receive any fee or emolument for other judicial services. No other justice of said courts shall receive any compensation for any judicial services.

Mr. CRITCHER moved to amend the amendment by way of substitute, by striking out the whole and inserting the following:

SECTION 10. The justices shall receive no fee or emolument for their judicial services.

Mr. SHEFFEY demanded the previous question, which was sustained.

The main question being upon the adoption of the substitute submitted by Mr. CRITCHER, was put, and decided in the negative—yeas 11; nays 86.

On motion of Mr. YOUNG, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. William M. Ambler,	Messrs. John L. Marye, Sr.
Edward M. Armstrong,	Hugh M. Nelson,
George W. Berlin,	Franklin P. Turner,
Edward R. Chambers,	William White,
Robert Y. Conrad,	Samuel Woods—11.
John Critcher,	

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. R. L. Montague (<i>Prest</i>)	Messrs. George W. Hull,
George Baylor,	Lewis D. Isbell,
Angus R. Blakey,	Peter C. Johnston,
George Blow, Jr.	Robert C. Kent,
James Boisseau,	John R. Kilby,
Peter B. Borst,	Paul McNeil,
Thomas Branch,	William H. Macfarland,
William G. Brawner,	J. W. Marshall,
George W. Brent,	James Marshall,
James V. Brooke,	J. T. Martin,
Benjamin W. Byrne,	Thomas Maslin,
Frederick M. Cabell,	Henry H. Masters,
John A. Campbell,	Fleming B. Miller,

Messrs. John A. Carter,
 William P. Cecil,
 Manilius Chapman,
 Samuel A. Coffman,
 C. B. Conrad,
 Robert E. Cowan,
 William P. Cooper,
 C. J. P. Cresap,
 W. H. B. Custis,
 Harvey Deskins,
 James B. Dorinan,
 William H. Dulany,
 Miers W. Fisher,
 William W. Forbes,
 Napoleon B. French,
 Colbert C. Fugate,
 Samuel M. Garland,
 H. L. Gillespie,
 Samuel L. Graham,
 Robert E. Grant,
 Peyton Gravely,
 Fendall Gregory, Jr.
 John Goode, Jr.
 Addison Hall,
 Cyrus Hall,
 L. S. Hall,
 Alpheus F. Haymond,
 John M. Heck,
 John N. Hendren,
 James P. Holcombe,
 J. G. Holladay,

Messrs. Horatio G. Moffett,
 Edmund T. Morris,
 Stephen A. Morgan,
 Samuel McD. Moore,
 Logan Osburn,
 William C. Parks,
 Joseph H. Pendleton,
 Wm. Ballard Preston,
 Samuel Price,
 David Pugh,
 George W. Randolph,
 Thomas J. Randolph,
 John A. Robinson,
 Peter Saunders, Sr.
 Robert E. Scott,
 John T. Seawell,
 John D. Sharp,
 James W. Sheffey,
 Thomas Sitlington,
 Charles R. Slaughter,
 John M. Speed,
 Burwell Spurlock,
 Samuel G. Staples,
 Alex. H. H. Stuart,
 George P. Tayloe,
 John T. Thornton,
 William M. Tredway,
 Robert H. Turner,
 John Tyler,
 Edward Waller,
 John B. Young.—88.

The question recurred upon the adoption of the substitute submitted by Mr. SEAWELL, and being put, was decided in the negative—yeas 24; nays 78.

On motion of Mr. MORRIS, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. R. L. Montague (<i>Prest</i>)	Messrs. Edmund T. Morris,
William M. Ambler,	Hugh M. Nelson,
George W. Berlin,	Logan Osburn,
George Blow, Jr.,	Joseph H. Pendleton,
Thomas Branch,	John T. Seawell,
Frederick M. Cabell,	Charles R. Slaughter,
Edward R. Chambers,	John M. Speed,
Robert Y. Conrad,	Samuel G. Staples,

Messrs. Lewis E. Harvie,
James Marshall,
John L. Marye, Sr.
Horatio G. Moffett,

Messrs. John T. Thornton,
William M. Tredway,
Franklin P. Turner,
William White—24.

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. Edward M. Armstrong,	Messrs. Alpheus F. Haymond,
George Baylor,	John N. Hendren,
Angus R. Blakey,	J. M. Heck,
James Boisseau,	James P. Holcombe,
Peter B. Borst,	George W. Hull,
William G. Brawner,	Lewis D. Isbell,
George W. Brent,	John Janney,
James V. Brooke,	Robert C. Kent,
John A. Campbell,	John R. Kilby,
Allen T. Caperton,	John J. Kindred,
John A. Carter,	Edward D. McGuire,
William P. Cecil,	Paul McNeil,
Manilius Chapman,	J. W. Marshall,
Samuel A. Coffman,	J. T. Martin,
Raphael M. Conn,	Thomas Maslin,
C. B. Conrad,	Henry H. Masters,
Robert E. Cowan,	Fleming B. Miller,
William P. Cooper,	Stephen A. Morgan,
C. J. P. Cresap,	Samuel McD. Moore,
John Critcher,	William C. Parks,
W. H. B. Custis,	Wm. Ballard Preston,
Harvey Deskins,	Samuel Price,
James B. Dorman,	David Pugh,
William H. Dulany,	George W. Randolph,
Miers W. Fisher,	Thomas J. Randolph,
William W. Forbes,	John A. Robinson,
Napoleon B. French,	Peter Saunders, Sr.
Colbert C. Fugate,	Robert E. Scott,
Samuel M. Garland,	John D. Sharp,
H. L. Gillespie,	James W. Sheffey,
Samuel L. Graham,	Thomas Sitlington,
Robert E. Grant,	Burwell Spurlock,
Peyton Gravely,	Alex. H. H. Stuart,
Algernon S. Gray,	George P. Tayloe,
Fendall Gregory, Jr.	Robert H. Turner,
John Goode, Jr.	John Tyler,
Addison Hall,	Edward Waller,
Cyrus Hall,	Samuel Woods,
L. S. Hall,	John B. Young—78.

Mr. SPEED moved to amend the section, by striking out the

word "shall," in the first line, and inserting the word "may."

The question being put, was decided in the affirmative.

Mr. DULANY moved to further amend the section by striking out the word "judicial" in the fifth line.

The question being put, was decided in the negative.

The section as amended, was then adopted.

The 11th section was then read, and passed by without objection.

Mr. STUART moved to amend the 12th section by inserting after the word "appeal," in the first line, the following: "except as otherwise provided in this constitution."

The question being put, was decided in the affirmative.

The section as amended was then adopted.

The 13th section was then read, and passed by without objection.

Mr. Woods moved to amend the 14th section by striking out all from the beginning down to "shall," in the 2d line, and inserting the following: "clerks for the circuit courts, and attorneys for the Commonwealth, in the circuit and county courts."

The question being put, was decided in the negative.

Mr. Haymond moved to amend the section by inserting after the word "law," in the 8th line, the following:

"But there shall be but one attorney for the Commonwealth, in any county, and he shall be appointed by the judge of the circuit, which that county forms a part."

Mr. SHEFFEY demanded the previous question, which was sustained.

The main question being upon the adoption of the amendment, submitted by Mr. HAYMOND, was put, and decided in the negative—yeas 23; nays 72.

On motion of Mr. HALL, of Lancaster, the vote was recorded as follows:

The names of those who voted in the affirmative are—

Messrs. George Baylor,
George W. Berlin,
Angus R. Blakey
Peter B. Borst,
Benjamin W. Byrne,
John A. Carter,
William P. Cecil,
Robert E. Cowan,
William P. Cooper,
C. J. P. Cresap,
W. H. B. Custis,
Cyrus Hall,

L. S. Hall,
Alpheus F. Haymond,
J. M. Heck,
John Janney,
Robert C. Kent,
Edward D. McGuire,
J. T. Martin,
Stephen A. Morgan,
Thomas J. Randolph,
John A. Robinson,
Samuel Woods—23,

The names of those who voted in the negative are—

Messrs. R. L. Montague (<i>Prest</i>)	Messrs. John R. Kilby,
William M. Ambler,	John J. Kindred,
Edward M. Armstrong,	Paul McNeil,
George Blow, Jr.,	William H. Macfarland,
James Boisseau,	J. W. Marshall,
Thomas Branch,	James Marshall,
William G. Brawner,	John L. Marye, Sr.,
James V. Brooke,	Thomas Maslin,
Frederick M. Cabell,	Henry H. Masters,
John A. Campbell,	Fleming B. Miller,
Allen T. Caperton,	Horatio G. Moffett,
Edward R. Chambers,	Edmund T. Morris,
Manilins Chapman,	Samuel McD. Moore,
Raphael M. Conn,	Logan Osburn,
C. B. Conrad,	William C. Parks,
Robert Y. Conrad,	Wm. Ballard Preston,
John Critcher,	Samuel Price,
Harvey Deskins,	David Pugh,
James B. Dorman,	George W. Randolph,
William H. Dulany,	Peter Saunders, Sr.,
Miers W. Fisher,	Robert E. Scott,
Napoleon B. French,	John T. Seawell,
Colbert C. Fugate,	John D. Sharp,
Samuel M. Garland,	James W. Sheffey,
H. L. Gillespie,	Thomas Sitlington,
Robert E. Grant,	Charles R. Slaughter,
Peyton Gravely,	John M. Speed,
Fendall Gregory, Jr.,	Samuel G. Staples,
John Goode, Jr.,	Alex. H. H. Stuart,
Addison Hall,	George P. Tayloe,
Lewis E. Harvie,	John T. Thornton,
John N. Hendren,	Robert H. Turner,
James P. Holcombe,	Franklin P. Turner,
George W. Hull,	Edward Waller,
Lewis D. Isbell,	William White,
Marmaduke Johnson,	John B. Young—72.

Mr. SCOTT, of Fauquier, demanded the previous question, which was sustained.

The main question being upon the adoption of the 14th section, was put and decided in the affirmative.

The 15th section was then read and passed by without objection.

Mr. GRAVELY moved to amend the 16th section so as to read, "that the sheriffalty shall be put up to the highest bidder," &c.

The question being put, was decided in the negative.

Mr. CECIL moved to amend the section by inserting after the word "him," in the 3d line, the following:

"And said courts shall assess upon the sheriff, so appointed, such sum as they may deem reasonable, to be applied to the payment of the county expenses."

Mr. CAPERTON demanded the previous question, which was sustained.

The main question being upon the adoption of the amendment submitted by Mr. CECIL, was put, and decided in the negative.

Mr. TURNER, of Jackson and Roane, moved to amend the section by striking out all from the word "and," in the second line down to "but," in the third line, and inserting the following: "Commissioned by the Governor and hold their offices for two years."

The question being put was decided in the negative.

Mr. STUART moved to amend the section by inserting after the word "him," in the third line, the words "and hold their office for two years."

The question being put, was decided in the affirmative.

Mr. WOODS moved to further amend the section by inserting after the word "public" in the 6th line the words, "and other dues."

The question being put, was decided in the negative.

The section as amended was then adopted.

The 17th section was then read and passed by without objection.

Mr. RANDOLPH moved to insert the following as an independent section:

"The General Assembly may vest such jurisdiction as shall be deemed proper in corporation courts, and in the magistrates who may belong to the corporate body.

Members of the council or other legislative body, of all cities and incorporated towns, shall be elected by the qualified voters thereof. Attorneys for the commonwealth, clerks of corporation courts, sergeants of corporations, coroners and constables shall be appointed by the corporation courts. Magistrates and aldermen, not elected by the qualified voters as members of the council or legislative body, and all other officers shall be chosen by such council or legislative body, and the council or legislative body may choose aldermen from their own body who may continue to be members thereof. The term and tenure of office of all corporation officers shall be prescribed by the General Assembly.

Mr. BLOW moved to amend the section, by way of substituting, by striking out the whole and inserting the following:

"The General Assembly may vest such jurisdiction, as shall be deemed proper, in corporation courts, and in the magistrates belonging to the corporate body. The mayor, recorder, councils, and justices of the peace, of all cities and incorporated towns, shall be elected by the qualified voters thereof, and hold their offices as now prescribed by law. Sergeants of corporations, clerks, and attorneys for the Commonwealth, for the corporation courts, coroners and constables

shall be appointed by their respective courts in the same mode, and hold their offices for the same terms, as prescribed for similar officers in the counties of the Commonwealth."

Mr. SLAUGHTER moved to amend the substitute submitted by Mr. BLOW by adding thereto the following: "All other officers of the corporation shall be appointed by the council or legislative body."

Pending which, Mr. HAYMOND moved to pass by the further consideration of the "Report of the Committee on Amendments to the Constitution," and take up the report of the Committee on Elections upon the petition of T. S. HAYMOND and others."

The question being put, was decided in the affirmative.

The report was then made the order of the day for Tuesday 10 o'clock; A. M.

On motion of Mr. PENDLETON, the Convention adjourned.





RULES AND REGULATIONS

ADOPTED FOR THE

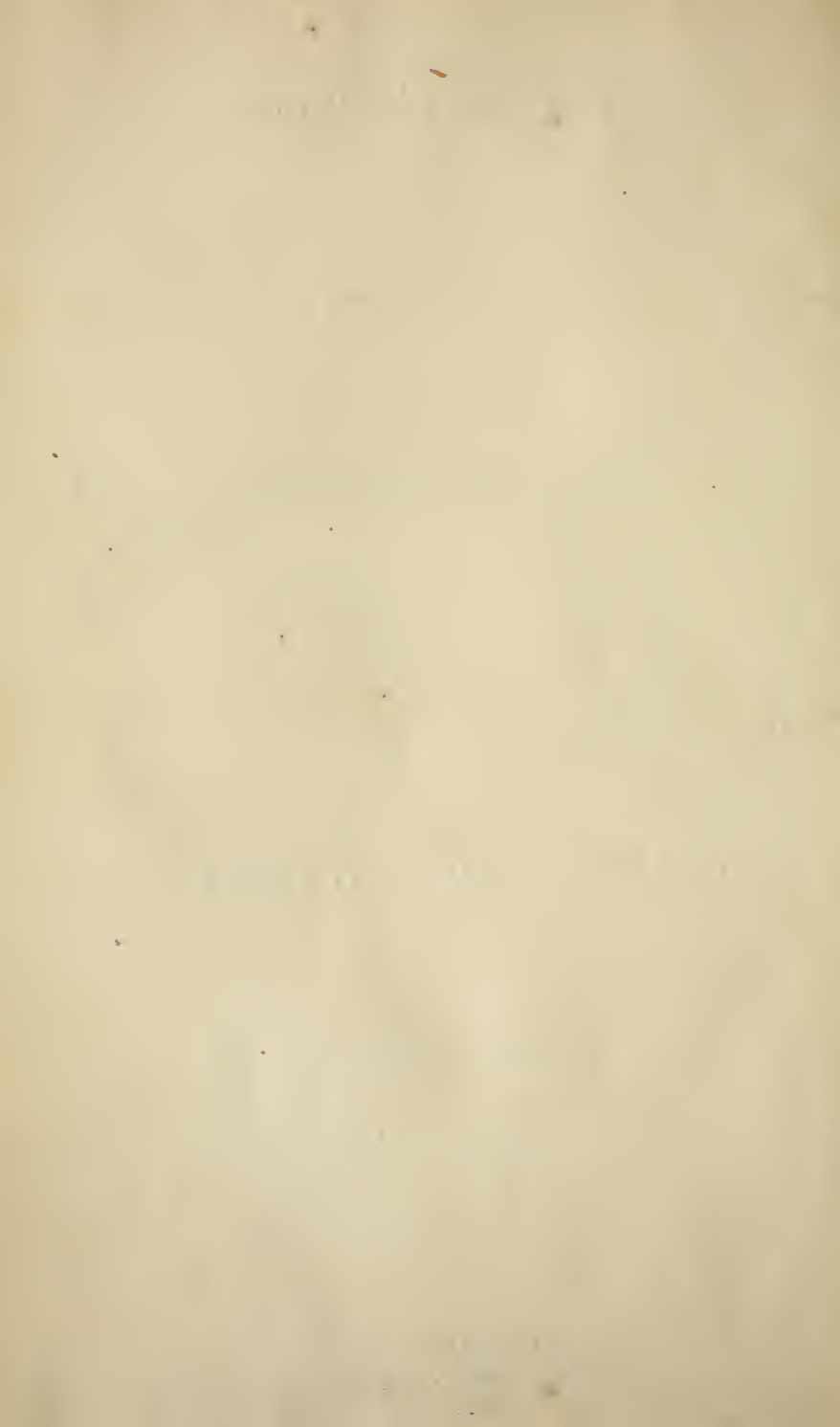
GOVERNMENT

OF THE

STATE CONVENTION,

FEBRUARY 15, 1861.

RICHMOND:
PRINTED BY W. M. ELLIOTT.
1861.



In Convention, February 15th, 1861, on motion of Mr. DORMAN,

Resolved, That the Rules of the Virginia Convention of 1850, so far as applicable, be adopted for the government of the Convention, and that two hundred copies of the same be printed of this body.



RULES AND REGULATIONS.

1. The President of the Convention shall take the Chair every day precisely at the hour to which the Convention shall have adjourned the day preceding; shall immediately call the members to order, and on the appearance of a quorum, shall cause the Journal of the preceding day to be read for correction. He shall preserve *order and decorum*; may speak to points of order in preference to other members; rising from his seat for that purpose; shall decide questions of order, subject to an appeal to the Convention; shall daily examine and correct the Journal before it is read; shall have a general direction of the hall; may call any member to the Chair to perform its functions not exceeding one day; shall set apart seats in the hall for the members of the General Assembly, and of the Executive of this State, for the Judges of this State, and of the United States; and for such other persons as he may think proper to invite within the hall; for any disturbance or disorder among spectators in the hall or gallery, he or the chairman of the committee of the whole, (as the case may be) shall have power to order the same to be cleared; he shall appoint all committees not otherwise ordered; shall promptly call members to order for transgressing the rules; and when two members rise at the same time to address the Chair, shall name the one who is to speak, taking care however always to allow a member who rises and addresses the Chair first, to speak first.

2. No member shall absent himself from the service of the Convention, unless he be sick and unable to attend.

3. A member about to speak or deliver any matter to the Convention, shall rise *from his seat*, and without advancing, shall, with due respect address, "*Mr. President*," confining himself strictly to the point in debate, avoiding all personality, and indecent and disrespectful language.

4. No member while addressing the Convention, shall call another member by name.

5. No member shall speak more than *twice* to the same question without leave, nor more than *once*, until every other member intending to speak shall have spoken.

6. The rules of parliamentary practice, comprised in Jefferson's Manual, shall govern the Convention in all cases to which they are applicable, and not inconsistent with the rules and orders of the Convention.

7. The Secretary shall draw up the Journals of the Conven-

tion daily, which, after being examined and corrected by the President, and read to the Convention, shall be printed, and one copy shall be delivered to him and one to each member without delay. He shall not suffer any member, or other person, to take any records or papers from his table, or out of his custody.

8. A question being once determined, must stand as the judgment of the Convention, and shall not again be drawn into debate.

9. While the President is reporting or putting a question, none shall entertain private discourse, read, stand up, walk into, or out of the house; and when a motion to lie on the table is made, there shall be no debate upon that, or any incidental question arising out of it, including an appeal.

10. No member shall vote upon any question touching his own conduct or privilege as a member, but shall be entitled to vote upon all other questions, before the result of the vote is announced from the Chair.

11. A majority of the members of the Convention shall be necessary to transact business, and every question shall be determined according to the vote of the majority of the members present. Any smaller number shall be sufficient to adjourn, and fifteen to call a house, and send for the absent, and make any order for their censure or discharge.

12. A majority of any committee shall be necessary to transact business.

13. Any person who shall tamper with any witness in respect to his evidence to be given in this Convention, or before any of its committees, or who shall directly or indirectly attempt to deter, or hinder any person from appearing, or giving evidence, shall be deemed to have committed a high crime, and shall be punished according.

14. No person shall be taken into custody by the sergeant-at-arms on any complaint of a breach of privilege, until the matter of such complaint shall be examined by a committee and reported to the house.

15. The sergeant's fee shall be as follows: for taking a person into custody two dollars; for every day detained in custody two dollars; for sending a messenger to take any person in custody by warrant from the President, eight cents per mile for going and the same for returning.

16. On a call of the house, the doors shall not be shut against any member until his name is once called and noted as an absentee.

17. When any member shall remain in his seat two days after leave of absence, such leave shall be void.

18. No business shall be introduced, taken up, or considered, after 12 o'clock, until the orders of the day shall be disposed of, except that an order of the day commenced may continue from day to day until finished, to the exclusion of other orders.

19. Any member (seven others concurring) shall have a right to demand the ayes and noes upon any question, at any time before it be put, and in such case, the names of the members shall be called by the Secretary in alphabetical order, and the ayes and noes entered respectively on the Journal; and the question decided as a majority of votes shall thereupon appear. But after the ayes and noes are separately taken, and before they are counted and entered on the Journal, the Secretary shall read over the names of those who voted in the affirmative, and of those who voted in the negative, in order that any mistake in the listing of names and votes may be corrected.

20. The petitioner who contests the election of a member returned to serve in this Convention, shall receive his wages only from the day on which he is declared duly elected.

21. Select committees shall be composed of not less than five nor more than thirteen.

22. In elections, but one vacancy shall be filled at a time, and if, in any election, no person receive a majority of the whole vote upon the first ballot, the person having the smallest number of votes shall not be voted for upon the next ballot, and so on each succeeding ballot, until some person shall have a majority of the whole.

23. In all votes of the house, except by ayes and noes, the President may, and at the instance of any member, shall, cause the house to be divided; and if upon the rising of the members in the affirmative, a doubt still exists with the President or any member, on which side the majority is, the members in the affirmative shall first be counted, and then those in the negative, either by the President or at his request, by two members of opposite opinions upon the question.

24. The documents ordered to be printed by the Convention shall be printed on paper of the same size of the Journals of the Convention, and a copy shall be bound with each Journal, to be furnished to the members at the end of the session; and it shall be the duty of the printer of the house to print one hundred additional copies of each document for the use of the Commonwealth.

25. No committee shall sit during the sessions of the Convention without special leave.

26. If any member, while speaking, transgress the rules of the Convention, the President shall, or any member may, call to order; and the member so called to order shall immediately sit down, unless permitted to explain, and the Convention shall, if appealed to, decide on the case, but without debate. If there be no appeal, the decision of the Chair shall be submitted to; if the decision be in favor of the member, he shall proceed—if against him, he shall not proceed; if any other member object, without leave of the Convention; and if the case require it, he shall be liable to the censure of the Convention.

27. If a member be called to order for words spoken in debate, the member calling him to order, shall repeat the words excepted to, and they shall be taken down in writing by the secretary; and no member shall be held to answer, or be subject to the censure of the Convention for words spoken in debate, if any other member has spoken, or other business has intervened, before exception to them shall have been taken

28. While a member is speaking, none shall entertain private discourse, or shall otherwise disturb him, or pass between him and the Chair.

29. Every member shall remain uncovered during the sessions of the Convention; and no member shall remain by the secretary's table while the ayes and noes are calling, or while the Convention is voting, or the secretary calling or counting the votes, in any election.

30. Every member who shall be in the house when a question is put shall vote, unless excused; and all motions to excuse, in such cases, shall be made before the house divides, or before the call of the ayes and noes is commenced; and any member requesting to be excused from voting, may make a brief verbal statement of his reasons, and the question shall then be taken without further debate.

31. Every motion shall be reduced to writing, if the President or any member desire it.

32. When a question is under debate, no motion shall be received but to adjourn, for the previous question, to lie on the table, to postpone indefinitely, to adjourn the question to a different day, to commit, or amend; which several motions shall have precedence in the order in which they are arranged.

33. Upon a call for the previous question, no member shall speak more than ten minutes. Unless such call be seconded by twenty members, indicated by rising, the President shall put no question; but if so sustained, a question shall be immediately put by the Chair to this effect, "shall the main question be now put?" If on this question a majority of the House vote in the affirmative, the Chair shall thereupon put the pending question, and all incidental questions of order arising after a motion is made for the previous question, and pending the motion, shall be decided, whether on appeal or otherwise, without debate.

34. Any member may call for the division of a question, and it shall be, thereupon, divided, if it comprehend propositions in substance so distinct that one being taken away, a substantive proposition shall remain for the decision of the house—but a motion to strike out being lost, shall not preclude a motion to strike out and insert.

35. When the Convention is about to rise, every member shall keep his seat until the President shall have announced the adjournment.

[No. 1.]

RESOLUTION

Submitted by Mr. Haymond, and laid upon the table, on his motion, February 25, 1861.

Resolved, That the Constitution of this State should be amended, and that this Convention will amend the Constitution wherein it is necessary and proper that it should be amended, and will submit the same, as amended, to the voters of the State for their adoption or rejection.

22
[DOC. NO. IV.]

REPORT

OF THE

COMMITTEE OF ELECTIONS

ON THE

RETURNS OF THE VOTES

FOR AND AGAINST

REFERRING THE ACTION OF THE CONVENTION TO THE PEOPLE

The Committee on Elections have examined the returns of the number of persons who have voted for and against referring the action of this Convention to the people, as provided by the act of the General Assembly, passed January 14th, 1861, entitled "an act to provide for electing members of a Convention, and to convene the same;" and beg leave to report that in all, except the following counties, to wit: Barbour, Boone, Braxton, Buchanan, Cabell, Elizabeth City, Greene, Logan, McDowell, Prince William, Putnam, Upshur, Wayne, Wise, Wyoming and York, from which returns have not been received, the whole number of votes cast was one hundred and forty thousand five hundred and eleven, of which ninety-six thousand six hundred and eighty-four were cast for referring to the people, and forty-three thousand eight hundred and twenty-seven against referring to the people, showing a majority as far as heard from of fifty-two thousand eight hundred and fifty-seven for referring to the people.

The Committee will make a further and final report upon this subject on receiving the returns from the delinquent counties.

The foregoing result is derived from the returns received by the President of the Convention, and the Governor of the Commonwealth.

A. F. HAYMOND,
Chairman of Committee on Elections.



27
[DOC. NO. VII.]

COMMUNICATION

FROM THE

EXECUTIVE OF THE COMMONWEALTH,

TRANSMITTING A

REPORT FROM THE ADJUTANT GENERAL

IN RESPONSE TO A RESOLUTION OF THE CONVENTION, CALLING FOR INFORMATION CONCERNING

THE MILITIA AND VOLUNTEERS OF THE STATE, &c.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, }
February 27, 1861. }

Gentlemen of the Convention:

In response to your resolution, adopted on the 20th instant, calling for information as to “the number of the enrolled militia, and of the volunteers of the State; the number of companies that have been supplied with arms; their kind and description,” I communicate herewith a report from the Adjutant General.

Respectfully,

JOHN LETCHER.

REPORT.

ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE, }
February 27, 1861. }

To his Excellency JOHN LETCHER,
Governor of Virginia:

SIR,—I have the honor to report the information called for by resolution of the Convention of the 21st instant.

The military force of the State consists of 5 divisions, 28 brigades, 5 regiments of cavalry, 5 of artillery, 3 regiments and 4 battalions of uniformed and armed volunteers, and 197 regiments of infantry of the line. The annual consolidated return up to 1st October, 1860, being made up from the latest brigade returns, gives an aggregate of only 143,255, officers, non-commissioned officers and privates, although there are undoubtedly not less than 200,000 men in the State subject to militia duty. This is the result of negligence on the part of enrolling officers, and the failure of some regiments to make any returns at all.

VOLUNTEER FORCE.

There are now in commission 95 troops of cavalry, 26 companies of artillery, 112 companies of light infantry and 114 companies of riflemen.

Of Cavalry:

- 7 troops are armed with sabres and percussion cavalry pistols.
- 2 " with sabres and cavalry muskets.
- 32 " " " " revolvers.
- 21 " " " " only—and
- 33 are unarmed.

Of the Artillery:

- 11 companies are armed with 6-pounder field guns, with carriages and implements complete, and artillery swords.
- 1 with 6-pounder field guns, swords and Sappers and Miners' muskets.
- 1 with 6-pounder field guns, swords and artillery muskets.
- 1 with six 12-pounder howitzers and light artillery swords—and
- 12 are unarmed.

Of the Light Infantry:

6 companies are armed with rifle muskets.
 75 " " " " percussion muskets.
 26 " " " " flint lock "
 4 " " without arms.

Of the Riflemen:

4 companies are armed with long range rifles, with sword attachment.
 24 companies with percussioned rifles.
 10 companies with flint lock rifles, and
 76 companies are without arms.

All the armed companies are uniformed. The numerical strength of the armed force is:

Cavalry, with sabres and pistols, or sabres only,	2,547	
Unarmed, about	-	- 1,650
		<hr/> 4,197
Artillery—Armed companies,	-	- 820
Unarmed "	-	- 660
		<hr/> 1,480
Light Infantry—Companies with rifled muskets,	400	
Companies with percussion do.	3,830	
Companies with flint lock do.	1,300	
Companies unarmed,	-	- 250
		<hr/> 5,780
Riflemen—Companies with long range rifles,	- 330	
Companies with percussioned rifles,	1,320	
Companies unarmed,	-	- 3,600
		<hr/> 5,250
Making an aggregate of	-	- 16,707

The military spirit which pervades the State, as evidenced by the correspondence of this office, would, I believe, in case of emergency, double the militia force, by men above 45, perfectly able and more than willing to bear arms if the State shall need their services.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

WM. H. RICHARDSON, A. G.



22
[DOC. NO. VIII.]

REPORT

OF THE

AUDITOR OF PUBLIC ACCOUNTS,

SHOWING THE

AGGREGATE NUMBER OF PERSONS RETURNED DELINQUENT BY THE
SHERIFFS OF THE COMMONWEALTH,

FOR THE

NON-PAYMENT OF TAXES FOR 1860;

ALSO

THE AGGREGATE AMOUNT OF SUCH TAXES.

AUDITOR'S REPORT.

AUDITOR'S OFFICE, RICHMOND, VA., }
March 1, 1861. }

Hon. JOHN JANNEY,
President of the Convention:

Sir,—The following resolution of the Convention, adopted on the 26th of February, has been under consideration, to wit:

“*Resolved*, That the Auditor of Public Accounts be requested to furnish this Convention a statement showing the aggregate number of persons returned delinquent by the sheriffs of the different counties of the Commonwealth, for the non-payment of the taxes for the year 1860; also, the aggregate amount of taxes on such delinquent list.”

By the 14th section of chapter thirty-six of the Code, it is provided that the “sheriff or other collector, after ascertaining which of the taxes assessed in his county cannot be collected, shall, as soon as practicable, in each year, after the first day of October, make out lists” of those delinquent. It is further provided by the same chapter, that the list of taxes so returned, shall be credited to such sheriff or collected by the Auditor, if the list be presented before the 1st day of May next, after the taxes were assessed.

It will be perceived that the delinquent lists of taxes assessed in 1860, are not *required* by law to be presented prior to the 30th day of April, 1861. In practice the return of the lists are frequently deferred for months, and even years, after the time designated by law.

In consequence of the delinquents in the taxes of 1860, not being due at this office, and of the comparatively small number returned, I have found it impracticable to comply literally with the resolution. I have, however, adopted the returns for the year 1858 as being more complete than that of any succeeding year, and enlarged upon the request of the Convention, and have given in detail by counties and corporations, and in the aggregate, not only the number returned delinquent, but the

number assessed with taxes, and the amount of taxes on personal property returned delinquent.

To give a more general view of the whole subject, I have also appended a table for the year 1857, showing the whole number of persons assessed with taxes, the number returned delinquent, and the rate per cent. which the delinquents bear to the whole number assessed, arranged by geographical districts.

I trust, that while I am unable to comply with the resolution of the Convention in terms, that the tables here presented may be of some service.

I am, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

J. M. BENNETT,
Auditor of Public Accounts.

TABLE

Showing the total number of white male inhabitants in the State of Virginia, assessed with a capitation tax for the year 1858; and the total number of those so assessed, who were returned delinquent for the non-payment of said tax. Showing also the amount of tax on personal property returned delinquent for the non-payment thereof, for the year 1858:

NAME OF THE COUNTY AND CORPORATION.	Total number of white male inhabitants over 21 years of age not exempt from taxation for 1858.	Number of white males over 21 years of age returned delinquent for non-payment of capitation tax for 1858.	Amount of tax on personal property returned delinquent for the non-payment thereof for the year 1858.
Alleghany	862	267	\$15 40
Amelia	659	53	12 49
Albemarle	2,617	363	92 94
Amherst	1,706	355	49 40
Alexandria	2,183	979	329 45
Accomac	2,345	435	41 45
Appomattox	915	172	15 90
Augusta	4,210	735	141 11
Barbour	1,686	169	46 98
Bath	627	107	18 36
Braxton	1,142	234	38 46
Bedford	2,966	324	89 61
Berkeley	1,762	380	69 93
Brooke	998	104	19 58
Boone	682	49	9 66
Botetourt	1,713	401	98 11
Buchanan	460	53	11 26
Buckingham	1,288	256	28 75
Brunswick	1,084	171	27 32
Cabell	1,389	106	21 61
Clay	318	37	6 05
Craig	633	98	13 70
Calhoun	444	56	19 36
Campbell	2,731	484	237 93
Charles City	435	57	
Clarke	802	97	1 14
Charlotte	1,022	109	15 91
Caroline	1,493	197	57 37
Carroll	1,405	311	38 10
Chesterfield	1,772	324	35 80
Culpeper	1,073	234	39 17
Cumberland	665		
Dinwiddie	1,072	107	107 55
Doddridge	840	154	90 25
Essex	724	59	33 12
Elizabeth City	459	67	31 71
Fairfax	1,789	458	161 44
Fanquier	2,276	693	132 13
Carried forward.....	51,247	9,255	\$2,098 52

9,255

NAME OF THE COUNTY AND CORPORATION.	Total number of white male inhabitants over 21 years of age not exempt from taxation for 1858.	Number of white males over 21 years of age returned delinquent for non-payment of capitation tax for 1858.	Amount of tax on personal property returned delinquent for the non-payment thereof for the year 1858.
Brought forward.....	51,247	9,255	\$2,098 52
Fayette.....	984	222	59 10
Franklin.....	2,627	298	
Frederick.....	2,555	409	153 77
Floyd.....	1,376	151	26 42
Fluvanna.....	1,087	137	15 29
Grayson.....	1,331	187	18 91
Greenbrier.....	2,130	400	58 02
Greene.....	641	148	14 69
Greensville.....	375	25	1 66
Giles.....	1,108	277	52 08
Gilmer.....	582	92	29 36
Gloucester.....	909		
Goochland.....	862	183	75 02
Halifax.....	2,379	269	103 20
Hampshire.....	2,415	480	165 38
Hancock.....	855	135	8 38
Hanover.....	1,365	247	51 90
Hardy.....	1,605	96	59 11
Harrison.....	2,557	529	166 49
Henrico.....	2,341	656	255 09
Henry.....	1,228	95	15 66
Highland.....	829	99	9 95
Isle of Wight.....	1,037	86	3 96
Jackson.....	1,441	175	50 96
James City.....	244	21	3 26
Jefferson.....	1,895	343	42 50
Kanawha.....	2,552	789	208 05
King George.....	500	65	1 83
King & Queen.....	888	100	2 38
King William.....	573		
Lancaster.....	397	25	
Lee.....	1,777	632	125 87
Lewis.....	1,252	201	41 40
Logan.....	708	62	
Loudoun.....	3,102	544	94 02
Louisa.....	1,400	140	22 26
Lunenburg.....	936	205	79 11
Madison.....	944	108	6 00
Marion.....	2,352	451	103 82
Marshall.....	1,954	329	59 93
Mason.....	2,022	272	70 34
Matthews.....	701	115	
Mecklenburg.....	1,581	281	125 57
Mercer.....	1,189	202	64 46
Middlesex.....	477	33	3 68
McDowell.....	248	54	8 82
Monongalia.....	2,465	225	43 36
Monroe.....	1,958	397	143 89
Montgomery.....	1,526	294	62 41
Morgan.....	745	108	
Carried forward.....	69,004	11,392	\$2,706 86

20,667

22
24
116

NAME OF THE COUNTY AND CORPORATION.	Total number of white male inhabitants over 21 years of age not exempt from taxation for 1858.	Number of white males over 21 years of age returned delinquent for non-payment of capitation tax for 1858.	Amount of tax on personal property returned delinquent for the non-payment thereof for the year 1858.
Brought forward.....	69,004	11,342 26,667	\$2,706 86
Nansemond.....	1,148	192	20 79
Nelson.....	1,228	196	14 93
New Kent.....	471	43	
Nicholas.....	1,095	209	24 47
Norfolk County.....	3,247	1,322	335 76
Northampton.....	634	117	19 37
Northumberland.....	709	85	15 00
Nottoway.....	518	61	20 00
Orange.....	1,019	89	13 93
Ohio.....	3,683	1,125	87 08
Page.....	1,298	190	44 12
Patrick.....	1,372	224	34 21
Pleasants.....	373	118	25 57
Pendleton.....	1,097	62	20 57
Preston.....	2,344	243	64 34
Pittsylvania.....	3,183	457	89 29
Pocahontas.....	779	46	10 32
Powhatan.....	572	50	17 69
Prince Edward.....	946	112	48 94
Prince George.....	692	69	6 40
Princess Anne.....	976	36	24 29
Prince William.....	1,314	238	30 94
Pulaski.....	736	163	33 13
Putnam.....	1,042	129	27 42
Raleigh.....	656	72	21 36
Randolph.....	928	80	30 92
Rappahannock.....	1,023	286	37 48
Richmond.....	679	152	40 54
Ritchie.....	1,140	150	41 54
Roane.....	898	131	40 98
Roanoke.....	1,143	172	43 01
Rockbridge.....	2,588	645	140 48
Rockingham.....	3,916	151	88 42
Russell.....	1,635	305	101 60
Stafford.....	1,024	244	40 18
Shenandoah.....	2,678	430	92 10
Scott.....	1,774	390	79 53
Spotsylvania.....	1,554	469	192 08
Southampton.....	1,206	117	
Smyth.....	1,293	330	56 04
Surry.....	511	80	17 08
Sussex.....	703	62	6 85
Taylor.....	1,322	287	92 64
Tazewell.....	2,101	481	110 31
Tucker.....	241	18	3 50
Tyler.....	1,131	94	32 00
Upshur.....	1,186	192	31 57
Warren.....	858	189	19 03
Warwick.....	147	23	
Washington.....	2,531	504	80 32
Carried forward.....	65,338	11,631	\$2,467 82

32.177

NAME OF THE COUNTY AND CORPORATION.	Total number of white male inhabitants over 21 years of age not exempt from taxation for 1858.	Number of white males over 21 years of age returned delinquent for non-payment of capitation tax for 1858.	Amount of tax on personal property returned delinquent for the non-payment thereof for the year 1858.
Brought forward.....	65,338	32,177 31,681	\$2,467 82
Wayne.....	1,163	117	39 43
Westmoreland.....	713	175	6 22
Wetzel.....	1,128	141	22 79
Wirt.....	630	83	17 12
Wise.....	711	43	31 47
Wood.....	2,153	538	119 19
Wyoming.....	415	69	18 10
Wythe.....	2,000	633	85 59
York.....	489	86	15 81
Danville.....	230	49	26 55
Norfolk City.....	1,571	545	12 66
Petersburg.....	1,832	552	482 85
Richmond City.....	3,591	1,770	957 24
Williamsburg.....	137		
	202,357	37,230	\$9,208 52

36,278

The capitation tax on the 37,230 persons delinquent for the year 1858, amount to \$29,784, which, together with the taxes on personal property, amount to \$38,992 52.

68
77
39

TABLE

Showing the aggregate number of persons over twenty-one years of age, who were assessed with a capitation tax for the year 1857, and the number returned delinquent for the non-payment of said tax. Showing also the rate, per cent. of delinquency in the whole State, and of each grand division of the State:

Whole number of persons over twenty-one years of age, assessed with a capitation tax for the year 1857,	199,307
Number of delinquents for that year being 18.59 per cent. upon the whole number assessed,	37,059

Number who pay tax,	162,248
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BY DISTRICTS:

Number in Tide-Water district,	43,921
Delinquent 23.79 per cent.	10,451

Number who pay tax,	33,470
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Number in Piedmont district,	46,519
Delinquent 15.59 per cent.	7,253

Number who pay tax,	39,366
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Number in Valley district,	34,541
Delinquent 15.80 per cent.	5,459

Number who pay tax,	29,082
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Number in Trans-Alleghany district,	74,326
Delinquent 18.69 per cent.	13,896

Number who pay tax,	60,430
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227
[DOC. NO. X.]

REPORT

FROM THE

COMMITTEE APPOINTED TO INQUIRE WHETHER ANY MOVEMENT OF ARMS
OR MEN HAS BEEN MADE,

BY THE

GENERAL GOVERNMENT,

TO ANY

FORT OR ARSENAL IN OR BORDERING UPON VIRGINIA,

INDICATING A PURPOSE

FOR

ATTACK OR COERCION,

AND

ACCOMPANYING DOCUMENT.



REPORT.

The committee to whom was referred a resolution with instructions "to inquire and report as speedily as practicable, whether any movement of arms or men, has been made by the General Government to any fort or arsenal in or bordering upon Virginia, indicating a preparation for attack or coercion," beg leave to report:

That, from information derived from such sources as were accessible to them, they are of opinion, that there has been no movement of arms or men by the General Government, with any purpose of attack or coercion.

In regard to fortress Monroe, there is no doubt that since the first of January last, it has been put in a better condition for defence, against attack from all quarters, than at any time before. Guns have been mounted upon the land side, pointing inland, a portion of the fort, which was before comparatively unprotected, and increased vigilance has been exercised in and around the fort. It was in evidence before your committee, that the practicability of taking this fort, in certain contingencies, had been discussed, in the neighborhood, and they are of opinion, that nothing has been done by those in command of the fort, which might not be regarded by them as proper measures of protection on their part.

Your committee have been informed by the war department at Washington, that within the period supposed to be alluded to there has been no increase of the public arms, in the arsenal in Virginia, nor any transfer of them from one point to another, in the State, except one hundred muskets, sent from Harper's Ferry to Fort Monroe, to supply a deficiency, and some weeks since, a company of troops was withdrawn from the latter place, with a view of reinforcing a Southern fort.

It also appears, from information satisfactory to your committee, that a company of recruits, consisting of fifty men, were removed some months ago, from Carlisle Barracks, to Harper's Ferry, to act as a guard, in the event of an attack, which the superintendent has just grounds to apprehend, was contemplated

by persons not residing in Virginia, or sympathizing with the South.

It will be seen, from a letter herewith filed, and addressed by the Secretary of War to your committee, that no other movement of troops has taken place in Virginia within the last twelve months, than those herein specified.

WILLIAM M. TREDWAY,
Chairman of the Committee.

WAR DEPARTMENT, }
February 27, 1861. }

Sir,—In reply to your note of yesterday's date, communicating a resolution of the Convention of the State of Virginia, directing an inquiry whether "any movement of arms or men has been made by the General Government to any fort or arsenal in or bordering upon Virginia, indicating a preparation for attack or coercion." I have the honor to state that no such movement has taken place, nor has any such been contemplated. Within the period supposed to be referred to, there has been no increase of the public arms in the arsenal in Virginia, nor any transfer of them from one point to another, in the State, except one hundred muskets sent from Harper's Ferry to Fort Monroe to supply a deficiency. Some months ago a company of recruits was ordered from Carlisle Barracks to Harper's Ferry, for the protection of the establishment against an apprehended attack from disorderly persons. This was done upon the request of Major Barbour, the superintendent. Some weeks since, a company of troops was withdrawn from Fortress Monroe, with a view of reinforcing a Southern Fort, but not for any purpose of attack or coercion.

These are the only movements of troops which have taken place in Virginia within the last twelve months.

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

J. HOLT, *Secretary of War.*



[DOC. NO. XI.]

COMMUNICATION

FROM THE

EXECUTIVE OF THE COMMONWEALTH,

TRANSMITTING

A REPORT FROM THE COMMISSIONERS

APPOINTED TO REPRESENT THIS COMMONWEALTH, IN THE CONFERENCE
WHICH CONVENED IN WASHINGTON CITY, ON THE
4TH DAY OF FEBRUARY, 1861.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, March 6th, 1861.

Gentlemen of the Convention:

In obedience to the requirements of the fourth resolution of the series, adopted by the General Assembly on the 19th day of January last, I communicate herewith a report from the commissioners appointed to represent this Commonwealth in the Conference which convened in Washington City on the 4th day of February last. The report was delivered to me last evening.

Respectfully,

JOHN LETCHER.

COMMISSIONERS' REPORT.

To his Excellency JOHN LETCHER,

Governor of Virginia:

The undersigned Commissioners, in pursuance of the wishes of the General Assembly, expressed in their resolutions of the 19th day of January last, repaired in due season to the City of Washington. They there found, on the 4th day of February, the day suggested in the overture of Virginia for a Conference with the other States, Commissioners to meet them from the following States, viz: Rhode Island, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Kentucky. Subsequently, during the continuance of the Conference, at different periods, appeared likewise Commissioners from Tennessee, Massachusetts, Missouri, New York, Maine, Iowa, and Kansas; so that, before the close, twenty-one States were represented by Commissioners, appointed either by the Legislatures or Governors of the respective States.

The undersigned communicated the resolutions of the General Assembly to the Conference, and both before the committee, appointed to recommend a plan of adjustment, and the Conference itself, urged the propositions known as the Crittenden resolutions, with the modifications suggested by the General Assembly of Virginia, as the basis of an acceptable adjustment.

They were not adopted by the Conference, but in lieu thereof, after much discussion and the consideration of many proposed amendments, an Article with seven sections, intended as an amendment to the Constitution, (a copy of which Article is hereto adjoined,) was adopted by sections, (not, under the rules, being voted on as a whole,) and by a vote of the Conference, (not taken by States) was directed to be submitted to Congress, with the request that it should be recommended to the States for ratification, which was accordingly done by the President of the Conference.

The undersigned regret that the Journal, showing the proceedings and votes in the Conference, has not yet been published or furnished them, and that consequently they are not

able to present it with this report. As soon as received, it will be communicated to your Excellency. In the absence of that record, it is deemed appropriate to state that on the final adoption of the first section, two of the States, Indiana and Missouri, did not vote, and New York was divided, and that the vote by States was—Ayes 9, Noes 8—Virginia, by a majority of her Commissioners, voting in the negative. The other sections were adopted by varying majorities, (not precisely recollected,) and on the 5th and 7th sections, the vote of Virginia was in the negative.

The plan, when submitted to Congress, failed to receive its recommendation; and as that body, having adjourned, can take no further cognizance of it, the undersigned feel the contingency has arrived on which they are required to report, as they herein do, the result of their action.

Respectfully,

JOHN TYLER,
G. W. SUMMERS,
W. C. RIVES,
JAMES A. SEDDON.

ARTICLE XIII.

SECTION 1. In all the present territory of the United States, north of the parallel of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes of north latitude, involuntary servitude, except in punishment of crime, is prohibited. In all the present territory south of that line, the status of persons held to service of labor, as it now exists, shall not be changed; nor shall any law be passed by Congress or the Territorial Legislature to hinder or prevent the taking of such persons from any of the States of this Union to said territory, nor to impair the rights arising from said relation; but the same shall be subject to judicial cognizance in the federal courts, according to the course of the common law. When any territory north or south of said line, within such boundary as Congress may prescribe, shall contain a population equal to that required for a member of Congress, it shall, if its form of government be republican, be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States, with or without involuntary servitude, as such constitution of the State may provide.

SECTION 2. No territory shall be acquired by the United States, except by discovery and for naval and commercial stations, depots, and transit routes, without the concurrence of a majority of all the Senators from States which allow involuntary servitude, and a majority of all the Senators from States which prohibit that relation; nor shall territory be acquired by treaty, unless the votes of a majority of the Senators from each class of States herein before mentioned be cast as a part of the two-third majority necessary to the ratification of such treaty.

SECTION 3. Neither the Constitution, nor any amendment thereof, shall be construed to give Congress power to regulate, abolish, or control, within any State of the United States, the relation established or recognized by the laws thereof touching persons held to labor or involuntary service therein, nor to interfere with or abolish involuntary service in the District of Columbia without the consent of Maryland and without the consent of the owners, or making the owners who do not consent just compensation; nor the power to interfere with or prohibit representatives and others from bringing with them to the District of Columbia, retaining and taking away, persons so held to labor or service, nor the power to interfere with or abolish involuntary service in places under the exclusive jurisdiction of the United States within those States and Territories where the same is established or recognized; nor the power to prohibit the removal or transportation of persons held to labor, or involuntary service in any State or Territory of the United States to any other

State or Territory thereof where it is established or recognized by law or usage; and the right during transportation, by sea or river, of touching at ports, shores and landings, and of landing in case of distress, shall exist, but not the right of transit in or through any State or Territory, or of sale or traffic against the laws thereof. Nor shall Congress have power to authorize any higher rate of taxation on persons held to labor or service than on land.

The bringing into the District of Columbia persons held to labor or service for sale, or placing them in depots to be afterwards transferred to other places for sale as merchandise, is prohibited.

SECTION 4. The third paragraph of the second section of the fourth article of the Constitution shall not be construed to prevent any of the States, by appropriate legislation, and through the action of their judicial and ministerial officers, from enforcing the delivery of fugitives from labor to the person to whom such service or labor is due.

SECTION 5. The foreign slave trade is hereby forever prohibited; and it shall be the duty of Congress to pass laws to prevent the importation of slaves, coolies, or persons held to service or labor, into the United States and the Territories from places beyond the limits thereof.

SECTION 6. The first, third and fifth sections, together with this section of these amendments, and third paragraph of the second section of the first article of the Constitution, and the third paragraph of the second section of the fourth article thereof, shall not be amended or abolished without the consent of all the States.

SECTION 7. Congress shall provide by law that the United States shall pay to the owner the full value of his fugitive from labor, in all cases where the marshal, or other officer, whose duty it was to arrest such fugitive, was prevented from so doing by violence or intimidation from mobs or riotous assemblages, or when, after arrest, such fugitive was rescued by like violence or intimidation, and the owner thereby deprived of the same; and Congress shall provide by law for securing to the citizens of each State the privileges and immunities of the several States.

Also see pp. 6-7 of Doc. 11
" " Doc. XVI of 1871

[DOC. NO. XII.]

COMMUNICATION

FROM

HON. JOHN W. BROCKENBROUGH,

ADDRESSED TO

HON. JOHN TYLER,
EX-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

AND

HON. GEORGE W. SUMMERS.



JUDGE BROCKENBROUGH'S LETTER.

WASHINGTON, March 2, 1861.

*The Hon. JOHN TYLER, ex-President of the United States, and
Hon. GEORGE W. SUMMERS:*

Gentlemen,—I beg leave to address you, as two of the Commissioners representing the State of Virginia in the late Peace Conference at Washington, and also as members of the State Convention, now sitting at Richmond, and to state, as briefly as I can, my views in reference to the results of that Conference.

The act of the General Assembly of Virginia which originated the Conference, declares the patriotic purposes which impelled the Legislature in resorting to this extraordinary mode of adjusting the unhappy controversy which now divides the States of this Confederacy, and declares that unless it be satisfactorily adjusted, “a permanent dissolution of the Union is inevitable; and the General Assembly, representing the wishes of the people of this Commonwealth, is desirous of employing every reasonable means to avert so dire a calamity, and determined to make a final effort to restore the Union and the Constitution in the spirit in which they were established by the fathers of the Republic.” The act further declared the opinion of the General Assembly to be, that the resolutions submitted to the Senate of the United States by Mr. Crittenden, with several specified modifications, constitute the basis of such an adjustment of the controversy as would be accepted by the people of Virginia.

The plan of adjustment agreed upon by a majority of the Conference differs in many important particulars from the scheme of Mr. Crittenden. The main difficulty we had to contend with in the Conference, was in a satisfactory adjustment of the Territorial question. The Crittenden plan distinctly recognizes slavery of the African race south of latitude 36° 30' as existing, and precludes Congress from interfering therewith: and declares that it shall be *protected as property* by all the departments of the territorial government during its continuance. The Conference plan contains no such recognition, *eo nomine*, but declares that “the status of persons held to involuntary service or labor, as it now exists, shall not be changed: nor shall any law be passed by

Congress or the Territorial legislature to hinder or prevent the taking of such persons from any of the States to said territories, nor to impair the rights arising from said relation; but the same shall be subject to judicial cognizance in the federal courts, according to the course of the common law."

Whether this provision is substantially equivalent to the corresponding clause of the Crittenden plan is a question of interpretation. The language of the latter is clear and perspicuous; of the former, vague and ambiguous. Whatever the true construction of it be, it is a most weighty objection to it, that it admits of various interpretations. The rights arising from the relation of master and slave are expressly recognized, and the Federal Courts are required to take cognizance of them; but neither the Executive nor Legislative department is, *in terms*, required to protect them. Its advocates in the Conference insisted that while the rights arising from the relation are referred to the judicial determination of the courts, the recognition of them in the article, by a just implication, imports that it is the duty of the Legislature to afford them ample protection by positive enactment of laws necessary to accomplish the end. If this be the proper construction of the clauses, and in my opinion it is—the guarantee of protection of the rights of property in slaves in the territories is equivalent to that contained in the Crittenden scheme. But we have to resort to implication to deduce it. The terms employed, the secure protection of the rights growing out of the relation of master and slave are negative only; they shall not be changed, or the introduction of slaves hindered, or the rights of the master impaired by legislation. No duty is prescribed to hedge them around with proper enactments. It is for this reason that I made a most strenuous effort to amend the section by interpolating the words—"and it shall be the duty of the territorial Government, in all its departments, to protect the rights arising from said relation." The effort was repeatedly and most earnestly made. It was ineffectual, but it is fair to say that the sense of the Conference was not tested on this particular question—the consideration of the amendment being precluded by the ruling of the chair, that the section was not then amendable.

The rights of the master are made subject to judicial cognizance *according to the course of the common law!* How far can the courts afford protection to the rights of the master to his slave, according to the course of the common law? Where legal rights exist, that most wise and flexible system of law known as the common law always supplies the appropriate remedies for their enforcement. The invasion of a right is an injury, for the redress of which a suitable remedy was always afforded; for the common law knows no such anomaly as a wrong without a

remedy. Any civil injury, therefore, to the rights growing out of the relation of master and slave would be redressed, according to the course of the common law, by supplying the appropriate remedy of detinue, trover, case, &c. It is said that at common law, slavery was not recognized—that at common law, man could not have property in man; and the celebrated *Somerset case*, and the late *Anderson case* are cited, in support of the proposition; to which may be added the imposing authority of W. H. Seward himself. 2 Seward's Works, vol. II, p. 453-4. But the common law is not referred to here to determine *rights*, but simply to furnish *remedies* for injuries to rights recognized by the section in explicit terms. The principle that rights always draw after them at common law the remedy for injuries to those rights, does not apply to public wrongs or crimes. These are not punishable until defined and appropriate penalties denounced either by the common law or by statute. But we cannot look to the common law as a source of criminal jurisdiction in the Federal Courts where those rights are made cognizable, for those tribunals have no such jurisdiction, and can only take cognizance of crimes specially created or defined by statute. Statutes prescribing police regulations are indispensable in a slaveholding country; but the duty of enacting them is not enjoined by this section, unless it be implied from the recognition of the rights arising from the relation of master and slave. Is it a fair implication from the language of this section, that it is the duty of the territorial Legislature of New Mexico to protect the rights of slave owners by all proper enactments? In my judgment, it admits of no other fair or reasonable construction. There is much circumlocution to avoid the use of the terms "slaves" and "slavery"; but the *status* of persons held to involuntary service or labor there, is that of slavery, and the persons so held are slaves: that *status*—that is, the state or condition of slavery shall not be changed, nor the importation or introduction of such persons from any of the States prevented, nor the rights arising from such relation impaired. They would be impaired without proper legislation for their protection, and the duty of such protection may therefore be inferred, since the failure to legislate may as effectually impair the rights recognized, as positive hostile legislation. But, in point of fact, there is no necessity for such legislation in New Mexico. It exists already in very ample measure, as I learn from undoubted authority. The *status* of such persons, as it now exists, is recognized as a status of slavery, and of slavery only; the rights of the master are already fully protected by law, and to repeal those laws would be a clear violation of the spirit and very words of this section, as it would certainly impair, most probably destroy, those rights. Upon every sound principle of inter-

pretation, I think that the rights of the master to his slaves, *as property*, are protected by this section.

The second section introduces a new, and as I think, valuable principle. So far as the acquisition of future territory is concerned, it creates a dual Senate, by an equal partition of power between the two sections of the Senate. This is a practical guarantee of equal power to the weaker section, by which the South can exclude any future territory, if the conditions of its admission are disadvantageous to her. But the Northern section may equally check-mate her, in her attempts to acquire future territory. True, but the only territory south of 36° 30' which can be hereafter acquired, is Cuba and the Northern part of Mexico. Cuba is a slaveholding island already, and its great resources can only be developed by slave labor. The North is more eager to possess it than the South. If any portion of Mexico is hereafter acquired, it will be on the principle of a fair and equitable partition of the territory between the sections. This section was approved by four of the Commissioners from Virginia.

The third section embodies, substantially, I think, the provisions of the second, third and fourth sections of the Crittenden plan. It prohibits Congress from interfering with slavery within any State or Territory; or in the District of Columbia, without the consent of Maryland and of the owners, or making the owners just compensation; or with representatives or others bringing slaves for personal service with them and taking them away; or in places within the exclusive jurisdiction of the United States within those States and Territories where slavery exists; or the removal or transportation of slaves from one State or Territory to any other where slavery exists; or the right during transportation, by sea or river, of *touching* at ports, shores and landings, and of landing in case of distress. The right of *transit* through States where slavery does not exist, is not conferred. The provision that no higher rate of taxation shall be imposed on slaves than on land is of some value to the South.

The section prohibiting the foreign slave trade by constitutional amendment is objectionable, simply because it was wholly unnecessary. Even the confederated States of the South now constituting an independent government of slave States, *de facto*, if not *de jure*, have prohibited this traffic. The advocates for re-opening it in any one of the border slave States are very few, and there was no sort of necessity for interpolating this provision, which had no connection with the pending controversy, into this scheme of adjustment.

The seventh and last section of the Conference scheme is very much less satisfactory than the corresponding one in Mr. Crittenden's plan. Each provides for the payment of the full

value of fugitive slaves by the United States in all cases where the officer charged with the duty of making the arrest is prevented from so doing by violence or intimidation, or when after arrest, the slaves are rescued. But the former is defective in not providing for reimbursement to the United States by clothing it with power to impose and collect a tax on the county or city where the outrage was committed equal to the principal, interest and costs, as is provided in the Crittenden resolutions. There is a double advantage in this feature. In the first place it is more just and equitable to cast the burthen on those who committed the wrong than upon the public treasury. The South is thus made, by its omission in the Conference scheme, to pay its full proportion of a charge resulting from a wrong committed against herself. But by far the most important consideration is, that such a requirement would tend powerfully to restrain such wicked outrages by making it the interest of the offending locality to suppress all mobs and riotous assemblages, to rob and plunder the citizens of the South for no other cause than asserting an undoubted constitutional right.

I have thus endeavored to run a parallel between the two plans of adjustment. On the whole, it is clear that the Crittenden plan is far preferable to that of the late Peace Conference. It is unnecessary to say how earnestly, yet ineffectually, we struggled to come up to the very letter of our commission by obtaining an adjustment on the basis of the former plan, and in every variety of form. We were uniformly voted down by that inexorable majority! At length, all rival schemes being rejected, the naked question came up of the adoption or rejection of the present Conference scheme. The vote was by sections, and Virginia voted against the most important sections, particularly the first and seventh of the series; and they were all adopted *seriatim*. It was supposed that, as a matter of course, the vote would be taken upon the scheme as an entirety, and I then announced to one of you that after the most anxious deliberation I had come to the conclusion that, distasteful as the scheme was to me, I felt it to be my duty to cast a representative vote and sustain the measure as a whole. I was convinced that Western Virginia, which I in part represented, would so have voted by an immense majority, if her voice could be heard within that hall, and, acting under that strong conviction, I would have done homage to that great principle of representative government which demands that the representative yield his individual sentiments and give utterance to those of his constituents. But no vote was taken on the plan, as a whole, the Chair having ruled that each section being successively adopted, the entire plan was adopted, and no further vote was necessary or admissible under the parliamentary rule.

The most solemnly momentous issue that ever agitated the councils of our dear old Commonwealth is now fairly made up and must soon find its solution in the deliberations of the Convention now assembled to give expression to her sovereign will. My earnest prayer is that true wisdom may conduct her safely and honorably out of this great crisis. Every loyal son of hers awaits the issue with intense solicitude, and for myself I will say that my destiny is bound up indissolubly with hers!

I am, gentlemen, most cordially,

Your friend,

JOHN W. BROCKENBROUGH.

[DOC. NO. XIII.]

REPORT

OF THE

COMMITTEE

TO CONFER WITH THE EDITORS OF THE RICHMOND ENQUIRER TO ASCERTAIN

WHETHER

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONVENTION

COULD BE

PUBLISHED UPON A SEPARATE SHEET

WITHOUT ANY OTHER MATTER.

REPORT.

The undersigned, committee appointed to ascertain whether the Debates of the Convention could be published on sheets containing no other matter, report: that in discharge of their duty they handed to one of the proprietors of the *Enquirer* the following communication:

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed to confer with the editors of the Richmond *Enquirer*, to ascertain whether the proceedings of this Convention could be published upon a separate sheet, without any other matter.

The Committee appointed under the foregoing resolution deem it desirable that the Debates of the Convention should be printed in a more convenient form for binding and reference than now. They, therefore, in furtherance of the duty assigned them by the resolution aforesaid, submit the following inquiries to the proprietors of the *Enquirer*:

1. On what terms would the proprietors of the *Enquirer* substitute for their present contract for printing of the debates an agreement to print them on sheets without any other matter, in a form more convenient for binding and reference?

2. On what terms would they substitute for the twenty copies of the Semi-Weekly *Enquirer*, now furnished members of the Convention, the same number of copies of the Debates of the Convention made up from the columns of the *Enquirer*, and printed upon the same paper, folded into octavo form, with three columns on each page, each copy to be stitched, and to contain no other matter but the said Debates?

What would be the cost of copies above the number of twenty to each member?

3. On what terms would they substitute for the twenty copies of the *Enquirer* now furnished each member of the Convention, twenty copies of an extra sheet of the *Enquirer* containing no other matter than the Debates of the Convention, the said extra

to be printed whenever there is matter enough to fill a sheet of the *Enquirer* paper?

What would be the cost per copy of a greater number than twenty to each member?

Signed,

JOHN N. HUGHES,
W. C. WICKHAM,
G. W. RICHARDSON,
Committee.

That in response thereto they received a communication from the proprietors of the *Enquirer*, declining to make any alteration whatever in their present contract, but proposing to "furnish in addition to the twenty Semi Weeklies, which the contract calls for, upon the terms of the present contract, *without additional* charge for composition, and reporting any number of copies of a separate sheet, without any other matter, which the Convention may order."

Your committee compute the cost of twenty copies to each member, if the publication is deferred until material enough is furnished to fill a sheet of the *Enquirer* paper, at about one hundred dollars per week, allowing sixty-four columns per week, as the average amount of matter, and excluding from calculation any allowance for folding and wrapping, which would increase the cost by the sum of one hundred and twenty-one dollars and sixty cents per week.

Inasmuch as many members of the Convention disapprove of the character of some of the "other matter" that under the existing arrangement accompanies the Debates, the committee recommend the adoption of the following resolution:

Resolved, That the committee appointed on printing the Debates on separate sheets be directed to endeavor to contract with the proprietors of the *Enquirer* to furnish each member of the Convention with twenty copies of the debates from their commencement, to be printed in accordance with and on the terms indicated in their report, provided that no contract shall be made for folding and wrapping the same; and if they can obtain such contract, it shall be submitted to the Convention for its action.

JOHN N. HUGHES, *Chairman.*

[DOC. NO. XV.]

COMMUNICATION

FROM

A COMMITTEE ON BEHALF

OF THE

CONFERENCE CONVENTION

OF

MARYLAND.

COMMUNICATION.

To the Honorable, the President of the Convention of the people of Virginia:

The undersigned, citizens of Maryland, have been appointed a committee on behalf of a Conference Convention, representing a portion of the citizens of the City of Baltimore, and of nearly all the counties of Maryland, to communicate with the Convention over which you preside, in reference to a matter in which they deem themselves deeply concerned, and which is now occupying the attention of your body. It is upon the subject of the proposed Conference with the Southern Border States.

It is especially to be understood, that in anything we may say, there must be no inference that this particular measure, or any other is, in our judgment, or in the opinion of those persons whom we represent, to be preferred. We entirely disclaim any purpose even to suggest what would be the judgment of our constituents, did the occasion make it proper to express it. Our design is solely to invite the attention of the Convention to the importance of one particular consideration, if and when the proposed Conference shall be found acceptable to your Convention. In that event, (believing, as those whom we represent have instructed us to say, they do believe,) that the people of Maryland will accept such an invitation, it becomes, as we respectfully suggest, a matter of equal interest to each and all of the Southern Border States, to secure, as far as it may be done, a full, fair and accurate expression of the popular will, in such form as to leave no doubt either of its character, or of the authority of those who may be selected as its agents and representatives.

The proposition before your body requires the delegates to the Conference to be selected by the "proper authorities of those States."

If any existing organized department of the Government of Maryland should attempt the selection of delegates to such a Convention as is proposed, it would undoubtedly be resisted by the people, and, in that event, conflicting claimants would pre-

sent themselves as rightful exponents of the popular sentiment, duly entitled to be received as such.

Our sole object is to avoid, by the terms of the invitation, all occasion for such collision; and, with this view, we respectfully suggest such an alteration in the language of your resolution as will express its object to be, that delegates to the proposed Convention shall be *elected*, either *directly by the people*, or through the agency of a sovereign State Convention.

In the hope and expectation that this request will be favorably considered by your Convention, we have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servants,

W. MITCHELL,
E. F. CHAMBERS,
WILLIAM HENRY NORRIS,
ISAAC D. JONES,
J. HANSON THOMAS.

[DOC. NO. XVI.]

COMMUNICATION

FROM THE

EXECUTIVE OF THE COMMONWEALTH,

TRANSMITTING

COMMUNICATIONS

FROM THE

PRESIDENT OF THE STATE CONVENTION

OF

ARKANSAS.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, }
April 8, 1861. }

Gentlemen of the Convention:

On Saturday evening last, I received two communications from Honorable David Walker, President of the State Convention of Arkansas, enclosing an Ordinance and Resolutions adopted by the Convention, on the 20th day of March, 1861. On an examination of the resolutions, it will be seen that they were intended to be laid before the General Assembly, but as that body has adjourned, and as the matters to which they relate are under consideration in your honorable body, I have deemed it my duty to transmit them to you, for such disposition as you may think proper to make of them.

Respectfully,

JOHN LETCHER.



LITTLE ROCK, March 29, 1861.

To his Excellency JOHN LETCHER,
Governor of the State of Virginia:

Sir,—By the fifth of the series of resolutions which I have the honor herewith to transmit to you, and which were adopted by the State Convention of Arkansas, on the 20th day of March, 1861, I have respectfully to request that your Excellency will inform me, as soon as convenient and practicable, what action your State has taken or proposes to take in reference to the proposition to hold a Border Slave State Convention, at Frankfort, Kentucky, or elsewhere, during the coming spring or summer.

This information is sought with a view to guide the action of the Commissioners or Delegates elected by the Convention of the State of Arkansas to said Convention or Conference of the Border Slave States, should one be held.

I trust your Excellency will furnish the desired information at your earliest convenience.

My post office address is, Fayetteville, Washington County, Arkansas.

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

DAVID WALKER,
Pres't of the State Convention of Arkansas.

By E. C. BOUDINOT, Secretary.

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS, }
March 28, 1861. }

His Excellency JOHN LETCHER,
Governor of the State of Virginia:

Sir,—In accordance with the second resolution of the series herewith enclosed, I have the honor to present to you the action of the Convention of the people of the State of Arkansas, on the subject therein treated of, and respectfully request that you will place it before your Legislature, at the earliest convenient moment.

I would be pleased to hear from your Excellency, touching the political affairs of the country, and of the proposed remedies, for existing evils.

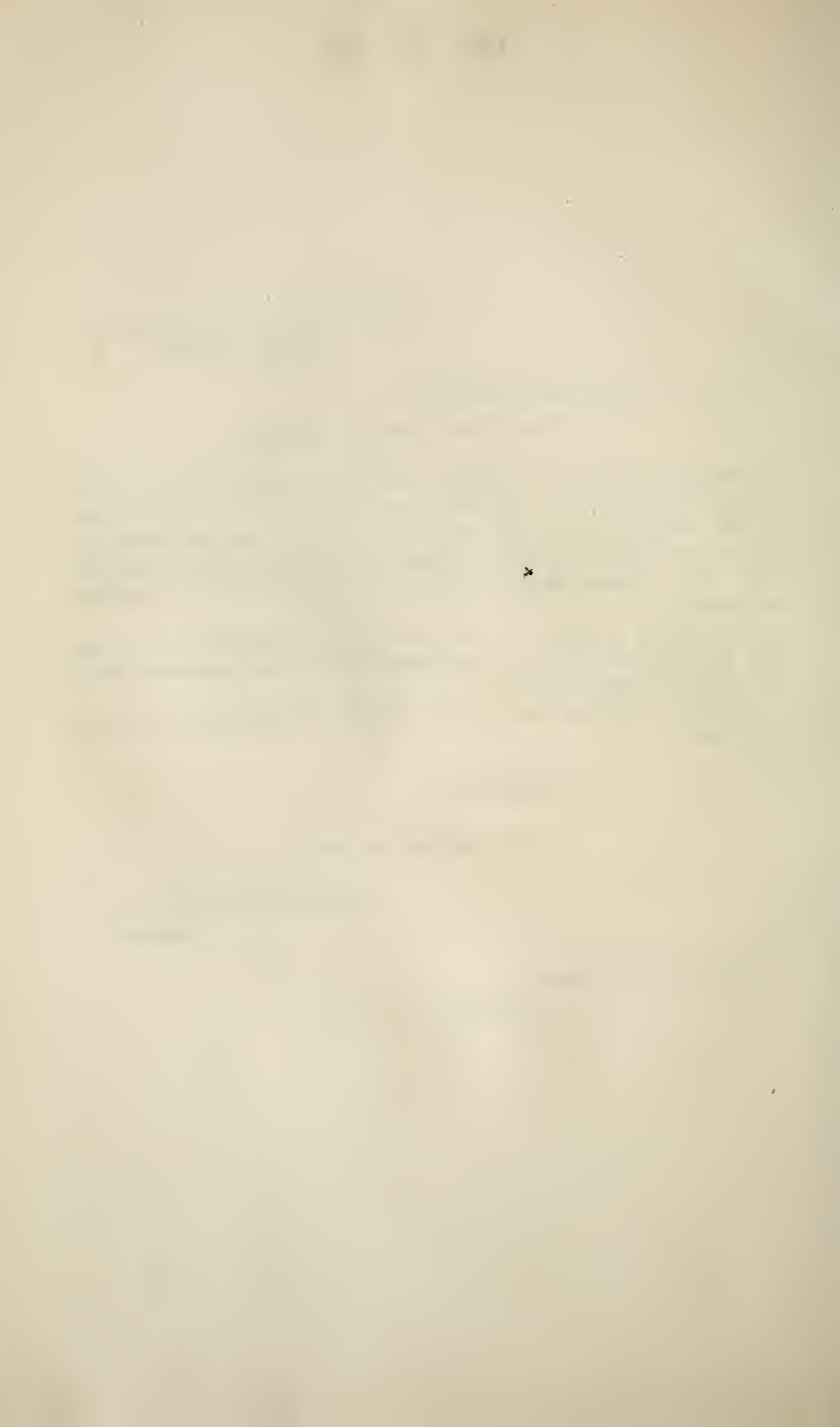
My post office address is, Fayetteville, Washington county, Arkansas.

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

DAVID WALKER,
President.

By E. C. BOUDINOT,
Secretary.



12-1

RESOLUTIONS

*Passed by the Convention of the People of Arkansas, on the
20th day of March, 1861.*

We, the people of the State of Arkansas, in Convention assembled, in view of the unfortunate and distracted condition of our once happy and prosperous country, and of the alarming dissensions existing between the Northern and Southern sections thereof, and desiring that a fair and equitable adjustment of the same may be made, do hereby declare the following to be just causes of complaint on the part of the people of the Southern States against their brethren of the Northern, or non-slaveholding States:

1. The people of the Northern States have organized a political party, purely sectional in its character, the central and controlling idea of which is hostility to the institution of African slavery, as it exists in the Southern States; and that party has elected a President and Vice President of the United States, pledged to administer the Government upon principles inconsistent with the rights and subversive of the interests of the Southern States.

2. They have denied to the people of the Southern States the right to an equal participation in the benefits of the common Territories of the Union by refusing them the same protection to their slave property therein that is afforded to other property, and by declaring that no more slave States shall be admitted into the Union. They have, by their prominent men and leaders, declared the doctrine of the irrepressible conflict, or the assertion of the principle that the institution of slavery is incompatible with freedom, and that both cannot exist at once; that this continent must be wholly free or wholly slave. They have, in one or more instances, refused to surrender negro thieves to the constitutional demand of the constituted authority of a sovereign State.

3. They have declared that Congress possesses, under the Constitution, and ought to exercise, the power to abolish slavery in the Territories, in the District of Columbia, and in the forts, arsenals and dock-yards of the United States, within the limits of the slaveholding States.

4. They have, in disregard of their constitutional obligations, obstructed the faithful execution of the fugitive slave laws by enactments of their State Legislatures.

5. They have denied the citizens of Southern States the right of transit through non-slaveholding States with their slaves, and the right to hold them while temporarily sojourning therein.

6. They have degraded American citizens by placing them upon an equality with negroes at the ballot-box.

To redress the grievances hereinbefore complained of, and as a means of restoring harmony and fraternal good will between the people of all the States, the following amendments to the Constitution of the United States are proposed:

1. The President and Vice President of the United States shall each be chosen alternately from a slaveholding and non-slaveholding State; but in no case shall both be chosen from slaveholding or non-slaveholding States.

2. In all the territory of the United States now held, or which may hereafter be acquired, situate north of latitude $36^{\circ} 30'$ slavery, or involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, is prohibited while such territory shall remain under territorial government. In all the territory now held, or which may hereafter be acquired, south of said line of latitude, slavery of the African race is hereby recognized as existing, and shall not be interfered with by Congress, but shall be protected as property by all the departments of the territorial government during its continuance. And when any territory, north or south of said line, within such boundaries as Congress may prescribe, shall contain the population requisite for a member of Congress, according to the then federal ratio of representation of the people of the United States, it shall, if its form of government be republican, be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States, with or without slavery, as the constitution of such new State may provide.

3. Congress shall have no power to legislate upon the subject of slavery, except to protect the citizen in his right of property in slaves.

4. That in addition to the provisions of the third paragraph of the second section of the fourth article of the Constitution of the United States, Congress shall have power to provide by law, and it shall be its duty so to provide, that the United States shall pay to the owner who shall apply for it, the full value of his fugitive slave in all cases when the marshal or other officer

whose duty it was to arrest said fugitive was prevented from so doing by violence; or when, after arrest, said fugitive was rescued by force, and the owner thereby prevented and obstructed in the pursuit of his remedy for the recovery of his fugitive slave under the said clause of the Constitution and the laws made in pursuance thereof. And in all such cases, when the United States shall pay for such fugitive, they shall have the right, in their own name, to sue the county in which said violence, intimidation, or rescue was committed, and to recover from it, with interest and damages, the amount paid by them for said fugitive slave. And the said county, after it has paid said amount to the United States, may, for its indemnity, sue and recover from the wrong-doers or rescuers, by whom the owner was prevented from the recovery of his fugitive slave, in like manner as the owner himself might have sued and recovered.

5. The third paragraph of the second section of the fourth article of the Constitution shall not be construed to prevent any of the States from having concurrent jurisdiction with the United States, by appropriate legislation, and through the action of their judicial and ministerial officers, from enforcing the delivery of fugitives from labor to the person to whom such service or labor is due.

6. Citizens of slaveholding States, when travelling through, or temporarily sojourning with their slaves in non-slaveholding States, shall be protected in their right of property in such slaves.

7. The elective franchise and the right to hold office, whether federal, State, territorial or municipal, shall not be exercised by persons of the African race, in whole or in part.

8. These amendments, and the third paragraph of the second section of the first article of the Constitution, and the third paragraph of the second section of the fourth article thereof, shall not be amended or abolished without the consent of all the States.

That the sense of the people of the United States may be taken upon the amendments above proposed,

Resolved by the people of Arkansas, in Convention assembled, That we recommend the calling of a convention of the States of the federal Union, at the earliest practicable day, in accordance with the provisions of the fifth article of the Constitution of the United States.

2. *Resolved further,* That the President of this Convention transmit to the President and Congress of the United States, and to the Governors and Legislatures of the several States, a copy of these proceedings.

3. *Resolved further,* That looking to the call of a national convention, as recommended in the first resolution above, this

Convention elect five delegates to represent the State of Arkansas in such Convention.

4. *Resolved further*, That a committee of five delegates of this Convention be appointed to prepare an address to the people of the United States urging upon them the importance of a united effort on the part of the patriotic citizens of all sections and parties to save the country from the dangers which impend it, and which threaten its destruction, and, especially, to arrest the reckless and fanatical spirit of sectionalism North and South, which, if not arrested, will inevitably involve us in a bloody civil war.

AN ORDINANCE AND RESOLUTIONS

Recommended by a Conference Committee, and passed by the State Convention, on Wednesday, March 20, 1861.

An ordinance to provide for holding an election in the State of Arkansas, for the purpose of taking the sense of the people of the State, on the question of "Coöperation" or "Secession."

SEC. 1. *Be it ordained by the people of the State of Arkansas in Convention assembled,* That an election shall be held, in all the counties in this State, on Monday, the fifth day of August, 1861, at which the question of "Coöperation" or "Secession" shall be submitted to the people of this State; which election shall be held and conducted, in all respects, in accordance with the laws of the State now in force, prescribing the manner of holding elections; *Provided,* that the sheriffs of the several counties shall be required to give at least thirty days notice of the time and places of holding said elections by advertisement thereof as required by law for ordinary elections.

SEC. 2. *Be it further ordained,* That the ballots or tickets to be used in said election shall be indorsed "for coöperation" or "for secession," from which ballots counts shall be made by the judges, and they shall ascertain how many votes are cast for "coöperation" and how many are cast for "secession" at their respective precincts, and shall duly certify the result of said counts and make return thereof to the clerk of their respective counties, who shall open and compare said returns as they are now required by law to open and compare other elections; and each clerk shall make an abstract of the vote of his county, upon the question of "secession" or "coöperation," and file the same in his office; and shall, also, at the same time, make out, under his seal, and deliver to the delegate or delegates from

his county to this Convention, a copy of said abstract, to be returned by them to the office of Secretary of State, as hereinafter provided.

SEC. 3. *Be it further ordained*, That the delegates to this Convention shall be made special returning officers, to bring up the certified vote of their respective counties, on the question of "coöperation" or "secession," to the office of the Secretary of State; which vote, from all the counties, shall be opened and counted by the Secretary of State, in presence of the Governor, auditor and treasurer, or any two of them, on Monday the nineteenth day of August, 1861; and said officers, or any three of them, shall certify to the President of this Convention, when the same shall be again convened, as hereinafter provided, the whole number of votes cast in the State "for coöperation," and the whole number of votes cast "for secession;" and, if from any cause, any delegate shall be unable to bring up the vote of his county, as herein provided, he shall have power, and it shall be his duty to appoint a special messenger to be the bearer of the same, in his stead; and if from any cause, there should be no delegate from any county, then the clerk of said county shall appoint a messenger to bring up the vote thereof.

SEC. 4. *Be it further ordained*, That the delegates, or other messengers, who shall bring up the votes of the different counties, shall receive the same mileage as is provided to be paid to returning officers by the act of the General Assembly calling this Convention.

SEC. 5. *Be it further ordained*, That if it shall appear, when the result of said election shall be made known to this Convention, that a majority of all the legal votes cast in the State have been cast for "secession," then, in that event, such vote shall be taken to be instructions to this Convention to pass an act of immediate secession, and the Convention shall at once pass an ordinance, dissolving the connection existing between the State of Arkansas and the Federal Government, known as "The United States of America;" but if a majority of all the legal votes have been cast for "coöperation," then this Convention shall immediately take such steps as may be deemed proper to further coöperation with the border, or unseceded, slave States, in efforts to secure a permanent and satisfactory adjustment of the sectional controversies disturbing the country.

SEC. 6. *Be it further ordained*, That the President of this Convention be, and he is hereby instructed to issue his proclamation, within ten days after the adoption of this ordinance, to the sheriffs of the several counties in the State, requiring them to hold an election, in their respective counties, in conformity to the provisions of this ordinance.

SEC. 7. *Be it further ordained*, That when this Convention

shall adjourn, it shall adjourn to meet on the 19th day of August, 1861.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE STATE CONVENTION, MARCH
20, 1861.

Whereas, The States of Virginia and Missouri, in Conventions assembled, have called upon the border slave States, to wit: Delaware, Maryland, North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky and Arkansas, to unite with them in an effort to accomplish a satisfactory adjustment of the sectional differences which threaten ruin and destruction to our once happy and prosperous Union; and whereas, the State of Virginia, through her Convention, has named the 27th day of May next, at Frankfort, Kentucky, as a suitable time and place for holding a Conference or Convention of said border slave States, for the purpose, if possible, of determining upon a plan of adjustment which shall be fair and equitable to all the States;

And whereas, The State of Missouri, animated by a like patriotic desire to obtain a speedy adjustment of our difficulties, has appointed commissioners instructed to represent her in such Border State Convention, at such time and place as may be agreed upon by two or more of said border slave States.

Resolved, 1. *By the people of the State of Arkansas in Convention assembled*, That we accede to the propositions of the States of Virginia and Missouri for the holding of a Convention of the border slave States, declaring it to be our desire and purpose to coöperate with said border States in an earnest effort to settle the unhappy controversies now distracting our country, in the spirit in which the Constitution of our Union was originally framed and consistently with its principles, and in such a manner and upon such a basis as shall secure to the people of the Southern or Slaveholding States adequate guarantees of their rights.

Resolved, 2. That, in accordance with the suggestion of the State of Virginia, we propose Frankfort, Kentucky, and the 27th day of May next, as a suitable place and time for holding said conference or convention of the border slave States.

Resolved, 3. That this Convention elect five commissioners or delegates, whose duty it shall be, when notified by the President of this Convention, that a majority of said border slave States have acceded to the proposition of the States of Virginia and Missouri for holding a Border State Convention, to repair to the city of Frankfort, or to such other place as may be agreed upon, on the day designated in the foregoing resolution, or on

any other day that may be agreed upon, to meet such commissioners or delegates, as may be appointed by said border slave States, for the purpose of deliberating upon the matters hereinbefore referred to.

Resolved, 4. That if said commissioners or delegates, after full and free conference, shall agree upon any plan of adjustment, or upon any course of action to be pursued by said States, then the commissioners or delegates hereby appointed, shall report the same to an adjourned session of this Convention heretofore provided for.

Resolved, 5. That the President of this Convention be instructed to transmit, immediately, copies of these resolutions to the executives of the several States hereinbefore named, with the request that said executives inform him, as soon as practicable, of the action of their respective States in reference to the proposition for a Border Slave State Convention, and that, when informed that a majority of said States have agreed upon a time and place for holding such Convention, he shall forthwith inform the commissioners or delegates elected under the provisions of the third resolution above, of that fact.

Resolved, 6. That the commissioners or delegates, herein provided for, shall receive, for their services, whilst in attendance on the sittings of said Border State Convention, the same pay, both as to *per diem* and mileage, as is allowed, by law, to members of this Convention, to be paid upon the certificate of the President of this Convention, out of any moneys in the State treasury not otherwise appropriated.

[DOC. NO. XVII.]

REPORT

FROM THE

COMMITTEE APPOINTED TO WAIT

UPON THE

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

TO ASCERTAIN HIS POLICY TOWARD THE

CONFEDERATED STATES,

AND THE RESPONSE FROM

THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE.



REPORT.



The Committee appointed on the 8th instant, by this Convention, with direction to wait upon the President of the United States, and present to him the preamble and resolution adopted on that day, beg leave to report: That in the fulfilment of our duty we left the City of Richmond on the morning of the 9th inst., for Washington City; we were, however, prevented by injuries sustained by the rail road, from a violent and protracted storm, from reaching Washington, until 11 o'clock on Friday the 12th inst. At 1 o'clock on that day we called on the President and informed him that we had been appointed a Committee by the Convention of Virginia, then in session, to make a communication to him from that body and requested him to designate an hour at which it would be agreeable to him to receive us. He replied that he would be happy to receive us at 9 o'clock the next morning. We accordingly attended him at that hour, presented him the resolution of the Convention and explained to him our mission. He then read to us a paper which he stated he had just prepared, as the answer to the communication from the Convention, declaring that he had seen in the newspapers the proceedings of the Convention and the character of our mission. We herewith communicate the President's reply to the preamble and resolution of the Convention.

WM. BALLARD PRESTON,
ALEX. H. STUART,
GEORGE W. RANDOLPH.

THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY TO THE COMMITTEE OF THE VIRGINIA CONVENTION.

HON. MESSRS. PRESTON, STUART AND RANDOLPH:

Gentlemen,—As a Committee of the Virginia Convention, now in session, you present me a preamble and resolution, in these words:

“Whereas, in the opinion of this Convention, the uncertainty which prevails in the public mind as to the policy which the Federal Executive intends to pursue towards the seceded States is extremely injurious to the industrial and commercial interests of the country, tends to keep up an excitement which is unfavorable to the adjustment of pending difficulties, and threatens a disturbance of the public peace: therefore,

“*Resolved*, That a committee of three delegates be appointed to wait on the President of the United States, present to him this preamble and resolution, and respectfully ask him to communicate to this Convention the policy which the Federal Executive intends to pursue in regard to the Confederate States.”

In answer, I have to say, that having at the beginning of my official term expressed my intended policy as plainly as I was able, it is with deep regret and some mortification I now learn that there is great and injurious uncertainty in the public mind as to what that policy is, and what course I intend to pursue.

Not having as yet seen occasion to change, it is now my purpose to pursue the course marked out in the Inaugural Address. I commend a careful consideration of the whole document, as the best expression I can give of my purposes. As I then and therein said, I now repeat:

“The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the Government, and to collect the duties and imposts; but beyond what is necessary for these objects there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere.”

By the words "property and places belonging to the Government," I chiefly allude to the military posts and property which were in the possession of the Government when it came to my hands.

But if, as now appears to be true, in pursuit of a purpose to drive the United States authority from these places, an unprovoked assault has been made upon Fort Sumter, I shall hold myself at liberty to repossess, if I can, like places which had been seized before the Government was devolved upon me.

And, in any event, I shall, to the extent of my ability, repel force by force.

In case it proves true that Fort Sumter has been assaulted, as reported, I shall, perhaps, cause the United States mails to be withdrawn from all the States which claim to have seceded, believing that the commencement of actual war against the Government justifies and possibly demands it.

I scarcely need to say that I consider the military posts and property situated within the States which claim to have seceded, as yet belonging to the Government of the United States, as much as they did before the supposed secession.

Whatever else I may do for the purpose, I shall not attempt to collect the duties and imposts by any armed invasion of any part of the country—not meaning by this, however, that I may not land a force deemed necessary to relieve a fort upon the border of the country.

From the fact that I have quoted a part of the Inaugural Address, it must not be inferred that I repudiate any other part, the whole of which I re-affirm, except so far as what I now say of the mails may be regarded as a modification.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, }
June 14, 1861. }

Gentlemen of the Convention:

Col. Thomas T. Fauntleroy was nominated by me as a Brigadier General in the Provisional Army, and Col. Benj'n Huger was nominated as a Brigadier General of Volunteers, and both nominations were confirmed by the Council. I now communicate those nominations to your honorable body, in obedience to an ordinance passed by you, for your action.

In making these nominations to you I deem it proper to transmit the enclosed paper, which embodies my reasons for the action I deemed it proper to take in the case of General Fauntleroy.

Respectfully,

JOHN LETCHER.



EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, }
 May 10, 1861. }

To the Council:

I am instructed by the Governor to say that he nominates Col. Fauntleroy, late Colonel United States Dragoons, as Brigadier General in the Provisional Army of Virginia.

Very respectfully,

S. BASSETT FRENCH,
A. D. C. to Governor of Virginia.

MAY 14, 1861.

The Council unanimously advise that at present no appointments of Brigadier Generals be made for the Provisional Army of Virginia, and that the Governor be respectfully requested to withdraw the nomination of T. T. Fauntleroy as Brigadier General, and that he be appointed a Colonel of Infantry, to take rank according to the provisions of the Ordinance of Convention with reference to officers of the army and navy, retiring from the army and navy of the late United States.

MAY 15, 1861.

I regret that I cannot concur in the recommendation made by the Council in the case of Colonel Fauntleroy. If I am correctly informed, Colonel Fauntleroy ranked General Lee in the United States army, and if this be so, it seems to me that he is justly entitled to the commission of a Brigadier General in the Provisional Army. This seems to me to be in accordance with the spirit and intention of the Ordinance of the Convention, passed on the 17th day of April, 1861.

The legislature of Virginia, (by an unanimous vote, I believe,) adopted a preamble and resolutions complimentary to Colonel Fauntleroy, in which he was "cordially commended to the Honorable Secretary of War, and to his Excellency, the President of the United States, for promotion to the rank of Brigadier General." With this expression of sentiment on the part of the General Assembly of the State, respecting his services, I have not felt that it would be proper to tender to him a lower position than that of Brigadier General. Session Acts, 1859-60, p. 706.

The ordinance of the 27th day of April, 1861, "to provide for the organization of a Provisional Army" provides for the appointment of four Brigadier Generals, one of which places, it seems to me, is, under all the circumstances, justly due to Col. Fauntleroy.

These are the reasons which have controlled my action in making this nomination, and I respectfully request that they may be entered upon your Journal.

Respectfully,

JOHN LETCHER.

To the Council:

MAY 15, 1861.

The Council approve the nomination of Col. Fauntleroy to be a Brigadier General in the Provisional Army.

Ordered by the Governor that a commission be issued accordingly.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, }
June 17, 1861. }

Gentlemen of the Convention :

The Attorney General, has at my instance, drawn two ordinances of much importance, and to which I invite your early attention, as well as to the papers accompanying them. I respectfully urge immediate action, and earnestly hope they will meet your approval.

Respectfully,

JOHN LETCHER.



MIDDLEBURG, LOUDOUN COUNTY, }
June 11, 1861. }

To His Excellency Governor Letcher:

DEAR SIR: I write to you, as the presiding judge of this county, because I feel that it is my duty to do so.

At an election held some days ago to fill a vacancy on our county court bench, in the German settlement on the north border, a black republican, I understand, was elected. His name is Downey, I believe, though I do not know the man. My information is derived from gentlemen at court, from which place (Leesburg) I have just returned to-night.

I hope his commission has not been issued, and that you will suspend it until you can be fully informed on the subject; for I would feel disgraced to sit on the bench with such a man.

We have, as you no doubt are aware, a large population on the northwest frontier of our county, and reaching into the centre, where the free-soil feeling is predominant; still, we have had the good fortune never to have had a justice elected who was unsound on the vital question. If he was, we did not know it, and great harmony has prevailed among us; and at our last court we levied fifty thousand dollars for the military service by a unanimous vote.

I know what is the duty of the Executive in regard to issuing commissions for persons elected, but there is no time prescribed in which it shall be done; and I beg leave most respectfully to suggest that in this case it be delayed till a *convenient season*.

This man Downey is a Pennsylvanian by birth, and I am satisfied, from the information given by gentlemen of character, that he is a Lincoln man in his principles.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

ASA ROGERS.



[DOC. NO. XXVIII.]

SECOND REPORT

FROM THE

COMMITTEE

ON

RAIL ROAD CONNECTIONS.

REPORT.

The Committee on Rail Road Connections, to whom was re-committed their report of the 19th of June, have had the subject-matter again under consideration; and having ascertained from the proper authorities of the Government of the Confederate States that that Government did not consider that it had the power or authority to make the proposed connections, and therefore declined to undertake to do so, in view of the importance of the work, in their opinion, in the present emergency, have determined again to report the ordinance previously proposed by them, with certain amendments, which, they trust, will remove all previous difficulties, and which they therefore earnestly recommend for the adoption of the Convention.

The committee have had under further consideration the proposition to connect the other rail roads terminating in the city of Richmond; and, although they requested the attendance before them of the proper officers of all said companies, all save one failed to attend; and, not being able to procure any definite information as to the best mode or probable cost of making this connection, they are unable to make any further report on that subject at this time.

The committee, according to order, have also had under consideration a resolution submitted to them to inquire what action, if any, was necessary and proper on the part of the Convention to authorize the construction of rail roads in this State for military purposes by the Confederate authorities, and report that they consider it inexpedient and improper on the part of the Convention to grant any such authority, especially as under the emergency which has arisen, and the acknowledged necessity for the connections proposed in a previous part of this report, the Confederate authorities disclaim any power to make any such constructions, even if such privilege were granted them. The committee therefore ask to be discharged from the further consideration of that subject.

EDMUND T. MORRIS,
On behalf of the Committee.

[DOC. No. XXX.]

REPORT

FROM

THE COMMITTEE

TO

REAPPORTION REPRESENTATION

IN

THE CONGRESS OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES,

REPORT.



RICHMOND, June 20, 1861.

The committee appointed to reapportion the representation of the counties, cities, and boroughs, of this Commonwealth, in the Congress of the Confederate States under the census of 1860, beg leave to report that they have had the same under consideration and beg leave to present the annexed report.

SAMUEL G. STAPLES, *Chairman*.



FEDERAL POPULATION.

OF

Virginia according to the Census of 1860.

Total population.....	1,400,164
Rates of representation.....	87,506

First District.

Middlesex.....	3,414
Accomac.....	16,783
Northampton.....	6,283
Elizabeth City.....	4,832
Warwick.....	1,352
James City.....	4,764
Gloucester.....	8,662
Mathews.....	5,888
Lancaster.....	4,003
Westmoreland.....	6,800
Richmond.....	5,870
Essex.....	7,791
York.....	4,179
King & Queen.....	7,875
Northumberland.....	6,154
	<hr/>
	94,650

Second District.

Norfolk county and city.....	32,556
Princess Anne.....	6,440
Nansemond.....	11,500
Isle of Wight.....	8,549
Southampton.....	10,752
Sussex.....	7,621
Surry.....	5,127
Greensville.....	4,710
	<hr/>
	87,255

Third District.

Henrico and city of Richmond.....	53,600
Charles City.....	4,431
New Kent.....	4,534
Hanover.....	13,431
	<hr/>
	75,996

Fourth District.

Dinwiddie and Petersburg.....	25,088
Chesterfield.....	15,675
Powhatan.....	6,29
Amelia.....	7,687
Nottaway.....	6,248
Cumberland.....	7,299
Buckingham.....	11,688
Prince George.....	6,412
	<hr/>
	86,326

Fifth District.

Prince Edward.....	8,908
Brunswick.....	11,153
Mecklenburg.....	15,128
Lunenburg.....	9,062
Charlotte.....	10,775
Halifax.....	20,563
Appomattox.....	7,049
	<hr/>
	82,638

Sixth District.

Pittsylvania.....	26,368
Patrick.....	8,531
Henry.....	10,097
Franklin.....	17,558
Bedford.....	20,997
Carroll.....	7,908
	<hr/>
	91,459

Seventh District.

Albemarle.....	21,059
Campbell and Lynchburg.....	21,561
Amherst.....	11,578
Nelson.....	10,519
Fluvanna.....	8,355
Goochland.....	8,200
Greene.....	4,231
	<hr/>
	85,503

Eighth District.

Spottsylvania.....	12,900
Louisa.....	12,622
Orange.....	8,262
Madison.....	7,086
Culpepper.....	9,394
Caroline.....	14,197
King George.....	5,105
Stafford.....	7,229
King William.....	6,319
	<hr/>
	83,184

Ninth District.

Fauquier.....	17,522
Rappahannock.....	7,442
Prince William.....	7,622
Fairfax.....	10,589
Alexandria.....	12,098
Loudoun.....	19,572
Jefferson.....	12,991
	<hr/>
	87,836

Tenth District.

Frederick.....	15,643
Berkeley.....	11,865
Morgan.....	3,693
Hampshire.....	13,431
Clarke.....	5,796

Warren.....	5,815
Shenandoah.....	13,596
Page.....	7,769
Hardy.....	9,434
	<hr/>
	87,039

Eleventh District.

Augusta.....	25,503
Rockingham.....	22,454
Rockbridge.....	15,656
Pendleton.....	6,069
Highland.....	4,159
Bath.....	3,298
Pocahontas.....	3,858
Alleghany.....	6,369
	<hr/>
	87,366

Twelfth District.

Botetourt.....	10,408
Roanoke.....	6,992
Montgomery.....	9,729
Floyd.....	8,046
Pulaski.....	4,780
Giles.....	6,571
Craig.....	3,385
Mercer.....	6,676
Monroe.....	10,311
Greenbrier.....	11,600
Raleigh.....	3,345
Fayette.....	5,889
	<hr/>
	87,732

Thirteenth District.

Wythe.....	11,441
Smythe.....	8,538
Grayson.....	8,034
Washington.....	15,875
Scott.....	11,876
Lee.....	10,702
Wise.....	4,482

Buchanan.....	2,781
M. Dowell.....	1,535
Tazewell.....	9,440
Bland.....
Russell.....	9,740
Wyoming.....	2,835
	<hr/>
	97,279

Fourteenth District.

Kanawha.....	15,275
Legan.....	4,879
Boone.....	4,777
Wayne.....	6,689
Cabell.....	7,898
Putnam.....	6,069
Mason.....	9,031
Jackson.....	8,284
Roane.....	5,354
Clay.....	1,779
Nicholas.....	4,564
Braxton.....	4,950
Wirt.....	3,741
	<hr/>
	84,290

Fifteenth District.

Lewis.....	7,907
Wood.....	10,976
Pleasants.....	2,939
Tyler.....	6,507
Ritchie.....	6,831
Doddridge.....	5,189
Upshur.....	7,208
Randolph.....	4,916
Webster.....
Tucker.....	1,418
Barbour.....	8,920
Harrison.....	13,557
Taylor.....	7,415

Gilmer.....	3,739
Calhoun.....	2,498
	<hr/>
	90,020

Sixteenth District.

Ohio.....	22,382
Hancock.....	4,444
Brooke.....	5,487
Marshall.....	12,989
Wetzel.....	6,699
Marion.....	12,696
Monongalia.....	13,008
Preston.....	13,286
	<hr/>
	90,991

[DOC. NO. XXXIII.]

REPORT

OF THE

SELECT COMMITTEE

ON

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION

OF

VIRGINIA.

REIGN OF

CHARLES THE FIRST

BY JOHN BURNET

IN TWO VOLUMES.

LONDON, Printed by J. Sturges, at the

Sign of the Sun in St. Dunstons Church,

1680.

THE SECOND VOLUME.

THE HISTORY OF THE

REIGN OF

CHARLES THE FIRST

BY JOHN BURNET

IN TWO VOLUMES.

LONDON, Printed by J. Sturges, at the

Sign of the Sun in St. Dunstons Church,

1680.

REPORT.

On the first day of May, 1861, the Convention adopted the following resolution:

“Resolved, That a committee of seven members be appointed by the President of the Convention, whose duty it shall be to consider and report to the Convention, at its adjourned session, such amendments of the Constitution of Virginia, as may be necessary and proper, under existing circumstances.”

The committee appointed under the foregoing resolution, have, according to order, had the subject referred to them under consideration, and submit the following

REPORT:

The comprehensive terms of the resolution have made it the duty of the committee to subject the whole Constitution to a careful review, for the purpose of suggesting such amendments, as, in their judgment, are necessary and proper under existing circumstances. Your committee were deeply impressed with the importance and delicacy of the task imposed on them, and in performing it, they have sought to be guided by the lights of reason and experience without regard to their own preconceived opinions, or to those theories which have heretofore been most popular.

The circumstances by which we are now surrounded, render the present an auspicious time for correcting radical errors in our fundamental law. Recent events have developed the weak points in our political system, and it is, perhaps, a fortunate circumstance that the members of the present Convention have been elected untrammelled by pledges or committals of any kind, to their respective constituencies, and are therefore left free to approach the great work of constitutional reform, with that dispassionate calmness, which furnishes the best assurance of deliberate consideration and wise conclusion.

Governments, like all other human institutions, must be modified from time to time, with a view to adapt them to the new conditions which may be developed by the progress of soci-

ety. A system which was suited to the condition of the country half a century ago, may be unfitted for the exigencies of the present time. This truth has been signally illustrated in the history of the government of the late United States. As framed and administered by the fathers of the Republic, it was admirably adapted to promote the happiness and prosperity of its citizens, and it stood, for many years, the wonder and admiration of the civilized world. But in the onward march of events, it became evident that its provisions were liable to perversion, which would make it the instrument of injustice. Real or supposed antagonisms, growing out of diversities of climate, productions, and systems of labor in the Northern and Southern sections were developed, and it was manifest that new guarantees were necessary for the security of the vital interests, and domestic institutions of the slaveholding States. Wise and patriotic statesmen foreseeing the danger, labored to obtain such amendments of the Constitution, as were necessary, to adapt it to the changed condition of the country. But all their efforts having proved abortive, and a dominant sectional majority having clearly indicated its purpose to trample on the rights of the Southern States, no alternative was left to them but to seek relief from oppression, by separation.

A similar necessity of conforming our institutions, to the growth of new relations and interests, which are constantly arising in the progress of society, requires that changes should be made, from time to time, in our State Constitution. As Virginia is now about to commence a new era in her history, it is important that her organic law should be so framed as to guard her citizens, effectually, against the dangers of oppression on the one hand, and anarchy on the other.

Governments are instituted for the protection of the rights of persons and property; and any system must be radically defective, which does not give ample security to both. The great interests of every community may be classed under the heads of labor and capital, and it is essential to the well-being of society, that the proper equilibrium should be established between these important elements. The undue predominance of either, must, eventually, prove destructive of the social system. Capital belongs to the few—labor to the many. In those systems in which capital has the ascendancy, the government must, to some extent, partake of the character of an oligarchy; whilst in those in which labor is predominant, the tendency is to what Mr. John Randolph graphically described as “the despotism of king numbers.” It is the office of enlightened statesmanship to secure to each its appropriate influence, but to give the absolute control to neither.

The political condition of the Northern States presents a stri-

king illustration of the evils incident to the preponderance of the element of labor. In the early periods of their history, these evils were not so apparent as they have since become. Their population was sparse, and the western territories afforded a convenient outlet for their restless citizens; labor was in demand at high wages; property was easily acquired, and consequently the line of demarkation between labor and capital was not strictly drawn, because the laborer of to-day might readily become the capitalist of to-morrow. But within the last twenty years, a marked change has taken place in the North. Population has become dense, and the safety-valve afforded by emigration to the western territories has been greatly obstructed. Wages have not kept pace with the cost of subsistence, and the difficulty of acquiring property has increased. The tendency of this new condition of things has been, to divide society into two distinct classes, and to array the one against the other. This tendency to a conflict between labor and capital has already manifested itself in many forms, comparatively harmless, it is true, but nevertheless, clearly indicative of a spirit of licentiousness which must, in the end, ripen into agrarianism. It may be seen in the system of free schools, by which the children of the poor are educated at the expense of the rich; in the various forms of exemption, and homestead bills; in the popular cry of "lands for the landless," and "homes for the homeless;" in Fourierism and communism; in the habitual disregard of the ordinances of religion, and of the institution of matrimony; and more distinctly, in the form of abolitionism.

The radical principle of abolitionism is agrarianism. It is a war on property, under the mask of simulated philanthropy. The property selected as the object of attack is held exclusively in the Southern States, and by a comparatively small class of citizens. Hence it was supposed to be the most defenceless. But this is only the beginning of the contest. It is a war on the outposts of capital, which will soon be followed by more formidable assaults on the owners of land and other species of property. History teaches that when "numbers," unchecked by suitable constitutional restrictions, have the control, agrarianism or despotism must soon follow.

It is notorious, that already, in most of the Northern States capital is forced to obtain temporary security, by paying tribute to labor. Money constitutes an important element in all their elections. Bribery of voters is a matter of every day occurrence. Preparatory to every political contest, large sums of money are subscribed by capitalists, or exacted by levies on office holders, for the purpose of corrupting the voters; and the journals of the Federal Congress disclose the disgraceful fact, that Northern members of that body have sold their official votes for money.

But this system of profligacy and corruption can only serve to postpone, for a time, the "irrepressible conflict," which, under their forms of government, must eventually ensue between labor and capital. The masses will not be slow to learn that the power is in their hands, and they will not scruple to use it for their own advantage. They will not be content with the bribes lavished by unprincipled partisans, but, under the lead of graceless demagogues, they will act on the assumption that "all property is robbery," and that "the greatest good to the greatest number" requires the division of property among the down trodden millions.

The agencies by which these mischievous fallacies may be rendered potential, are, universal suffrage and the election of all officers by the direct vote of the people. The former gives a controlling power to men who have the least interest in the community, and the latter renders that power effectual, by giving direction to the legislation and administration of the government.

In the opinion of your committee no system of government can afford permanent and effectual security to life, liberty and property, which rests on the basis of unlimited suffrage and the election of officers of every department of the government by the direct vote of the people. The tendency of such a system is, to demoralize the masses; to encourage the habit of office-seeking; to foster corruption at the polls, and to place unworthy and incompetent men in positions of trust and responsibility. These, however, are the vital principles of the social organization of the North, and, as before stated, their bitter fruits are already in a course of rapid development.

In the Southern States more conservative and rational principles still prevail. This is due, mainly, to the institution of slavery, which constitutes a partial restriction on the right of suffrage. In the North, men of every class and condition of life are entitled to vote. In the South, all who are in a condition of servitude are necessarily excluded from the exercise of political privileges, and the power of the country is wielded by the more intelligent classes, who have a permanent interest in the well-being of society.

Slavery also constitutes an effectual barrier against that tendency to antagonism between labor and capital, which exists in the North. There, capital is the casual employer of labor, and is interested in diminishing its wages. Here, capital is the owner of labor, and, naturally, seeks to enhance its rewards.

Virginia is now in the midst of a revolution, the results of which no human sagacity can accurately foresee. It is our duty, however, to meet the crisis with all the prudence, wisdom and conservatism that we can command, and to guard, as far as practicable, against every probable danger.

It seems now to be generally conceded, that the framers of the present Constitution, made too wide a departure from the conservative principles which were cherished by our revolutionary fathers. Smitten by a desire to follow in the footsteps of Northern politicians, they incorporated into our organic law many of the fatal errors which overthrew the Federal Government, and must, in a few years, lead to the downfall of the whole fabric of Northern society. They have engrafted on our Constitution those Northern ideas of unlimited suffrage and universal popular elections, which, as has been already shown, are rapidly driving the Northern States to agrarianism.

The dissolution of our political connection with the old Union has effected material changes in the relations of Virginia, which should be maturely considered in reviewing her fundamental law. Under the old system, she was in the centre of the Union. In the new confederation, she will be one of the border States. How far this fact may affect the institution of slavery within her limits, cannot yet be determined. But, it is the part of prudence to guard against all contingencies. It may be that the slave population will be withdrawn, to some extent, from the Northern and Western portions of her territory, and their place supplied by immigrants from the North, to whom it would not be safe to confide the destinies of Virginia by enabling them, through the elective franchise, to choose the men who are to frame, expound and administer her laws.

In view of this condition of affairs, your committee regard it as vitally important, that the Constitution of Virginia should be so amended as to impose wholesome restrictions on the right of suffrage, and to diminish the number of officers to be elected by the direct vote of the people. In regard to the qualification of voters, there has been, from the foundation of the republic, much diversity of opinion. While all concurred in the idea that the voter should have a permanent interest in, and attachment to the community, statesmen have differed as to what constituted the best evidence of that interest and attachment.

Under the Constitution of 1776, the elective franchise was restricted to freeholders, on the idea that those who owned the country should govern it.

In 1830, it was extended to housekeepers and heads of families, who had paid the revenue tax with which they had been assessed for the next preceding year.

At the last revisal of the Constitution, in 1850, all restrictions, except as to citizenship and residence, were removed, and all white males, above the age of twenty-one years, were allowed to vote whether they had been assessed with, or paid any tax or not.

In the opinion of your committee, this was an unfortunate

change in the Constitution. It has introduced a large class of irresponsible voters who have but little interest in the Commonwealth, and who do not, in any degree, participate in the burthens of taxation, which may be imposed by representatives of their selection.

Every consideration of principle and expediency requires that this error should now be corrected.

Political rights and duties are reciprocal. Every citizen is entitled to the *protection* of his government, and as an equivalent for that protection, he is bound to *defend* the government. Protection of individual rights is the consideration paid for the military service of the citizen. But it is, by no means true, that every citizen is entitled to participate in the administration of the government. Before he can have a just claim to all the rights of a citizen, he must show that he has performed all the duties of a citizen. It is not enough that he shall have performed military service in defending the government. That is but one of the duties of a citizen, and for that, he is amply compensated by the protection which is afforded to his rights of person and property. The government must be supported by taxes as well as defended by the military arm. Money is as essential in war as men. Troops must be armed, equipped, clothed, fed and paid, as well as marshalled for the battle-field. The citizen who fails to pay his share of the cost of the government is as much in default as his neighbor, who shrinks from military service. He has not discharged his full duty to his country, and, therefore, has no just ground to complain if he is not allowed to share in the administration of its government.

It cannot be denied that it is in violation of one of the great fundamental principles of American liberty that persons who pay no taxes should be allowed to exercise the elective franchise. Our fathers maintained that taxation, without representation, was tyranny. But, of what value is the right of representation if those who substantially lay the taxes pay no portion of them? If irresponsible, non-tax-paying voters select the Legislators who lay the taxes, it is obvious that the result must be oppression. Under the representative system, the security which the people have against unjust taxation is, in the fact, that they can, at pleasure, withdraw the legislative trust from the hands of those who abuse it. But if one class elects the representative and another bears the burthen of taxation, this security becomes worthless.

These general considerations tend, in the opinion of your committee, to show that the present Constitution of Virginia does not provide the necessary safeguards against the abuse of power. Under it, suffrage is almost unlimited, and much the larger number of the officers of government are elective, directly,

by the people. The tendency of these provisions is, to the most hateful of all despotisms—the despotism of an unrestrained numerical majority.

If the lessons of history, on this point, needed any confirmation, it can be found in the melancholy spectacle presented by the government from which we have recently withdrawn. We see the President of the United States, whose government is acknowledged to be one of limited powers, backed by an infuriated and fanatical populace, boldly usurping the right to declare war; to raise armies; to call out the militia; to borrow money; to increase the navy; to invade States; to blockade ports; to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*; to violate the freedom of speech and of the press; and, in a word, to trample on every principle of constitutional liberty; and instead of being met by stern rebuke and merited impeachment, every new aggression on the Constitution and popular right is hailed with acclamation by those who recognize in him the chosen minister and instrument of “King Numbers.”

Right of Suffrage.

In seeking to make a practical application of the general propositions which have been discussed, your committee have encountered many difficulties. A partiality has been expressed by many intelligent citizens for a return to the old freehold system of qualification of voters. But, to say nothing of the impracticability of effecting such a complete revolution, your committee are persuaded that the change would not be desirable if it were attainable. There seems to be no good reason why the owners of land should have greater privileges than the holders of any other species of property. Every property qualification is obnoxious to the objection, that the right is made an incident of the property and not of the person. Your committee, therefore, have declined to recommend any property qualification, but prefer that the right to vote should be made dependent on the performance of public duty. They, therefore, advise that the Constitution be amended so as to authorize every free white male citizen to vote who shall have paid, sixty days before the election, all taxes, State and Confederate, which may have been assessed against him or his property, for the next preceding year, and also all the levies, county, corporation and parish, with which he is justly chargeable.

This limitation on the right as it now exists, is in accordance with the principles above stated, and would, in the judgment of the committee, be attended with the most beneficial results, by stimulating all to the discharge of their public duty, and by excluding from this important political right only those who had failed to perform it.

Popular Elections.

Material changes seem, also, to be necessary in regard to the selection of various classes of public officers. Under the constitution as it now stands, no discrimination is made in the mode of choosing public agents, founded on a consideration of the nature of the functions they have to perform. A mistaken desire to propitiate popular favor, rather than a wise and well considered purpose to give security to individual rights, and stability and dignity to the government, seems to have controlled the action of the Convention of 1850. The selection of almost every officer, has been referred to the people, and by shortening the official term, as far as possible, the officers are made dependent on the people.

In the opinion of your committee, this was a grave error. Popular privileges and public liberty, are best protected and defended, by placing in official stations, men of intelligence, integrity, firmness, and wisdom; and that mode of selection is best, which will most effectually accomplish this end. The government from which we have recently separated, furnishes abundant proof that the wisest and best men, are not always the popular favorites.

In determining the mode of selecting officers, it seems to your committee, that some regard ought to be had to the nature of the duties they will be required to discharge. No rule can be prescribed which will be free from all objection, but your committee believe, that it would be safe to assume, that all *legislative* officers, should be elected by the people, but that those who are to fulfil *executive*, or *judicial* trusts, should be chosen by intermediate agents. There seems to be good reason for this distinction. Legislation affects the rights and liberties of the whole people, collectively. Hence those who exercise legislative powers, should be elected by the direct vote of the people, and be dependent, for their continuance in office, on the will of the people. But judicial and executive officers, being entrusted with the duty of expounding, and administering the public will, as expressed through the legislature, and in applying the law to individual cases, have functions to perform, which do not concern the people at large, and ought not to be affected by their wishes. After laws are passed by the Legislature, (which speaks for the people), rights accrue to, and penalties are incurred by, individuals, which ought to be fearlessly and faithfully executed, without regard to the wishes of a majority of the people. A judicial officer, who would be influenced by popular clamor, in the discharge of his appropriate functions, would justly incur public contempt. So also, an executive officer, who would fail to enforce a law, because it was unpopular, would merit the severest

condemnation. The responsibility of these classes of officers, is, not to the people, directly, and therefore there is no good reason why they should be chosen directly by the people. All experience proves that the only class of public servants, who can be held to a direct and practical responsibility, by the people, are those who exercise legislative functions. The people can, and do, judge correctly, of the wisdom and expediency of a general law, but it is not to be expected, that they would form an enlightened opinion, in regard to the judicial exposition, or executive application of it, in particular cases. The former, requires only the exercise of sound judgment, and discriminating common sense; the latter, demands legal training, familiarity with precedents, and a general knowledge of the principles of judicial decision, and executive action. The one involves the consideration of the law in its general aspects; the other requires a minute investigation of individual cases, which the public, will rarely, if ever, be either disposed, or competent to make.

Your committee are aware, that there is something captivating to the self-love of the people, in the idea of electing their own officers of every grade, and many will doubtless be found, who will seek to persuade them, that it is essential to their freedom, that they should continue to do so. Parasites, are always to be found around the fountains of power. In monarchies, they exhibit themselves as courtiers; in republics, as those who assume to be, the peculiar friends of the people. Intelligent men, however, will perceive, that even under our present Constitution, the people, really, have but little to do with the election of the higher classes of officers. The power to elect exists more in name than in fact. The peculiar friends of the people, take care to relieve them of that trouble and responsibility.

The difficulty of making choice of suitable candidates, arising from a want of knowledge, by the people, of the character and qualifications of aspirants, compels a resort to nominating conventions. These conventions, substantially, make the elections, and leave to the people the comparatively unimportant function, of ratifying, what has been done for them, by a body of irresponsible, and often untrustworthy men. It was through the agency of such an assemblage that the present Executive of the United States was imposed on the country—and your committee doubt if the ingenuity of venal politicians, could have devised any other, by which such a mischievous result could have been accomplished.

As a general rule, it would be much safer for the people, to elect, in the mode prescribed by law, representatives, in whose ability, integrity, and patriotism, they could confide, and leave to them the duty, not merely of framing the laws, but also, of selecting the higher officers, to expound and execute them.

Election of Governor.

In regard to the best mode of electing the Governor, some diversity of sentiment has existed among the members of the committee. The majority incline to the opinion that he should be elected by the direct vote of the people, as now provided by the Constitution. The minority believe it would be better to return to the ancient mode of electing by the joint vote of the General Assembly.

At the time the election of Governor was referred to the people, it was, probably, not in the contemplation of any one that candidates would canvass the State to obtain votes for an office which had been filled by Henry, Jefferson and Monroe. It was supposed that public opinion would concentrate, without difficulty, on some distinguished statesman, and that, by the spontaneous action of the people, without solicitation on his part, he would be elevated to the chief magistracy. But, as this expectation has proved delusive, and the practice of canvassing actively for the office, has become too firmly established to be disregarded, a portion of your committee believe that almost any change would be beneficial which would relieve the Commonwealth of an evil of such magnitude.

It will be generally conceded that the Governor of Virginia should be a man of mature age, of enlarged experience, of varied attainments, of calm wisdom, of unsullied purity and of manners and deportment calculated to command universal respect.

The minority of the committee believe that the General Assembly of Virginia, regularly elected under the authority of law, representing the whole Commonwealth, and acting under the sanctions of an official oath, would be more likely to make a wise selection of a Governor than an excited convention of irresponsible men, selected and convened for partizan purposes, and restrained by no sense of responsibility to the constituent body, nor by the obligations of an oath. With such a convention, availability for an active and successful canvass, would be looked to in preference to those more solid qualifications which were the tests of fitness in the earlier and better days of the Republic.

Election of Judges and Tenure of Office.

There seems to be a general concurrence of sentiment in all parts of the Commonwealth, that in all judicial elections party considerations should be disregarded. The ermine of justice should never be soiled by the dust of partizan conflict. Judges should be selected exclusively with regard to their purity of character and judicial qualifications; and, when chosen, they should be elevated above every influence which might tend to bias their judgment between parties litigant. Their tenure of office should be such as to make them independent of popular

caprice. An upright and independent judiciary is the great bulwark of constitutional liberty. It often becomes the duty of Judges to decide causes in which the sentiment of an excited community is arrayed against a single friendless individual. No temptation should be held out to them to swerve from the path of justice by appeals to their hopes of reelection or fears of defeat. Human nature is weak, and no class of men should be placed in a position in which their personal interests may come into conflict with the impartial discharge of public duty.

Prior to the English revolution of 1688, Judges held their offices during the pleasure of the Crown. As a natural consequence, they were too often the pliant tools of arbitrary power. After the revolution had been accomplished and the principles of constitutional liberty established on a firm basis, the judicial tenure was changed to "good behavior," and from that hour to the present, an independent judiciary has been the palladium of British liberty.

The same considerations which rendered an independent judiciary essential to freedom in England, apply with equal force in Virginia. It is true that the people are sovereign here, but it often becomes as necessary for Judges to annul the unconstitutional acts of the Legislature, representing the popular will, or to resist the clamor of an excited people, as to maintain a manly stand against the usurpations of a tyrant.

Your committee, therefore, recommend that the tenure of all the Judges be enlarged to "good behavior."

Under the Constitutions of 1776 and 1830, Judges of the Court of Appeals and Circuit Courts were elected by joint vote of the General Assembly. By the present Constitution, it is provided that they shall be elected by the direct vote of the people in sections and circuits arranged by the Legislature.

Experience has shown that both these modes of selecting Judges are liable to grave objections. In times of high political excitement, it has been found impossible to exclude party considerations from judicial elections, whether made by the Legislature or the people. Your committee, therefore, recommend that both these modes of appointment shall be discarded, and that, hereafter, all Judges shall be nominated by the Executive, and appointed by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. This mode of appointment secured to the late Federal Government an able and faithful judiciary, and it has recently received the sanction of the framers of the Constitution of the Confederate States.

Justices of the Peace—mode of Appointment and Tenure.

The duties of justices of the peace are of a mixed nature, partaking, in some degree, both of a legislative and judicial

character. They are required to impose county taxes and to appropriate county revenue, as well as to govern the local police and administer justice. In view of these facts, there was a difference of opinion in the committee in regard to the mode of appointment and the tenure of office. Some members preferred the system which prevailed under the Constitutions of 1776 and 1830. They contended that that system had been approved by the experience of three-quarters of a century, during all which time, it gave to the Commonwealth an upright, able, intelligent and independent magistracy, which executed the laws fearlessly and faithfully, and managed the county finances with integrity and economy.

A majority of the committee, however, preferred the system of electing justices by the people for a term of years; but all concurred in the opinion that the present term is too short, and that it should be extended to six years. Should proper limitations be imposed on the right of suffrage, it is hoped that the elective system may prove more satisfactory in its practical operations under this mode of selection than it has been under the present Constitution.

Mayors, Recorders and Aldermen.

In view of the peculiar character of the population of our cities and large towns, many of whom hold but little of those kinds of property which have to bear the burthen of taxation, and a large number being mere temporary sojourners, your committee are of the opinion that the public interests would be promoted by withdrawing the election of mayors, recorders, sergeants and other ministerial officers from the people and referring it to the Common Councils, elected by the popular vote. The council, deriving its existence from, and being dependent on the people, will have every inducement to consult their true interests, and being a select body, generally of intelligent and responsible men and permanent residents, will have better opportunities of informing themselves of the qualifications of candidates than the public at large, and can, therefore, make wiser selections of officers. Other considerations, which will hereafter be adverted to, lend additional force to this recommendation.

Election and Tenure of Office of Sheriffs, Sergeants, Clerks, Commonwealth's Attorneys and other Ministerial Offices.

In the judgment of your committee it was a wide departure from the true principles of representative republican government, to require that ministerial officers, such as sheriffs, clerks, attorneys for the Commonwealth, commissioners of the revenue, constables, &c., should be elected by the direct vote of the people.

The multiplication of elections is of itself a serious evil. The time lost in attending the elections, is a matter of no small importance to the community. But there are other evils attending the system, of a much more serious character. Among these are the tendency to demoralize and corrupt the voters; the increase of the number and greed of candidates for small offices; the inauguration of a corrupt system of electioneering; the encouragement of dissipation and idleness, and a disposition on the part of many to live on the emoluments of office, instead of by the earnings of patient industry;—the sacrifice of independence of thought and manly feeling; a pliant subserviency to popular caprice; and the filling of positions of trust and responsibility, with unfaithful and incompetent men. Public offices, instead of being looked upon by voters, as public trusts, to be conferred on the most worthy, are too often regarded as rewards or gratuities to be bestowed on popular favorites, without reference to their capacity to discharge the duties. Officers thus elected, naturally feel themselves under obligations to those who supported them, and, not unfrequently, discharge their debt of gratitude, out of the public treasury.

Ministerial officers operate directly on the people, and it is expecting too much from human nature, to suppose, that they will not discriminate between those who favored and those who opposed their election. It will not be denied that, since this class of officers have been made elective by the people, the laws have been less rigidly enforced, and the public interests less faithfully guarded.

To illustrate this proposition, your committee need only refer to the shameful delinquency of sheriffs, clerks and other officers, in regard to the public revenue. Under the old system of selecting these officers, a defalcation was a matter of rare occurrence, but under the system of popular elections, as will be seen from the records in the office of the 1st Auditor, there are but twelve counties in the Commonwealth, in which sheriffs have not been defaulters! In this way, vast losses have accrued to the revenue, and the people of those counties which have not been delinquent are required to contribute to make good the deficiency occasioned by the default of others.

The increase in the number of defaulting clerks, is almost in the same ratio, and demands, with equal emphasis, the application of a suitable corrective.

The elective system has worked quite as unfortunately, in regard to Commonwealth's attorneys. This office requires, for the efficient discharge of its duties, talents and attainments of a peculiar character. They can be understood and appreciated only by those who are familiar with the administration of justice. It is no disparagement of the intelligence of the people, therefore,

to say, that it is inexpedient to refer to them the election of an attorney. They cannot judge of his capacity to frame an information or indictment, or to fulfil other duties involving familiarity with legal technicalities. It has often happened, therefore, that the people, forming a mistaken estimate of the office, have elected men utterly incompetent to discharge its duties. The consequence is, criminals escape just punishment, unless the court, or private parties, obtain the assistance of a competent lawyer, to assist the official representative of the Commonwealth.

Constables.

The complaint is general throughout the Commonwealth, that under the present system, this class of officers are negligent and inefficient. The parties who feel most interest in the election of constables, are those on whom they will be most likely to be required to exercise their functions. It is their interest to select those who will be most lenient, and accordingly, in many counties, it has been impossible to procure the services of vigilant and prompt men, in the office of constable.

Your committee are of the opinion that the election of sheriffs, sergeants, clerks, attorneys for the Commonwealth, constables, surveyors and commissioners of the revenue, should be withdrawn from the people and confided to the courts. They should hold their offices for a term of years, but be removable at the pleasure of the court. They should be reëligible from term to term, indefinitely, with the single restriction that no officer entrusted with the collection or disbursement of any public money belonging to the Commonwealth or his county, shall be reëligible unless he shall produce satisfactory evidence that he has honestly and faithfully accounted for the same according to law.

The effect of this provision will be to stimulate officers to the prompt and efficient discharge of their duty, by the hope of retaining their offices; to secure to the public vigilant and effective agents in every ministerial office, and to lighten the burthens of taxation by saving large sums of money which are now annually lost to the treasury.

Should these amendments to the Constitution receive the sanction of the Convention and be ratified by the people, your committee cherish the confident hope that public liberty and private rights will be established on a safe and permanent foundation.

[DOC. NO. XXXV.]

MESSAGE

FROM THE

EXECUTIVE OF THE COMMONWEALTH,

WITH

ACCOMPANYING DOCUMENTS,

SHOWING THE

MILITARY AND NAVAL PREPARATIONS

FOR THE

DEFENCE OF THE STATE OF VIRGINIA,

&c. &c.

MESSAGE.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, }
June 17, 1861. }

Gentlemen of the Convention:

Justice to the Executive, and those who have been associated with him in the administration of the State Government, imperatively demands that a full detail of all that has been done, shall be submitted to the Convention, in order that it may have a place upon the public records and thus go down to posterity. The present is an occasion of deep interest and importance in the history of the State, and I trust, therefore, that this detail of facts, sustained by proofs that cannot be gainsaid or controverted will not be considered either as untimely or out of place.

In my inaugural message, I embraced the opportunity to advise the "General Assembly," that it was their "duty to place the State in such a condition that she will be prepared at all times, and upon the shortest notice to protect her honor, defend her rights, and maintain her institutions against all assaults of her enemies. With this view, I recommend a careful revision of the militia law; and in this connection, I suggested that munitions of war be procured and provision be made for the organization of an efficient military staff." I recommended at the same time, the passage of a bill "for the organization of a brigade of minute men," and furnished the draft of a bill for the accomplishment of this object.

On the 31st day of January, 1860, the General Assembly passed "an act making an appropriation of one hundred and eighty thousand dollars to purchase such arms, equipments and munitions as may be required for the immediate use of the State." This sum was to be expended under the direction of a Commission, to be appointed by the Executive, and consisted of Col. P. St. Geo. Cocke, Maj. Geo. W. Randolph and Col. F. H. Smith, who were appointed immediately after the passage of the act, and entered upon the discharge of their duties. No men were ever more prompt and faithful in the performance of a public duty, and their action received the approval of the General Assembly. Out of this appropriation, thirteen rifle cannon, five thousand percussion muskets, revolvers, cavalry sabres, fifty thousand pounds of powder and other articles were purchased. The entire sum was expended, as will fully appear from the report of Maj. Randolph, made to the General Assembly on the 1st day of April last, and herewith transmitted. (Appendix A.)

By an act passed January 29th, 1861, it was made the duty of the Colonel of Ordnance, under direction of the Governor, to procure the necessary arms, equipments and munitions of war, for the defence of the State. He is authorized, also, to contract for the manufacture of equipments and munitions, and to buy materials therefor, and to contract for altering and improving cannon and small arms, and to purchase machinery and materials therefor. The act appropriates \$800,000 to accomplish these purposes. Col. Charles Dimmock was nominated to the Senate, and confirmed as Colonel of Ordnance, and immediately entered upon the discharge of his duties. His report herewith transmitted (Appendix B) will show what was done under this act. By the same act the Governor is authorized to employ an Engineer, to plan and construct coast, harbor and river defences, and to execute the same if approved by the Governor. For this position Col. Talcott was selected, and he has been most industriously and energetically employed in the discharge of his important duties. The act also provided for the construction of three arsenals in different sections of the State, and for the purposes mentioned in this paragraph, the sum of \$200,000 was appropriated. Under this act the amounts appropriated could not be raised in the usual mode, by the sale of State bonds; the bonds having depreciated twenty per cent. or more, and our law prohibiting their sale at less than their par value. Hence an act was passed on the 14th day of March thereafter, authorizing the issue of one million of dollars of treasury notes. This act authorized the Governor to direct the Auditor to borrow for the State, from time to time, the sum aforesaid and to issue treasury notes therefor. Under this act the banks were authorized to discount or purchase such treasury notes.

The Convention subsequently, by an ordinance passed April 30th, 1861, authorized the Governor to raise for the defences of the State, by treasury notes, a sum not exceeding two millions of dollars. These notes are made payable to bearer, and are redeemable one year after their dates, and when paid, are to be cancelled and re-issues are authorized for a like amount.

In less than one week after the passage of the ordinance of secession, the Navy Department was fully and effectively organized, and the report of Capt. Barron, the officer in charge, (which is herewith transmitted and will be found in Appendix C,) shows how much has been done in an incredibly short time.

The State has had full work for all the officers, seamen and marines embraced in this organization, and all, so far as I know or believe, have worked laboriously, cheerfully and effectively. Besides the laborious work of removing the heavy guns and other munitions from the Navy Yard to the various points on our river at which the batteries are located, we have had to construct

the gun carriages and to provide the necessary fixed ammunition for the batteries. Those batteries are in good working order and are effectively manned. The fact that these guns weigh from five to ten thousand pounds each, with transportation essentially by land, will show the amount of labor required to get them in position.

Besides, the steam frigate Merrimac, which had been sunk by the Federal authorities and burned to the water's edge when they deserted the Navy Yard, has been raised and is now in the naval Dry Dock undergoing repairs. An effective battery has been placed on board the frigate United States and the Navy Yard itself is well prepared for vigorous defence. At Richmond the steamer Yorktown has been nearly completed, as a war steamer, and a steam tug bought by the State has been completely fitted up. These will soon be ready to coöperate with the other military operations and will be prepared to render efficient service.

Provisional Army.—Appointments in the higher grades were confined to retired officers of the army who had left the service of the United States. To carry into immediate effect the provisions for recruiting, appointments were made of a number of first and second lieutenants, nearly one half of whom are graduates of the Virginia Military Institute, and they have been distributed throughout the state on recruiting service. It is now satisfactorily ascertained that while the volunteer organization is so actively pressed, as it now is, in our State, it is impossible to raise the ten thousand men proposed by the ordinance. One regiment perhaps may be raised. To give employment to the young officers, the commanding general has made good use of them in organizing and drilling the volunteers as they were received at the various camps of instruction. As many of them as may be required for this and the engineer service, may be retained with advantage until their services shall be no longer necessary—the remainder might be disbanded after organizing the companies already recruited.

The report of Major General Lee is herewith transmitted, and I commend it to the attention of the Convention. It presents information that cannot fail to be interesting and instructive, as it shows the progress of our military matters since the ordinance of secession was passed. (Appendix D.)

The Harper's Ferry machinery and the disposition made of it, was the subject of a previous communication and to that and the accompanying paper I refer.

I transmit a copy of the proclamation turning over the military power of the State to the Confederate States. The terms are satisfactory, I believe, to both sides. (Appendix E.)

The intercourse between the Council and the Executive has been of the most agreeable character. The journal, regularly

kept, will show that their action has been characterized by a remarkable unanimity, and it is a source of satisfaction to me to know, that I have rarely felt constrained to dissent from their advice. Their services have been appreciated by me and should be appreciated by the State.

The rule which has regulated me in making appointments was to ascertain, in the first place, whether the applicant was loyal to the State. If he was loyal, competent and efficient it was all I required. In making my selections I have not regarded old party divisions. Whether a man originally belonged to the one or the other of the old political parties, into which our people have been divided, was an inquiry that I thought unworthy of the times. We had a common interest and a common object in defending our state against the assaults of the Federal Government and my desire was to make our people a unit, if possible, for the successful prosecution of the great work which was before us. I think I can safely affirm that there is not the name of an unfaithful son of the Commonwealth upon the list, and it is cause of congratulation with me to know that they have been confirmed by the council with very general unanimity. No one was objected to, as I am informed, on the score of a want of fidelity to the State.

The commissary, quartermaster and medical appointments were made at the earliest practicable moment after the authority was given, and although some bad appointments were made, (some of which have been removed,) the result has shown great efficiency in all these departments. The paymaster's department has also been organized, and will, I believe, prove as efficient as the others.

When the war commenced, I was greatly embarrassed not only from my own want of knowledge in military matters, but also from the want of experienced military advisers, commanders and an organized staff corps. Under these circumstances, I was called at once to make provision for commands at the important points of Norfolk, Harper's Ferry, Alexandria and Fredericksburg. Until Gen. Lee was appointed, I was without the aid and advice of an experienced military man. If I have, under these circumstances, made blunders, it is not to be wondered at—the only wonder is that I have not committed many more.

The State has paid out under the direction of the auditing board from the 31st day of April to the 14th day of June, the following sums, viz:

For the Army	\$1,737,950 49
“ “ Navy.....	100,748 49

1,838,698 98

Outstanding allowances not yet presented at the Treasury, will

add \$100,000 to this sum. (Appendix F.) On the first of July, we will be required to raise \$1,800,000 to pay our troops now in the field.

Besides all these difficulties to encounter and overcome, the Executive, by law and by ordinances of the Convention, has been compelled to provide the means necessary to meet the expenditures incident to such important movements and to the exertion of such extraordinary power. At the time when the ordinance of secession was passed, there was in the treasury to the credit of the commonwealth, the sum of \$384,605 25, and from that period to this, the entire amount received from the revenue of the State is about \$321,617 75, making \$706,223 to meet the ordinary expenses of government and the extraordinary expenses of the war. The actual sum expended for the war alone, has been nearly two millions, and the sum necessary to meet the liabilities incurred, and not yet presented for payment, will be nearly two millions of dollars additional.

To meet these expenditures, the General Assembly had authorized the issuing of treasury notes to the amount of one million of dollars. For this purpose the Auditor of Public Accounts had made arrangements to have the treasury notes engraved at the North, but when the plates were ready for delivery, they were seized by the Government of the United States. This occasioned delay in the execution of the notes and rendered it necessary to contract for engraving new plates here, in the city of Richmond, which could not be executed until within a few days past.

Subsequently the Convention authorized the issue of two millions more of treasury notes, and both the law of the Legislature and the ordinance of the Convention authorized the banks to receive these notes and to discount upon them.

Under this authority there has been raised from the banks, by giving temporary notes, payable in July, the amount of \$1,854,500, which, with the amount in the treasury, has realized the sum of \$2,560,723 and the government has been able to meet every engagement of the Commonwealth, so far, with the currency of the State, promptly. No creditor having to wait longer than necessary to audit and settle his accounts.

A summary of the operations of the Executive Department since the 18th of April, 1861, shows the following results :

1. The Navy Yard and Harper's Ferry arsenal, captured without the loss of a single life, and securing to the State property, estimated in its intrinsic value, at from \$25,000,000 to \$30,000,000.

2. Upwards of 40,000 volunteers have been drawn from their peaceful pursuits, and some of them from the most distant parts of the State—have been instructed in the most elementary ex-

ercises of the soldier ; have been armed, equipped and supplied with every necessary for active service in the field, and are now ready to defend the honor and maintain the liberties of the State.

3. A navy department, hitherto unknown to our State organization, has been thoroughly and effectively organized. Navy batteries, numbering upwards of 320 pieces, and heavy ordnance, varying in weight from 5,000 to 10,000 pounds, have been established, the gun-carriages for the most part made, and the ammunition prepared, while upwards of 120 pieces of heavy ordnance have been forwarded to other States of the Southern Confederacy.

4. The various staff corps, embracing commissary, quartermaster, medical and engineer departments, have been organized under ordinances passed since the 20th April, 1861, and their efficiency has not only contributed to the promptness and completeness of the preparation which has enabled us to put so large a force from our own State into the field, but to facilitate the movements and efficiency of most of those who have come to our aid from the other States of the Confederacy.

5. And, finally, these results have been reached in due regard to an economical expenditure of the public money. The stores and other property, purchased for the military operations, have been paid for, as they were bought, and thus the credit of the State has been fully sustained.

It is due to truth and justice that I should here record, in this recapitulation, my high appreciation of the industry, judgment and professional skill which have marked the conduct of the distinguished officer who has been called by me, with the unanimous approval of the Convention, to conduct the military and naval operations of Virginia.

From every principle of duty and patriotism, the executive department of the State has felt called upon to coöperate cordially and heartily with the government of the Confederate States, and the policy which has controlled my action heretofore, will continue to regulate it. The great interests at stake demand the surrender of all questions of a subordinate character, in a vigorous and united effort to maintain the common rights of the South. Nothing will be left undone to advance the interests of all, and the candor, frankness and sincerity which have been exhibited by the President, assure me that harmony and concert of action will be the result. He duly appreciates the importance of the occasion, and his courage, prudence and military experience will exert a salutary influence in directing and controlling the military movements, now in progress for the protection of Virginia and the South.

And finally, I communicate herewith, orders issued to Gene-

als Carson, Taliaferro and Haymond, and also a letter acknowledging the receipt of General Harper's report of operations at Harper's Ferry. General Harper was placed in charge of the expedition against Harper's Ferry, and I regret that the orders given to him, on the 17th day of April last, have been mislaid. These orders show that I acted with the promptness and decision due to the occasion. General Harper's report will be found with these orders. (Appendix G.)

Respectfully,

JOHN LETCHER.

ISSUES FROM RICHMOND ARMORY

From April 1st to June, 13th, 1861.

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Captain WYATT M. ELLIOTT—*1st Regiment Virginia.*

100 Cartridge Boxes,  
50 Bayonet Scabbards,  
30 Cap Boxes,  
10 Rifle Muskets,  
10 Sets Accoutrements, complete,  
10 Cartridge Boxes,  
10 Cap Pouches,  
2,000 Cartridges.

Captain D. DODSON—*39th Regiment Virginia.*

75 Bayonet Scabbards,  
1,000 Cartridges,  
1,200 Caps.

Captain WM. H. JARVIS—*39th Regiment,*

70 Cartridge Boxes,  
70 Bayonet Scabbards,  
70 Cap Boxes,  
70 Sets Plates,  
300 Yards Webbing.

Captain J. P. MAY—*39th Regiment.*

4 Cartridge Boxes,  
4 Bayonet Scabbards,  
4 Cap Pouches,  
4 Sets Plates,  
20 Yards Webbing.

Captain R. D. BASKERVILLE—*98th Regiment.*

50 Altered Percussion Muskets,  
 50 Cartridge Boxes,  
 50 Bayonet Scabbards,  
 50 Cap Pouches,  
 50 Sets Plates,  
 260 Yards Webbing.

Captain BUKELEY—*Per J. R. Anderson.*

45 Flint Muskets.

## Captain J. G. GRISWOLD.

55 Altered Muskets,  
 55 Cartridge Boxes,  
 55 Bayonet Scabbards,  
 55 Cap Pouches,  
 55 Plates,  
 300 Yards Webbing,  
 4 Hall Carbines.

## To COLT'S ARMORY.

159 Colt's Rifles,  
 76 Colt's Carbines.

Captain J. Q. NADENBOUSCH—*Martinsburg.*

80 Rifle Muskets,  
 80 Cartridge Boxes,  
 80 Bayonet Scabbards,  
 80 Cap Boxes,  
 80 Sets Plates,  
 450 Yards Webbing,  
 1,000 Cartridges,  
 1,200 Caps.

Captain J. C. LUCK—*Pittsylvania County.*

1 Rifle and Equipment,  
 50 Breast Plates,  
 90 Yards Webbing.

Captain R. C. HAMMOND—*Sussex.*

50 Cartridge Boxes,  
 50 Bayonet Scabbards,

50 Cap Pouches,  
50 Sets Plates,  
300 Yards Webbing,  
600 Cartridges,  
1,000 Caps.

Captain W. T. JONES—*Gloucester*.

1,000 Cartridges,  
1,200 Caps.

Captain J. S. LANGHORNE—*Lynchburg*.

60 Cartridge Boxes,  
60 Bayonet Scabbards,  
60 Cap Pouches,  
60 Sets Plates,  
300 Yards Webbing,  
600 Cartridges,  
1,000 Caps,  
200 Flint Muskets,  
200 Sets of Accoutrements, complete,  
60 Saddle Holsters,  
60 Carbine Slings,  
27 Harper's Ferry Rifles,  
27 Cap Pouches,  
40 Cavalry Sabres,  
40 Belts and Plates.

Captain DRAKE.

50 Whitney's Pistols,  
50 Waist Holsters,  
500 Cartridges and Caps.

J. B. WILLIAMS.

600 Cartridges,  
700 Caps.

Captain ARCHER—*Richmond Home Guard*.

40 United States Flint Muskets,

Colonel W. BAYLOR—*Staunton*.

1,500 Cartridges,  
2,000 Caps.

Major J. CROPREW—*Norfolk.*

25 Altered Muskets,  
25 Sets of Accoutrements,  
70 6 pounder fixed shot,  
28 6 pounder Canister.

Captain W. B. BALL—*Chesterfield.*

8 Cavalry Sabres and Belts,  
8 Whitney's Pistols and Equipments.  
58 Waist Holsters.

W. E. TAYLOR.

600 Cartridges,  
700 Caps.

Captain A. KOINER—*Augusta.*

50 Cartridge Boxes,  
50 Cap Pouches,  
50 Sets Plates,  
300 Yards Webbing.

L. T. MOORE—*Winchester.*

2,000 Cartridges,  
2,600 Caps.

Captain DOYLE.

60 Cartridge Boxes,  
300 Yards Webbing.

J. G. IMBODEN.

28 6 Pounder Shot,  
28 " " Canister,  
70 " " Shot,  
28 " " Canister.

Captain R. M. CARY—*1st Regiment.*

53 Rifle Muskets,  
53 Cartridge Boxes,  
53 Bayonet Scabbards,  
53 Setts Plates,  
300 Yards Webbing.

WM. HAYMES—*Halifax.*

600 Cartridges,  
700 Caps.

JOHN A. HENLEY.

600 Cartridges,  
700 Caps.

Captain S. GARLAND, JR.—*Lynchburg.*

20 Altered Muskets,  
20 Cartridge Boxes,  
20 Bayonet Scabbards,  
20 Cap Pouches,  
20 Sets Plates,  
120 Yards Webbing.

Captain CABELL—*Richmond.*

1,000 Cartridges.

Colonel M. McKENNIE—*Charlottesville.*

2,000 Cartridges,  
2,500 Caps.

Captain R. O. WHITEHEAD.

50 Altered Percussion Muskets,  
50 Cartridge Boxes,  
50 Bayonet Scabbards,  
50 Cap Boxes,  
50 Sets Plates,  
300 Yards Webbing.

Captain O. J. WISE—*Richmond.*

80 Cartridge Boxes,  
80 Bayonet Scabbards,  
80 Cap Pouches,  
80 Sets Plates,  
450 Yards Webbing,  
20 Flint Muskets,  
20 Accoutrements,  
20 Original Percussion Muskets.

R. CONNELLY—*Nottaway county.*

1000 Cartridges.  
1200 Caps.

Captain D. KEMPER—*Alexandria.*

34 Artillery Sabres,  
34 Sabre Belts and Plates,  
3 Lanyards,  
2 Prolouges,  
8 Bricoles,  
4 Haversacks,  
4 Tube Pouches,  
5 Sets Artillery Harness,  
4 Priming Wires,  
4 Thumb-stalls.

J. E. SCOTT.

1000 Cartridges,  
1200 Caps.

Captain M. D. BALL—*Fairfax.*

50 Sabre Belts,  
50 Sabres.

Captain DRAKE—*Winchester.*

500 Cartridges,  
600 Caps.

Captain B. GARLICK—*New Kent.*

2 Iron Cannon,  
50 Flint Muskets,  
200 Extra Flints,  
250 Sets Accoutrements,  
280 Yards Webbing.

Major D. A. WEISIGER—*Petersburg.*

60 Flint Muskets,  
60 Sets Accoutrements,  
30 Sets Accoutrements Enfield Musket.

JAMES W. ALLEN—*Charlestown.*

10,000 Cartridges,  
12,000 Caps.

Captain VICKERY—*Norfolk.*

2 Prolouges  
4 Priming Wires,  
1 Worm and Staff.

Captain R. TAYLOR—*Norfolk.*

25 Altered Muskets,  
25 Sets Accoutrements.

Captain BRADFORD.

75 Sets Accoutrements.

T. T. CROPPER—*Richmond.*

4 Rifle Cannon,  
1 Iron Six-pounder,  
50 Flint Rifles,  
50 Sabres, (no scabbards.)

Captain AUTHUR—*Suffolk.*

50 Altered Muskets,  
50 Sets Accoutrements, complete,  
600 Cartridges,  
700 Caps.

Captain WATKINS—*Isle of Wight.*

50 Full Sets Accoutrements.

Captain H. T. OWENS—*Nottoway.*

50 Full Sets Musket Accoutrements.

Colonel P. T. MOORE—*Richmond.*

43 Rifled Muskets and Accoutrements  
200 Yards Webbing.

Captain JOHN WELSH—*Madison.*

50 Cap Pouches,  
30 Altered Muskets,  
30 Sets Accoutrements,  
180 Yards Webbing.

Captain H. R. JOHNSON—*Cumberland.*

60 Cap Pouches,  
800 Cartridges,  
1000 Caps.

Captain WILLIAM J. GREEN—*Stafford.*

50 Cap Boxes.

——— SLOTE.

160 United States Flint Muskets.

Captain R. A. BOOKER—*Prince Edward.*

80 Sets Accoutrements,  
400 Yards Webbing.

Captain W. W. COGBILL—*Chesterfield.*

50 Virginia Altered Rifles,  
50 Sets Accoutrements,  
260 Yards Webbing,  
10 Cartridge Boxes,  
40 Flint Muskets,  
40 Bayonet Scabbards.

Captain WALKER—*179th Regiment, Richmond.*

71 Cartridge Boxes,  
71 Cap Pouches,  
71 Sets Plates,  
30 Bayonet Scabbards,  
400 Yards Webbing,  
4 Six-Pounder Iron Rifles,  
4 Cartridges and implements complete,  
75 New Cavalry Sabres and Belts.

Captain E. C. ROBINSON—*Norfolk.*

200 United States Flint Muskets,  
250 Extra Flints,  
5,000 Cartridges,  
6,000 Caps.

C. F. SUTTLE—*Alexandria.*

100 Flint Muskets,  
100 Old Cartridge Boxes,  
40 Old Belts,  
1,000 Cartridges and Caps.

Captain CHARLES SMITH—*Northampton.*

- 4 Six-pounder Iron Guns,
- 4 Six-pounder Carriages complete,
- 4 Sets Wheel Harness,
- 4,000 Cartridges,
- 5,000 Caps,
- 28 Fixed Shot,
- 75 Tubes,
- 28 Fixed Canister,
- 2 Barrels Powder, and 100 six-pounder shot,

Colonel J. J. HODGES—*Portsmouth.*

- 90 Full Sets Rifle Accoutrements,
- 30 Altered Muskets and ditto,
- 600 Yards Webbing.

JOHN S. BARBOUR—*President of Orange and Alex. Rail Road.*

- 20 Altered Muskets,
- 20 Sets Accoutrements,
- 40 Whitney's Revolvers and Moulds,
- 40 Waist Holsters Belts and Plates,
- 700 Cartridges,
- 900 Caps.

## TELEGRAPH OPERATORS.

- 8 Whitney's Revolvers and Moulds.

B. B. DOUGLASS—*King William.*

- 50 New Cavalry Sabres,
- 50 Belts and Plates,

Captain L. H. DANCE—*Henrico.*

- 50 Virginia Flint Muskets,
- 50 Sets Accoutrements,
- 600 Cartridges,
- 700 Caps.

Captain W. H. ETHERIDGE—*Norfolk.*

- 50 Flint Muskets,
- 600 Cartridges,
- 700 Caps,
- 50 Sets Accoutrements,

Captain W. H. GORDON—*Richmond.*

90 Plates.

Captain CHARLES B. TEBBS—*Loudoun.*

40 Sets Accoutrements,  
250 Yards Webbing,  
1,000 Cartridges,  
1,200 Caps.

E. L. BROCKETT—*Petersburg.*

200 Flint Muskets,  
1,000 Cartridges,  
2,000 Caps.

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50 Full Sets Accoutrements,  
290 Yards Webbing.

Captain F. W. COX—*Tappahannock.*

35 Cartridge Boxes,  
35 Cap Pouches,  
600 Cartridges,  
700 Caps.

Captain A. J. SNYDER—*Tappahannock.*

50 Altered Muskets,  
50 Sets Accoutrements,  
290 Yards Webbing,  
600 Cartridges,  
700 Caps.

WILLIAMS, PETERS & Co.

8 Colt's Revolvers,  
4 Moulds,  
8 Screw-Drivers.

Captain W. W. WEISIGER—*Chesterfield.*

100 Flint Muskets,  
1,000 Cartridges.

Captain S. S. WILLIAMS—*Woodstock.*

60 Altered Virginia Rifles,  
60 Sets Accoutrements,  
300 Yards Webbing.

Captain W. ROBERTSON—*Home Guard, Richmond.*

160 Virginia Flint Muskets,  
52 Virginia Sabre Blades.

Captain R. S. ARCHER.

300 Flint Muskets.

Captain G. M. WADDILL—*Charles City.*

35 Virginia Flint Muskets.

Captain WM. H. DULANY—*Fairfax.*

65 Virginia Flint Muskets,  
65 Sets Accoutrements,  
350 Yards Webbing.

Captain E. L. WHARTON—*Richmond.*

50 Flint Muskets,  
50 Sets Accoutrements,  
50 Extra Flints.

General D. RUGGLES—*Fredericksburg.*

1,000 Virginia Flint Muskets,  
1,000 Extra Flints,  
1,000 Lbs. Lead,  
1,000 Flint Muskets,  
1,000 Extra Flints,  
20,000 Caps,  
2 24 Pounder Howitzers & Carriages, complete,  
2     "     Caissons,     "  
2 Haversacks,  
2 Tube Pouches,  
2 Port-fire Cases,  
2 Priming Wires,  
2 Gunner's Gimlets,  
2 Briscoles,  
2 Powder Flasks,

199 Friction Primers,  
 25 Yards Slow Match,  
 19 Port-fires,  
 3 Lanyards,  
 3 Fuze Cutters,  
 125 Priming Tubes,  
 96 24 Pounder Spherical Case,  
 64 " " Shell,  
 24 " " Canister.

Captain B. F. HUDGINS—*Elizabeth City.*

50 Flint Muskets,  
 50 Sets Accoutrements,  
 50 Extra Flints.

Colonel GEORGE A. BAILY—*71st Regiment.*

50 United States Flint Muskets,  
 50 Sets Accoutrements,  
 50 Extra Flints.

Captain R. W. POORE—*Fluvanna.*

34 Virginia Flint Muskets,  
 34 Sets Accoutrements,  
 34 Extra Flints.

W. S. JOYNES—*President Richmond & Petersburg Rail Road.*

100 Virginia Flint Muskets,  
 100 Extra Flints.

G. T. PACE—*Mayor of Danville.*

100 Flint Muskets,  
 100 Extra Flints.

Captain WILLIAM COLLINS—*Halifax.*

60 Cavalry Sabres,  
 60 Belts and Plates.

Captain ROGERS—*Alexandria.*

2 Brass six-pounder Field Guns,  
 2 Six-pounder Carriages complete,  
 2 Thumb-stalls,  
 2 Priming Wires,  
 1 Caisson Wagon complete.

Captain C. K. MALLORY—*Elizabeth City.*

12 Cavalry Sabres and Belts.

Captain J. Q. MARR—*Fauquier.*

30 Harper's Ferry Rifles,  
30 Full Sets Accoutrements.

Captain YOUNG—*Mount Vernon Guards.*

50 Cartridge Boxes,  
50 Cap Pouches,  
50 Sets Plates,  
300 Yards Webbing.

Captain LATHAM—*Lynchburg Artillery.*

94 New Cavalry Sabres,  
94 Belts and Plates,  
4 Sets Artillery Harness,  
4 Prolouges,  
8 Thumb Stalls,  
8 Bricoles,  
4 Tube Pouches,  
1 Port-fire Case,  
4 Water Buckets,  
4 Six-pounder Brass Cannon.

Captain W. H. GORDON—*Richmond.*

25 Altered Muskets,  
25 Full Sets Accoutrements,  
90 Yards Webbing.

Captain H. W. MURRAY—*Louisa.*

80 Bayonet Scabbards.

Captain TRIGG—*Montgomery.*

84 Altered muskets,  
43 Bayonet Scabbards,  
10 Cartridge Boxes,  
84 Sets Plates,  
45 Yards Webbing,  
25 Cartridge Boxes.

Captain JAMES A. WALKER—*Pulaski.*

78 Altered Muskets,  
10 Bayonet Scabbards,  
78 Cap Pouches,  
20 Sets Plates,  
90 Yards Webbing,  
16 Cartridge Boxes.

Captain R. S. DUKE—*Albemarle County.*

70 Bayonet Scabbards,  
10 Cap Pouches.

Captain A. G. PENDLETON—*Smythe.*

14 Altered Muskets,  
14 Bayonet Scabbards,  
14 Cap Pouches,  
14 Sets Plates,  
90 Yards Webbing.

Messrs. PHLEGAR—*Hammett and Taylor.*

84 Flint Muskets,  
100 Flints.

Captain P. R. PAGE—*Gloucester.*

5 Original Percussion Muskets,  
5 Cap Pouches,  
5 Cartridge Boxes and Belts,  
5 Bayonet Scabbards,  
5 Sets Plates and Belts,

Captain LAY—*Powhatan.*

5 Cavalry Sabres and Belts,  
9 Adams' Pistols and Holsters,  
61 Cap Pouches,  
1 Pair Holsters.

*Officers Virginia Navy.*

5 Whitney's Revolvers and Holsters,  
5 Waist Belts and Holsters.

Captain J. F. KENT—*Wythe*.

12 Altered Muskets,  
 12 Cartridge Boxes,  
 12 Bayonet Scabbards,  
 12 Cap Pouches,  
 14 Sets Plates,  
 90 Yards Webbing.

Captain J. W. ATKINSON—*Henrico*.

33 Altered Muskets,  
 33 Cap Boxes,  
 33 Bayonet Scabbards,  
 33 Cartridge Boxes,  
 33 Sets Plates,  
 180 Yards Webbing.

Colonel WM. G. POLLARD—*King William*.

50 Flint Muskets,  
 50 Cartridge Boxes,  
 50 Bayonet Scabbards,  
 50 Sets Plates,  
 288 Yards Webbing,

Captain BOYKIN—*Western Virginia*.

200 English Flint Muskets,  
 200 Extra Flints.

Colonel JOHN McCausland—*Putnam County*.

500 English Flint Muskets,  
 500 Extra Flints,  
 4 Six-pounder Iron Guns,  
 8 Axle Boxes for do.  
 56 Six-pounder Shot,  
 42 Six-pounder Spherical Case,  
 14 Six-pounder Canister,  
 10,000 Cartridges.

Captain JOHN FIFE—*Putnam*.

50 Altered Muskets,  
 50 Cartridge Boxes,  
 50 Bayonet Scabbards,  
 50 Cap Pouches,  
 50 Sets Plates,  
 280 Yards Webbing.

S. C. ROBINSON—*Richmond.*

750 Flint Muskets, (to be altered to percussion.)

Captain PEYTON—*Richmond.*

4 Six-pounder Iron Cannon.

Colonel O. S. TAYLOR—*Alexandria.*

200 Flint Muskets, with extra flints.

Captain S. H. LETCHER—*Harper's Ferry.*

80 Cartridge Boxes,  
80 Cap Pouches,  
25 Waist Plates,  
90 Yards Webbing.

Captain F. C. CHOATE—*Portsmouth.*

25 Altered Muskets,  
25 Cartridge Boxes,  
25 Bayonet Scabbards,  
25 Cap Pouches,  
25 Sets Plates,  
180 Yards Webbing.

Captain E. S. BLAMIRE—*Portsmouth.*

80 Flint Muskets,  
80 Bayonet Scabbards,  
80 Sets Plates,  
360 Yards Webbing,  
80 Cartridge Boxes.

*Steamer Yorktown.*

30 Flint Muskets,  
30 Old Sabres.

Captain S. S. WEISIGER—*Amelia.*

6 New Sabres,  
6 Belts and Plates,  
20 Adams' Revolvers,  
20 Holsters,  
7 Extra Waist Plates.

Captain J. R. TUCKER—*Richmond.*

2 Eight-inch Guns, (Navy Department.)

Captain W. F. LYNCH—*Potomac River.*

2 Eight-inch Guns, (Navy Department.)

Captain P. N. HALE—*Grayson.*

80 Harper's Ferry Rifles with sword Bayonets,  
80 Cartridge Boxes,  
100 Bayonet Scabbards,  
100 Cap Pouches,  
100 Waist Belts and Frogs,  
100 Waist Plates,  
90 Yards Webbing,  
10 Harper's Ferry Rifles,  
10 Cartridge Boxes,  
Webbing.

Mr. PANNELL—*Petersburg.*

20 Cavalry Sabres and Belts,  
20 Cavalry Pistols.

Colonel C. E. TOMPKINS—*Kanawha.*

400 Pounds Lead,  
40 Harper's Ferry Rifles,  
40 Cap Pouches,  
80 Hall's Carbines,  
80 Carbine Slings,  
120 Waist Plates,  
80 Cartridge Boxes,  
120 Powder Flasks,  
90 Pouches and Belts,  
400 Flints,  
5 Whitney's Revolvers,  
10 Harper's Ferry Rifles,  
30 Altered Rifles,  
70 United States Flint Rifles,  
100 Extra Flints.

Captain J. W. COOK—*Bellfield.*

4 Six-Pounder Iron Guns.

JAMES D. BROWN.

4 Boxes Muskets—80.

Captain SPENCER—*Charlotte Court-House.*

16 Cartridge Boxes,  
68 Cap Pouches,  
68 Belts and Frogs for Sword-Bayonets,  
16 Plates.

Captain W. P. WILSON—*Norfolk.*

30 United States Cavalry Sabres,  
30 United States Belts and Plates.

General JOHNSTON.

3 Whitney's Pistols,  
3 Bullet Moulds,  
3 Holsters.

Captain F. J. BOGGS—*Richmond.*

63 Original Percussion Muskets.

Captain HENRY D. DICKINSON—*Old Dominion Guard.*

21 Original Percussion Muskets,  
2 Cartridge Boxes,  
51 Cap Pouches,  
51 Bayonet Scabbards,  
90 Yards Webbing.

Dr. R. L. NICHOLSON—*Middlesex.*

100 Flint Muskets, with extra flints.

DAVID EDMONDSON, ————

1 Altered Musket,  
1 Cartridge Box,  
1 Cap Pouch,  
3 Bayonet Scabbards,  
6 Wipers,  
6 Breast Plates,  
12 Screw-Drivers,  
4 Waist Plates.

*Camp Hermitage*—Colonel GILHAM.

- 40 Harper's Ferry Rifles,
- 101 Original Percussion Muskets,
- 774 Altered Percussion Muskets,
- 274 Flint Muskets,
- 10,000 Musket Cartridges,
- 3,000 Rifle Cartridges,
- 500 Percussion Muskets,
- 500 Bayonet Scabbards,
- 250 Cartridge Boxes,
- 1,000 Yards Webbing,
- 375 Cartridge Boxes,
- 400 Cap Pouches.

*Camp Ashland*—Colonel EWELL.

- 31 Harper's Ferry Rifles,
- 108 Original Percussion Muskets,
- 33,000 Musket and Rifle Cartridges.

*Camp Mercer*—Colonel D. RUGGLES.

- 2,000 Flint Muskets,
- 38,000 Musket and Rifle Cartridges,
- 500 Cartridge Boxes,
- 1,000 Percussion Muskets,
- 20,000 Caps,
- 20,000 Cartridges,
- 300 Pounds Blasting Powder,
- 400 Pounds Cannon Powder,
- 800 Pounds Lead,
- 4 Six-pounder Brass Guns,
- 4 Six-pounder Gun Carriages,
- 8 Sponges and Rammers,
- 8 Hand Spikes,
- 4 Lint Stocks,
- 4 Port-fire Stocks,
- 4 Gunner's Gimblets,
- 4 Haversacks,
- 4 Priming Wires,
- 4 Port-fire Cases,
- 4 Thumb Stalls,
- 4 Tube Pouches,
- 6 Water Buckets,
- 4 Sponge Buckets,
- 6 Tar Buckets,

4 Caissons,  
56 Fixed Shot,  
14 Canister,  
42 Spherical Cases.

*Alexandria*—Colonel P. ST. GEO. COCKE.

4 Rifle Cannon, complete,  
3,200 Flint Muskets,  
400 Rounds for Rifled Cannon,  
120 Rounds for Six-pounder Cannon,  
92,600 Musket and Rifle Cartridges,  
500 Orig. Percussion Muskets,  
500 Flint Lock Muskets,  
20,000 Cartridges,  
11,000 Caps. } Culpeper, C. H.,

*Lynchburg*—Colonel D. H. LANGHORNE.

200 Flint Muskets,

*To Mayor of Danville.*

100 Flint Muskets.

*To Mayor of Petersburg.*

200 Flint Muskets.

*Fort Powhatan*—Colonel JOHN R. WILSON.

350 Flint Muskets,  
18,000 Musket Cartridges.

*Williamsburg*—Colonel B. S. EWELL.

250 Flint Muskets,  
8,000 Musket Cartridges,  
400 Original Percussion Muskets,  
5,000 Rounds Ammunition.

*Norfolk*—Colonel WALTER GWYNN.

4 Rifle Cannon, complete,  
100 Harper's Ferry Rifles with sword Bayonets,  
1,000 Altered Muskets,  
1,530 Flint Muskets,  
30 Cavalry Sabres,

200 Rounds for Rifled Cannon,  
 77,000 Musket and Rifle Cartridges,  
 600 Cap Pouches,  
 1,000 Waist Belts,  
 660 Breast Belts,  
 4,000 Yards Webbing.

*Camp Jefferson, Charlottesville*—Colonel W. M. H. FRY.

74 Altered Muskets,  
 5,000 Musket Cartridges.

*Staunton*—M. J. HARMAN.

100 Virginia Altered Percussion Rifles,  
 500 Altered Percussion Muskets,  
 5,000 Musket Cartridges.

*Leesburg*—General EPPA HUNTON.

320 Original Percussion Muskets,  
 10,000 Musket Cartridges,  
 80 Original Percussion Muskets,  
 3,000 Cartridges,  
 3,300 Caps,  
 1 Keg of Powder.

*Washington County Volunteers*—Colonel W. E. JOHNSON.

500 Altered Percussion Muskets,  
 5,000 Musket Cartridges.

*Harper's Ferry*—Colonel JACKSON.

2,000 Altered Percussion Muskets,  
 2 Twelve-pounder Field Howitzers, } Brass,  
 6 Six pounder Guns, }  
 210 Rounds for Howitzer,  
 620 Rounds for Six-pounder,  
 78,000 Musket and Rifle Cartridges.

*Western Virginia*—Colonel BOYKIN.

200 Flint Muskets.

*Kanawha Valley*—Colonel C. Q. TOMPKINS, Commanding.

50 Harper's Ferry Rifles,  
 30 Altered Percussion Rifles,

- 70 Flint Rifles,
- 80 Hall's Carbines,
- 500 Flint Muskets,
- 5 Whitney's Revolvers,
- 50 Altered Percussion Muskets,
- 4 Six-pounder Iron Cannon, (without carriage  
or implements,)
- 10,000 Musket and Rifle Cartridges,
- 110 Rounds Fixed Ammunition for Six-pounders.

W. S. JOYNES—*President Petersburg Rail Road.*

- 100 Flint Muskets.

Captain W. COLLINS—*Halifax Court House.*

- 60 Cavalry Sabres and Belts.

Captain ROGERS—*Alexandria.*

- 2 Six-pounder Brass Guns, complete,
- 1 Caisson Wagon.

Captain LATHAM—*Lynchburg Artillery.*

- 94 Cavalry Sabres and Belts,
- 4 Water Buckets,
- 8 Tar Buckets,
- 1 Priming Wire,
- 225 Six-pounder Shot,
- 180 Ditto Spherical Case,
- 45 Canister,
- 630 Friction Tubes,
- 4 Lanyards,
- 18 Yards Slow Match,
- 27 Port-fires,
- 4 Fuze Cutters,
- 4 Caissons,
- 4 Sets Artillery Harness, complete,
- 4 Saddles,
- 4 Bridles,
- 4 Sponge Buckets,
- 4 Tin Buckets.

Captain TRIGG—*Montgomery County.*

- 84 Altered Muskets and Equipments.

Captain JAMES A. WALKER—*Pulaski County.*

78 Altered Muskets and Equipments.

Captain J. S. LANGHORNE—*Lynchburg.*

40 Cavalry Sabres and Belts.

Captain J. W. ATKINSON—*Henrico County.*

83 Altered muskets and Equipments,

Colonel CHARLES SMITH—*Northampton.*

4 Iron Six-pounder Field Guns, (with carriages  
and implements complete,)

100 Rounds Fixed Ammunition.

B. B. DOUGLAS—*King William County.*

50 Cavalry Sabres.

Captain A. J. SYDNOR—*Tappahannock.*

50 Altered Muskets,  
600 Cartridges and Caps.

Captain W. W. WEISIGER—*Manchester.*

100 Flint Muskets.

Captain S. S. WILLIAMS—*Woodstock.*

60 Virginia Altered Rifles.

*Home Guard—Richmond.*

160 Flint Muskets.

Captain R. S. ARCHER—*Richmond.*

300 Flint Muskets.

Captain E. L. WHARTON—*Richmond County.*

50 Flint Muskets,  
1,000 Cartridges.

Captain P. N. HALE—*Grayson County.*

90 Harper's Ferry Rifles, with S word Bayonets and Equipments,  
3,500 Cartridges and Caps.

J. W. COOK—*Bellfield.*

4 Six-pounder Iron Guns, to be mounted.

Captain F. J. BOGGS—*Richmond.*

63 Original Percussion Muskets and Equipments.

Colonel W. T. JONES—*Gloucester County.*

60 Flint Muskets,  
20 Original Percussion Muskets and Equipments.  
7,800 Cartridges and Caps.

Captain LATHAM—*Lynchburg Artillery.*

4 Six-pounder Brass Guns, complete,  
4 Sets Artillery Harness,  
200 Rounds Six-pounder Guns.

Captain KEMPER—*Culpeper Court House.*

5 Sets Artillery Harness,  
2 Prolouges,  
4 Haversacks,  
8 Bricoles,  
4 Tube Pouches,  
4 Pruning Wires,  
4 Thumb Stalls,  
200 Rounds Fixed Ammunition.

Colonel W. G. POLLARD—*King William County.*

50 Flint Muskets and Equipments.

Captain PEYTON—*Richmond.*

4 Six-pounder Brass Guns, to be mounted.

T. C. JORDAN—*Bedford County.*

4 Six-pounder Iron Guns, to be mounted.

L. S. MARYE—*Richmond.*

4 Six-pounder Brass Guns, to be mounted.

Captain H. C. CABELL—*Richmond.*

4 Caisson Wagons,  
8 Sets Artillery Harness,  
220 Rounds Fixed Ammunition.

*To Steamer Yorktown.*

30 Flint Muskets,  
30 Old Swords,  
1,000 Cartridges.

Captain S. S. WEISIGER—*Amelia Court House.*

6 Cavalry Sabres and Belts,  
20 Revolvers and Holsters.

Captain HENRY D. DICKINSON.

51 Original Percussion Muskets and Equipments.  
2,600 Cartridges and Caps.

Dr. R. L. NICHOLSON—*Middlesex County.*

100 Flint Muskets,  
5,000 Cartridges.

Captain T. P. MATHEWS—*Richmond.*

69 Flint Muskets,  
2,000 Cartridges.

Captain W. H. BIGGS—*Jamestown.*

30 Original Percussion Muskets,  
1,000 Cartridges for Muskets.

Major W. W. TOWNES—*Petersburg, Va.*

10 Original Percussion Muskets.

Captain GARNETT—*Westmoreland County, Va.*

64 Cavalry Sabres and Belts.

JOHN M. GIBBS, Esq.

10 Pounds Cannon Powder.

Captain A. LYBROCK—*Richmond*.

74 Harper's Ferry Rifles, with Sword Bayonets,  
74 Waist Belts.

Captain TABB—*York River, Va.*

32 Hall's Carbines.

Colonel TERRETT—*Alexandria*.

1 Keg Blasting Powder,  
30,000 Altered Percussion Muskets,  
21,000 Cartridges for Muskets.

Colonel J. E. B. STUART—*Harper's Ferry, Va.*

10 Swords,  
7,600 Cartridges.

Colonel J. A. EARLY—*Lynchburg, Va.*

1,000 Original Percussion Muskets,  
1,000 Altered           "           "  
1,000 Flint-lock               "  
60,000 Cartridges for           "

Lieut. Col. JOHN McCAUSLAND—*Charleston, Kanawha, Va.*

4 Sets Harness,  
5,000 Cartridges.

Colonel D. H. HILL—*N. C. Volunteers, Richmond*.

22,000 Cartridges,  
26 Wipers and Screw-Drivers,  
3 Bayonets,  
11,500 Cartridges.

Colonel TOM. P. AUGUST—*Richmond*.

585 Yards Webbing,  
25 Altered Percussion Muskets,  
3 Ball Screws,  
25 Screw-Drivers,  
25 Wipers,  
20,400 Percussion Musket Cartridges,  
7,440 Rifle Cartridges.

Captain SHIELDS—*Howitzer Battery.*

8 Priming Wires,  
 4 Lint Stocks,  
 4 Port-fire Stocks,  
 2 Port-fire Cases,  
 4 Sponges and Rammers,  
 4 Handspikes,  
 1 Tar Bucket,  
 4 Sponge Buckets,  
 1 Prolouge,  
 8 Gunner's Gimlets,  
 2 Tube Pouches.

Captain J. C. HARWOOD—*Jamestown, Va.*

12 Altered Percussion Muskets,  
 90 Yards Webbing,  
 12 Bayonet Scabbards,  
 1,000 Musket Cartridges.

Colonel E. K. SMITH—*Mississippi Volunteers, Richmond.*

11 Harper's Ferry Rifles,  
 2 Altered Percussion Muskets.

Colonel S. GARLAND—*Manassas Junction, Va.*

2 Kegs Cannon Powder,  
 4,600 Rifle Cartridges,  
 2,000 Pistol Cartridges.

Colonel DERUSSY—*Yorktown, Va.*

15,000 Musket Cartridges,  
 5,000 Rifle Cartridges.

General BONHAM, S. Carolina Volunteers—*Manassas Junc. Va.*

400 Original Percussion Muskets,  
 16,000 Cartridges for Muskets,  
 15,000 Cartridges Cal. 69.

Colonel WM. B. BATE—*Old Fair Grounds, Richmond.*

40 Rifle Muskets,  
 1,600 Cartridges for ditto.

Captain HAYS—*Moorefield, Hardy County.*

109 Virginia Rifles,  
1 Keg Powder,  
4 Bars Lead.

Captain WM. J. HOKE—*Yorktown, Va.*

11,420 Rifle and Musket Cartridges.

Captain L. L. LOMAX, for Colonel CHILTON—*Ashland.*

30 Cavalry Sabres,  
52 Sabre Belts and Plates,  
47 Artillery Sabres,  
67 Artillery Belts and Plates,  
93 Sharp's Rifles,  
46 Cavalry Musketoons,  
72 Cavalry Revolvers, (extra stocks,)  
43 Navy Revolvers (Adams'),  
20 Cavalry Flint Pistols,  
10,000 Cavalry Pistol Cartridges,  
10,550 Musketoon and Rifle Cartridges.

LIEUT. HENDERSON—*Richmond.*

250 Cartridges.

Colonel W. E. JONES—*Abingdon, Va.*

2,500 Cartridges,  
2,500 Cartridges,  
113 Cavalry Sabres,  
113 Cavalry Belts,  
50 Waist Plates,  
120 Flint Pistols,  
300 Extra Flints,  
46 Pair Saddle Holsters.

Colonel P. T. MOORE—*Richmond.*

18,600 Cartridges.

Major RANDOLPH—*Howitzer Battery, Richmond.*

24 Canister, (Navy Howitzer,)  
120 Spherical Case do.  
70 Shell do.  
270 Friction Tubes,  
145 Rifled Howitzer Shot (fixed,)  
165 Friction Tubes,  
8 Sets Artillery Harness (complete.)

Captain BROWN—*Of Howitzer Battery.*

- 112 Shell,
- 145 Friction Tubes,
  - 1 Six-pounder Iron Gun, (Rifle,)
  - 1 Caisson for same,
  - 2 Sets Artillery Harness, (complete,)
  - 3 Wagon Caissons for Navy Howitzer,
- 112 Rounds Six-pounder Ammunition for Iron Rifle,
- 145 Rounds Six-pounder Ammunition for Brass Rifle,
- 120 Rounds Twelve-pounder Ammunition for Navy Howitzer, (Spherical Case,)
- 70 Rounds Twelve-pounder Ammunition for Navy Howitzer, (Shell,)
- 24 Rounds Twelve-pounder Ammunition for Navy Howitzer, (Canister,)
- 115 Charges Powder Six-pounder Rifle Gun, Iron,
- 145 Charges Powder Six-pounder Rifle Gun, Brass,
- 580 Friction Primers,
- 32 Yards Slow Match,
- 20 Port-fires,
- 2 Sponges and Rammers, Iron Rifle Guns and Covers,
- 2 Handspikes,
- 2 Haversacks,
- 2 Tube Pouches,
- 1 Vent Punch,
- 2 Thumb Stalls,
- 1 Priming Wire,
- 2 Lanyards,
- 1 Worm and Staff,
- 1 Sponge Bucket,
- 1 Prolouge,
- 1 Tar Bucket,
- 2 Water Buckets,
- 1 Gunner's Pincers,
- 1 Tow Hook,
- 1 Pendulum Hausse,
- 1 Gunner's Gimlet,
- 1 Fuze Gauge,
- 20 Halters,
- 6 Saddles,

Colonel WILLIAMS—*North Carolina Volunteers.*

35,000 Cartridges.

Captain W. T. TALIAFERRO.

1,000 Cartridges.

Major CABELL—*Confederate States Army.*

11,000 Cartridges.

Captain R. A. TOMPKINS—*Richmond Sharp Shooters.*

39 Harper's Ferry Rifles with Sword Bayonets,  
36 Harper's Ferry Rifles without Sword Bayonets,  
75 Leather Waist Belts,  
75 Waist Plates,  
75 Cartridge Boxes,  
75 Cap Pouches,  
39 Sword Scabbards,  
39 Sword Frogs.

Captain FREDERICK J. BOGGS—*Richmond.*

15 Original Percussion Muskets,  
90 Yards Webbing.

Lieutenant CROSWELL—*Accomac County.*

50 Virginia Flint Muskets,  
75 Extra Flints.

General WILLIAM H. RICHARDSON.

1 Original Percussion Musket,  
1 Cartridge Box,  
1 Cap Pouch,  
1 Waist Belt and Plate.

S. H. DEBOW—*Richmond.*

30 Sheets of Copper,

Colonel J. B. MAGRUDER—*Yorktown, Virginia.*

2 Twelve Pounder Brass Guns,  
2 Twelve Pounder Carriages,  
2 Twelve Pounder Caissons,

|                        |   |                            |
|------------------------|---|----------------------------|
| 4 Sponges and Rammers, | } | Called for but not issued. |
| 4 Handspikes,          |   |                            |
| 2 Linstocks,           |   |                            |
| 2 Port-fire Stocks,    |   |                            |
| 2 Thumb-stalls,        |   |                            |
| 2 Priming Wires,       |   |                            |
| 2 Gunner's Gimlets,    |   |                            |
| 2 Haversacks,          |   |                            |
| 2 Port-fire Stocks,    |   |                            |
| 2 Tube Pouches,        |   |                            |
| 2 Water Buckets,       |   |                            |
| 2 Sponge Buckets,      |   |                            |
| 2 Tar Buckets,         |   |                            |

Captain R. C. STANARD—*Randolph's Howitzers—Richmond.*

- 1 Rifle Parrot Gun,
- 1 Carriage complete,
- 2 Sets Four Horse Harness complete
- 2 Sponges and Rammers,
- 2 Handspikes,
- 1 Lint Stock,
- 1 Port-fire Stock,
- 1 Port-fire Case,
- 1 Prologue,
- 1 Haversack,
- 1 Tube Pouch,
- 1 Thumb-stall,
- 1 Gunner's Gimlet,
- 1 Priming Wire,
- 2 Water Buckets,
- 1 Sponge Bucket,
- 1 Tar Bucket,
- 1 Caisson complete.
- 100 Rounds Fixed Ammunition.

Captain SHUMAKER—*Richmond.*

- |                                     |   |                            |
|-------------------------------------|---|----------------------------|
| 4 Six-pounder Brass Guns,           | } | Called for but not issued. |
| 4 Six-pounder Carriages (complete,) |   |                            |
| 8 Sponges and Rammers,              |   |                            |
| 8 Sponge Covers,                    |   |                            |
| 8 Trail Hand Spikes,                |   |                            |
| 4 Lint Stocks,                      |   |                            |
| 2 Worms and Staves,                 |   |                            |
| 4 Port-Fire Stocks,                 | } |                            |
| 4 Leather Water Buckets,            |   |                            |

4 Sponge Buckets,  
 2 Tar Buckets,  
 4 Prologues,  
 4 Gunner's Gimlets,  
 4 Priming Wires,  
 4 Thumb Stalls.

} Called for  
 but not is-  
 sued.

J. R. ANDERSON & Co.

20 Flint Muskets.

General BONHAM—*Manassas Junction.*

15,000 Cartridges,  
 10,000 Caps.

Colonel GILHAM—*Camp Lee.*

10,000 Cartridges.

Captain JOHN T. ELLIS—*Charlottesville.*

77 Flint Muskets,  
 2,500 Cartridges.

Captain JOHN A REA—*Charlottesville.*

60 Flint Lock Muskets,  
 2,000 Cartridges.

Captain BENNETT TAYLOR—*Charlottesville.*

60 Flint Muskets,  
 2,000 Cartridges,  
 11 Flint Muskets,  
 70 Cartridge Boxes.

Colonel MAGRUDER—*Yorktown.*

48 Rounds Army Howitzer Spherical Case,  
 36 Rounds Army Howitzer Shell,  
 12 Rounds Army Howitzer Shot,  
 56 Six-pounder Shot.  
 42 Six-pounder Spherical Case,  
 14 Six-pounder Canister.

Captain WILLIAM H. EARLY—*Black Walnut Dragoons.*

15 Sabres,  
 15 Pistols.

## Captain JONES.

4 Sabres,

Captain PEMBERTON—*Norfolk.*

350 Six-pounder Shot,  
196 Six-pounder Spherical Case,  
56 Six-pounder Canister,  
50 Shell Fuzed and Filled.

Captain LEFTWICH—*Richmond.*

21 United States Rifles,  
270 Yards Webbing,  
16 Cartridge Boxes,  
16 Waist Belts.

Captain J. W. PULLER—*Gloucester Point.*

1,000 Pistol Cartridges.

Colonel TALIAFERRO—*Gloucester Point.*

250 Waist Belts,  
9,000 Cartridges.

General JOHNSON—*Harper's Ferry.*

100,000 Cartridges.

Captain R. T. ELLETT—*West Point.*

66 Flint Muskets,  
1,000 Cartridges,

Captain HOOD—*Ivy Station, N. & P. R. R.*

100 Flint Muskets,  
4,000 Cartridges,

Captain CUNNINGHAM—*Aquia Creek.*

2,000 Cartridges,  
2,400 Caps,

Captain C. S. SMITH—*Yorktown.*

182 Six-pounder Shot,  
 98 Six-pounder Spherical Case,  
 20 Six-pounder Canister,  
 56 Twelve-pounder Spherical Case,  
 30 Twelve-pounder Shell,  
 480 Friction Primers,  
 4 Powder Flasks,  
 6 Yards Slow Match,  
 30 Port-fires.

Captain STANARD—*Richmond.*

2 Barrels Powder.

Captain MINOR—*Navy Department.*

15 Barrels Cannon Powder,  
 20 " " "  
 30 " " "  
 30 " " "

Mr. VAN PELT—*Petersburg.*

1 Caisson,  
 1 Box Wagon Harness.

Captain SCHAFFER—*Manassas Junction.*

60 Flint Muskets,  
 3 Artillery Sabres,  
 60 Cartridge Boxes,  
 60 Bayonet Scabbards,  
 360 Yards Webbing,  
 60 Breast Plates,  
 60 Waist Plates.

## General LEE and STAFF.

10 Whitney's Revolvers.

Captain W. ADAMS—*Richmond.*

9 Sabres,  
 9 Pair Pistols,  
 9 Holsters,  
 360 United States Cartridges.

Major CHILTON—*Ashland.*

2,000 Pistol Cartridges.

Captain W. R. AYLETT—*West Point.*

50 Flints,  
 15 Muskets Complete,  
 15 Cartridge Boxes and Belts,  
 15 Bayonet Scabbards and Belts,  
 15 Waist Belts,  
 60 Waist and Breast Plates,  
 2,500 Cartridges.

Colonel AUGUST—*Yorktown.*

250 Cartridge Boxes,  
 250 Cap Pouches,  
 250 Waist Plates,  
 1,300 Yards Webbing,  
 1,500 Percussion Musket Cartridges,  
 1,840 Minnie Musket Cartridges,  
 2,400 Enfield Musket Cartridges,  
 3,200 Harper's Ferry Rifle Cartridges.

Major M. G. HARMAN—*Staunton.*

50 Double Barreled Shot Guns,]  
 5,000 Caps,  
 10,000 Flint Cartridges,  
 2 Kegs Rifle Powder,  
 10,000 Musket Caps.

A. B. EVANS—*Urbanna.*

2 Iron Six-pounder Cannon, not mounted,  
 Equipments, and 56 Rounds Ammunition.

Captain FLETCHER—*Accomac.*

50 Flint Muskets,  
 1,000 Cartridges,  
 50 Flints.

## Captain RICE.

4 Brass Guns and Carriages, complete.  
 400 Rounds Ammunition and Equipments.

Captain GEDDY—*James City Cavalry.*

50 Pair Flint Pistols,  
100 Extra Flints,  
50 Cavalry Sabres, complete,  
4 Pair Holsters,  
2 Pair Moulds,  
20,000 Pistol Cartridges.

Major RANDOLPH—*Richmond.*

2 Spare Poles.

Major CABELL—*Richmond.*

75,000 Cartridges.

Colonel D. H. HILL—*Yorktown.*

6,000 Ball Cartridges.

Colonel WILLIAM GILHAM—*Richmond, Virginia.*

2,000 Pistol Cartridges,  
2,500 Caps,  
18 Flint Pistols,  
9 Holsters,  
9 Belts and Plates.

Colonel PRESTON.

1,000 Pounds Lead,  
6 Bundles Cartridge Paper.

GEORGE E. CROSWELL.

50 Double Barrell Guns,  
5,000 Caps.

Hon. WILLIAM SMITH—*Warrenton, Virginia.*

1,500 Cartridges.

General KIRKPATRICK.

10,000 Musket Caps,  
1,000 Flints.

Captain SALMON—*Harper's Ferry.*

50 Cartridge Boxes,  
3,200 Cartridges.

## Colonel J. F. THOMAS.

250 Sets Belts,  
250 Belt Plates,  
250 Cartridge Boxes,  
5,000 Cartridges,  
5,500 Caps.

## Colonel DOLES.

100 Cartridges,  
30,000 Cartridges and Caps,  
1,000 Yards Webbing.

Captain BENNETT—*Harper's Ferry.*

50 Belt Plates,  
50 Cartridge Boxes,  
3,700 Cartridges,  
250 Yards Webbing.

General BENJAMIN HUGER—*Norfolk.*

15,000 Musket Caps,  
25,000 Musket Caps.

Captain WM. H. BRIGGS—*Jamestown.*

78 Cartridge Boxes,  
78 Belts,  
2,000 Enfield Cartridges,  
1,000 Musket Cartridges.

Colonel J. G. HODGES—*Jamestown Island.*

1,500 Musket Cartridges,  
1,500 Harper's Ferry Rifle Cartridges.

Captain LYBROCK—*Richmond.*

12 United States Percussion Rifles,  
12 Plates,  
12 Yards Webbing,  
12 Cartridge Boxes,  
12 Cap Pouches.

Captain CARTER—*Rectorstown.*

70 Cartridge Boxes,  
350 Yards Webbing.

Captain J. M. MACON—*Richmond.*

90 Cartridge Boxes,  
90 Plates,  
450 Yards Webbing.

Major GORGAS—*Ordinance Department.*

15,000 Musket Cartridges and Caps,  
4,000 Cartridges, (Cal. 58)  
1,000 Flint Muskets.

Major CHILTON.

51 Sabres and Belts,  
11 Flint Pistols.

Captain J. V. SCOTT—*Zuni Station N. & P. R. R.*

86 Cartridge Boxes,  
500 Yards Webbing.

Colonel MOORE—*Richmond.*

200 Cartridge Boxes.

Colonel COCKE—*Alexandria.*

400 Cartridge Boxes,  
25,000 Flint Cartridges,  
10,000 Caps.

Captain SHUMAKER—*Richmond.*

1 Six-pounder Rifle Gun, Burton's pattern, and  
Carriage complete,  
3 Six-pounder Brass Field Guns, and carriages  
complete,  
4 Six-pounder Caissons, complete,  
294 Rounds Six-pounder Shot Fixed,  
234 Rounds Six-pounder Spherical Case Fixed,  
50 Rounds Six pounder Canister,  
4 Powder Flasks,  
4 Sets Artillery Harness,  
200 Rounds Rifle Piece,  
40 Halters,  
5 Artillery Sabres,  
4 Prolouges,  
4 Haversacks,

8 Tube Pouches,  
 4 Port-fires,  
 5 Thumb Stalls,  
 4 Priming Wires,  
 4 Gunner's Gimlets,  
 630 Friction Primers,  
 42 Port-fires,  
 50 Yards Slow Match,  
 4 Fuze Cutters,  
 200 Priming Tubes,  
 5 Lanyards.

Captain H. A. HERBERT—*Greenville Guard.*

10 Screw Drivers,  
 45 Worms.

Colonel JAMES F. FAGAN—*Fredericksburg.*

20,000 Percussion Caps.

Colonel WM. B. BATE—*Camp Jackson.*

25,000 Percussion Caps.

Lieutenant JONES—*Jamestown.*

2 Twelve-pounder Iron Guns, without carriages,  
 4 Sponges and Rammers,  
 2 Haversacks,  
 18 Boxes Six-pounder Shot, fixed,  
 12 Boxes Six-pounder Spherical Case, fixed,  
 3 Boxes Six-pounder Canister, fixed.  
 300 Friction Primers,  
 3 Lanyards,  
 66 Yards Slow Match,  
 32 Port-fires,  
 2 Powder Flasks,  
 2 Port-fire Cases,  
 2 Thumb Stalls,  
 4 Priming Wires.  
 4 Gunner's Gimlets,  
 2 Fuze Cutters.

General HENRY A. WISE—*Richmond.*

2,000 Flint Muskets,  
 1 Box Flints,  
 50,000 Cartridges,

- 10 Bags Buckshot,
- 2 Six-pounder Brass Guns and Carriages, complete,
- 2 Six-pounder Caissons, complete,
- 2 Haversacks,
- 2 Port-fire Cases,
- 2 Tube Pouches,
- 4 Thumb Stalls,
- 2 Priming Wires,
- 2 Gunner's Gimlets,
- 2 Prolouges,
- 8 Bricoles,
- 14 Boxes Fixed Six-pounder Shot,
- 11 " " " Spherical Case,
- 3 " " " Canister,
- 4 Lanyards,
- 2 Fuze Cutters,
- 28 Yards Slow Match,
- 28 Port-fires,
- 2 Powder Flasks.

Governor FLOYD.

1,000 Flint Muskets,

Captain KEMPER—*Manassas Junction.*

- 16 Boxes Six-pounder Shot,
- 14 Boxes Six-pounder Spherical Case,
- 4 Boxes Six pounder Canister,
- 4 Powder Flasks,
- 34 Port fires,
- 510 Friction Primers,
- 51 Yards Slow Match,
- 37 Boxes for Packing,
- 3 Sets Wagon Harness.

Major JOHNSON—*Ashland.*

4,000 Cartridges.

Colonel WM. B. TALIAFERRO.

- 16,000 Musket Cartridges with Caps,
- 3,000 Harper's Ferry Rifle Cartridges,
- 351 Cartridge Boxes and Belts,
- 925 Yards Webbing,
- 168 Waist Plates.

Colonel S. V. FULKERSON.

15,000 Musket Cartridges and Caps,  
490 Cartridge Boxes and Belts.

Major NAT. TYLER.

20,000 Cartridges,  
298 Cartridge Boxes and Belts.

Governor HARRIS—*Tennessee.*

1 Box Sheet Copper.

Captain BALL—*Chesterfield.*

70 Cartridge Boxes,  
4,000 Cartridges,  
2,500 Caps,  
25 Cones.

Captain WICKHAM—*Henrico.*

58 Cartridge Boxes,

Captain J. G. CABELL.

58 Cartridge Boxes,  
2,000 Pistol Caps,  
1,500 Pistol Cartridges,  
1,500 Pistol Caps.

Captain PAYNE—*Black Horse Company.*

91 Cartridge Boxes,  
1,500 Pistol Caps.

Captain HARRISON—*Goochland Troop.*

50 Cartridge Boxes.  
2,000 Pistol Caps.

Captain W. M. THORNTON—*Prince William.*

72 Cartridge Boxes,  
2,000 Caps.

Captain WM. H. BRIGGS—*Jamestown.*

70 Cartridge Boxes,  
70 Waist Belts and Plates,

A. C. KINCAID—*Braxton Court House.*

300 Flint Muskets, with extra flints.

Captain R. A. CASKIE—*Wise Legion.*

67 Altered Rifles,

8 Original Percussion Rifles,

75 Virginia Sabres,

75 Cartridge Boxes and Belts,

5,000 Harper's Ferry Rifle Cartridges.

Captain T. W. W. DAVIS—*Gloucester Point.*

1,000 Musket Cartridges,

1,000 Harper's Ferry Rifle Cartridges.

Captain ROYSTER—*Gloucester Point.*

1,000 H. F. Rifle Cartridges.

General R. S. GARNETT—*Staunton.*

250 Pounds Rifle Powder,

2,500 Cartridges (flint,)

2,500 Cartridges (percussion,)

20,000 Caps,

48 Yards Slow Match.

Colonel GEORGE H. TERRITT—*Alexandria.*

500 Cartridge Boxes,

810 Yards Webbing.

Captain ISAACSON—*Washington Artillery.*

12 Lanyards,

8 Tube Pouches,

10 Hames Hooks.

*Sent to Charlottesville, Virginia.*

1 Six-pounder Iron Gun,

1 Twelve-pounder Iron Gun.

Colonel A. P. HILL—*Harper's Ferry.*

40 Cartridge Boxes.

Captain COLLINS—*Williamsburg.*

2,500 Pistol Cartridges,  
1,800 Percussion Caps.

Captain STANARD—*Richmond.*

4 Riding Saddles.

Captain EDMUND RUFFIN, Jr.—*Prince George.*

5,000 Pistol Cartridges,  
5,000 Pistol Caps.

General W. GWYNN—*Norfolk.*

1,000 Flint Muskets,  
3,000 Extra Flints,  
80 Flint Muskets,  
100 Extra Flints,  
4 Lock's Rifle Cannon,  
4 Tangent Scales,  
4 Vent Pouches.

Colonels PRESTON and HETH.

1 Sabre and Belt,  
2 Revolvers and Holsters.

T. C. JORDAN—*Liberty, Bedford County.*

4 Iron Six pounder Guns.

Major B. S. EWELL—*Williamsburg.*

250 Flint Muskets,  
300 Extra Flints,  
600 Cartridge Boxes,  
24,000 Cartridges,  
600 Belts and Plates,  
2 Six-pounder Brass Guns and Carriages, complete,  
2 Six-pounder Iron Guns and Carriages, complete,  
50 Boxes Six-pounder Shot, fixed,  
12 Boxes Six-pounder Spherical Case, fixed,  
2 Boxes Six-pounder Canister, fixed,  
4 Powder Flasks,  
585 Friction Tubes,  
39 Port-fires,

- 78 Yards Slow Match,
- 4 Fuze Cutters,
- 5 Lanyards,
- 8 Thumb Stalls,
- 4 Priming Wires,
- 4 Haversacks,
- 4 Tube Pouches,
- 4 Port-fire Cases,
- 4 Prolouges,
- 16 Bricoles,
- 4 Gunner's Gimlets,
- 4 Water Buckets.

Captain L. S. MARYE—*Richmond.*

- 4 Six-pounder Brass Cannon, to be mounted.

Captain H. C. CABELL—*Richmond.*

- 3 Caisson Wagons,
- 28 Port-fires,
- 8 Yards Slow Match,
- 4 Canisters Rifle Powder,
- 4 Thumb Stalls,
- 8 Haversacks,
- 4 Tube Pouches,
- 4 Prolouges,
- 8 Bricols,
- 4 Priming Wires and an extra Pole.

Colonel W. T. JONES—*Gloucester.*

- 60 Virginia Flint Muskets,
- 15 Original Percussion Muskets,
- 15 Cartridge Boxes and Belts,
- 15 Bayonet Scabbards,
- 15 Cap Pouches,
- 15 Sets Belts and Plates.

Major J. P. WILSON—*Fort Powhatan.*

- 200 Flint Muskets,
- 200 Extra Flints,
- 25 Flint Muskets,
- 50 Flints,
- 2,500 Cartridges.

Colonel JACKSON—*Harper's Ferry.*

- 1,000 Altered Muskets.

Colonel PHILIP ST. GEO. COCKE—*Alexandria.*

3,000 Flint Lock Muskets,  
2,000 Extra Flints.

Lieutenant Colonel PEGRAM—*Richmond.*

2 Six-pounder Brass Guns,  
1 Parrot Rifle,  
1 Burton Rifle.

Captain FORREST—*Norfolk.*

50 Flint Muskets.

Colonel PRESTON—*Virginia Military Institute.*

8 Six-pounder Brass Cannon.

Colonel P. T. MOORE—*Richmond.*

9,000 Cartridges.  
20,000 Caps.

Captain GRISWOLD—*Richmond.*

600 Cartridges,  
700 Caps.

Captain M. H. WATKINS—*Isle of Wight.*

600 Cartridges,  
700 Caps.

Captain B. W. TALLEY—*Hanover.*

600 Cartridges,  
700 Caps.

Captain J. W. ATKINSON—*Henrico.*

200 Cartridges,  
300 Caps.

Captain C. H. HARRISON.

600 Cartridges,  
700 Caps.

## Colonel GARLICK.

500 Cartridges,  
600 Caps,  
28 Fixed Shot,  
28 Fixed Canister,  
75 Friction Tubes.

## Captain J. G. HODGERS.

700 Cartridges,  
900 Caps,  
56 Fixed Shot,  
14 Canister,  
28 Shrapnel,  
75 Friction Tubes.

Captain J. F. CHALMERS—*Isle of Wight.*

28 Fixed Shot,  
28 Canister.

Captain JOHN Q. MARR—*Fauquier.*

1,000 Cartridges,  
1,200 Caps.

Captain WILLIAM J. GREEN—*Stafford.*

1,200 Cartridges,  
1,400 Caps.

Captain R. L. WALKER—*Richmond.*

100 Fixed Shot Rifle Cannon.

## T. T. CROPPER.

600 Cartridges,  
700 Caps,  
28 Fixed Shot,  
28 Fixed Canister,  
75 Friction Tubes.

Captain W. W. THORNTON—*Prince William.*

600 Cartridges,  
700 Caps.

General WILLIAM B. TALIAFERRO—*Norfolk.*

24 Rounds Rifle Cannon,  
50 Friction Tubes.

Colonel JOHN H. RICHARDSON—*Richmond.*

600 Cartridges,  
700 Caps.

Captain CHAMBLERS—*Sussex.*

360 Cartridges,  
400 Caps,  
1 Pound Powder.

Captain POTTS—*Prince Edward.*

600 Cartridges,  
700 Caps.

Captain M. BURKES—*Tappahannock.*

1,000 Cartridges,  
1,200 Caps.

Captain R. S. CARTHORNE—*Tappahannock.*

1,000 Cartridges.

General HARPER—*Harper's Ferry.*

11,000 Cartridges,  
13,000 Caps.

Captain J. HARRISON.

1,000 Cartridges.

Captain B. HALL.

3,500 Cartridges,  
4,000 Caps.

Captain H. D. DICKINSON

2,600 Cartridges,  
3,000 Caps.

General WALTER GWYNN.

200 Rounds Rifle Cannon.

Doctor R. L. NICHOLSON—*West Point.*

4,600 Cartridges,

6,000 Caps.

Colonel E. H. McDONALD—*Hampshire.*

2,000 Cartridges,

2,300 Caps.

Colonel W. T. JONES.

5,000 Cartridges,

5,600 Caps.

Captain HUNTER—*Georgia Troop.*

40,000 Cartridges,

45,000 Caps.

Colonel C. Q. TOMPKINS—*Kanawha.*

4,600 Cartridges,

5,000 Caps,

80 Fixed Shot,

500 Flints.

Captain R. L. WALKER—*Fredericksburg.*

58 Fixed Shot,

28 Canister,

158 Shells,

200 Friction Tubes.

Major J. P. WILSON—*Fort Powhatan.*

3,000 Cartridges,

3,500 Caps,

6,000 Cartridges.

Captain J. H. GARNETT—*Mathews.*

600 Cartridges,

660 Caps.

Captain E. T. BLAMIRE—*Portsmouth.*

3,000 Cartridges,  
100 Flints.

*Steamer Yorktown.*

1,000 Cartridges,  
50 Flints.

Captain S. S. WEISIGER—*Amelia.*

1,200 Cartridges,  
1,250 Caps.

Major General GWYNN—*Norfolk.*

25,000 Cartridges,  
15,000 Caps.

Captain FIFE—*Putnam.*

600 Cartridges,  
700 Caps.

Captain BOYKIN—*Western Virginia.*

2,400 Cartridges.

Captain KEMPER—*Culpeper.*

16,000 Cartridges,  
17,600 Caps,  
28 Fixed Shot,  
28 Canister,  
75 Tubes.

Major B. S. EWELL—*Williamsburg.*

8,000 Cartridges,  
300 Flints.

Colonel A. S. TAYLOR—*Alexandria.*

10,000 Cartridges.

Captain LAY—*Powhatan.*

1,200 Cartridges,  
1,200 Caps.

J. P. MAY—*Petersburg.*

5,000 Cartridges,  
5,500 Caps.

Captain J. F. KENT—*Wythe.*

600 Cartridges,  
700 Caps.

Colonel COCKE—*Alexandria.*

2,600 Cartridges, with Caps.

Colonel JOHN McCausland—*Putnam.*

5,000 Cartridges,  
16 Fixed Shot,  
4 Canister,  
30 Tubes.

Captain W. T. JONES—*Gloucester.*

2,200 Cartridges,  
2,400 Caps,  
42 Fixed Shot,  
56 Canister,  
4 Lanyards,  
400 Flints.

ELI PHLEGAR & Co.—*Christiansburg.*

600 Cartridges,  
100 Flints.

Captain GEORGE S. PATTON—*Kanawha.*

2,000 Cartridges,  
2,200 Caps.

Captain B. J. WHALTON—*Louisa.*

600 Cartridges.

Captain R. M. CARY—*Richmond.*

2,000 Cartridges,  
2,200 Caps.

Captain RODGERS—*Alexandria.*

100 Canister Shot,  
100 Blank Cartridges,  
150 Tubes,  
4 Lanyards.

General RUGGLES—*Fredericksburg.*

10,000 Cartridges,  
500 Flints,  
100 Rounds for eight inch Columbiad.

Colonel L. C. FINNEY—*Accomac.*

5,000 Cartridges,  
2,000 Caps,  
42 Fixed Shot,  
56 Canister,  
3 Lanyards,  
175 Flints.

Colonel GEORGE A. BAILY—*Carter's Wharf.*

1,000 Cartridges.

Captain E. L. WHARTON—*Westmoreland.*

1,000 Cartridges.

General COCKE—*Alexandria.*

100 Rounds for eight inch Columbiad.

Colonel TAYLOR—*Gloucester.*

2,600 Cartridges,  
2,200 Caps.

Captain G. A. HUDGINS—*Elizabeth City.*

1,000 Cartridges,  
50 Flints.

Major G. W. RANDOLPH—*Richmond.*

60 Howitzer Shells,  
24 Canister,  
108 Shrapnels,  
350 Tubes.

Captain H. C. CABELL—*Richmond.*

82 Fixed Shot,  
56 Canister,  
42 Shrapnels,  
200 Tubes.

J. A. ENGLISH—*Fredericksburg, Va.*

2,000 Cartridges,  
2,100 Caps.

Captain WYATT M. ELLIOTT—*Richmond.*

800 Cartridges,  
1,000 Caps.

Captain R. S. ARCHER—*Richmond.*

2,000 Cartridges.

Captain M. VADEN—*Charles City.*

1,000 Cartridges,  
1,000 Caps.

Captain M. P. TODD—*New Kent.*

1,000 Cartridges,  
1,000 Caps.

Captain TAYLOR—*Surry.*

1,000 Cartridges,  
1,000 Caps.

G. M. WADDELL.

600 Cartridges.

Captain W. W. WEISIGER—*Chesterfield.*

1,000 Cartridges.

Captain Z. S. MAGRUDER—(*Henrico.*)

1,000 Cartridges,  
1,200 Caps.

Colonel BARNEY—*Norfolk.*

11 Boxes Ammunition, (for 24 pounder howitzer.)

Captain R. DOUTHAT—*Charles City.*

1,000 Cartridges,

1,000 Caps.

JOSEPH MAYO—*Mayor of Richmond.*

600 Cartridges,

100 Flint.



## (APPENDIX A.)

RICHMOND, April 1, 1861.

SIR: I have the honor to receive, through the clerk of the House of Delegates, a resolution adopted on the 9th ult., requesting "the Armory Commissioners to report the amount of bonds they obtained from the Board of Public Works, under the provisions of the act appropriating five hundred thousand dollars to repair the armory and to purchase arms; whether they sold the bonds; and if so, whether at par, or at what discount; and also to render an account of their expenditures; and for what purpose, giving the items and prices; and if they received the whole five hundred thousand dollars of State bonds, what part thereof has been expended, and what disposition have they made of any part thereof not expended."

The Commissioners have received no State bonds whatever. They have certified accounts to the Board of Public Works, and have requested them to pay such accounts. The means for doing so were obtained by sale of the bonds of the State at the Treasury for their par value.

The purchasers of the bonds were contractors who had sold arms to the State, or persons who had advanced money to contractors and others; and they, as already reported indemnified themselves for losses, by charging enhanced prices. The account to be rendered before the Board of Public Works, under a former resolution of the House of Delegates, will show the amount so charged.

I regret that my attendance on the Convention has prevented me from furnishing a statement of this account as requested. The vouchers are ready to be submitted to the Board of Public Works, and the account, when stated, will be placed in the hands of the clerk of the House of Delegates.

Three hundred and twenty thousand dollars were appropriated for the armory, of which a little upwards of ten thousand dollars have been expended. The appropriation for the purchase of arms was one hundred and eighty thousand dollars, and the contracts made will require it all. As yet, however, the amount expended is about one hundred and fifty-four thousand dollars.

I have the honor to be,

Your most ob't servant,

GEO. W. RANDOLPH.

*Hon. Speaker House Delegates.*

## (APPENDIX B.)

ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT, }  
Richmond, June 15, 1861. }

*His Excellency, JOHN LETCHER, Governor of Virginia:*

Governor,—I have the honor to hand you an abstract of issues made from the armory in this city, from the 1st of April to the 14th of June of this year, both days inclusive.

I assume the 1st of April, because that was about the date when I commenced my duties as colonel of ordnance, and the 14th of June, because on that day the duties of the ordnance department were divided between the chief of ordnance of the Confederacy and myself.

Your Excellency will remember, that I had no authority, nor was there any appropriation for the purchase of arms, munitions or machines of war, until a few days prior to the act of secession. That as soon as I was authorized, and had the means to purchase, I sent Mr. Adams, the Master Armorer, to the North with bills of credit to procure such essentials as percussion cap machine, bullet machine, sabres, pistols, carbines and other articles in which the State was deficient; and that the announcement of the State's secession following so soon after his leaving here, caused him to fail in obtaining even one single article, and that he only was enabled to return here by disguising himself, and making his way as a common laborer seeking work.

Being thus deprived of those labor-saving machines, I have had to resort to the human hands, and with but limited and crude materials to prepare our troops for the field; and as these troops took the field rapidly, and as the operatives employed in the various preparations of ammunition, gun-carriages, &c., were entirely unacquainted with the work. I hope the result will be satisfactory.

After consulting with you, at the commencement of difficulties, I made preparation for 15,000 men, as the probable number that Virginia would be called upon to place in the field. I have, however, actually made up and issued ammunition to the amount of forty rounds to a man, for 50,000 men,—have issued 43,658 muskets, carbines and rifles, and 115 pieces of artillery, (of which fifty had to be mounted complete in this city, with eighty sets of artillery harness for four horses each,) with a due proportion of ammunition to each piece, supplying out of the above many of the troops from others of the Confederate States.

I, yesterday, turned over to the ordnance department of the Southern Confederacy, a laboratory with machines, fixtures and hands capable of turning out 75,000 rounds of ammunition daily, and 9,894 rounds of artillery ammunition, and 114,400 rounds of infantry ammunition ready for *immediate issue*.

I am sir, very respectfully,

C. DIMMOCK,  
*Colonel of Ordnance of Virginia.*

### INVENTORY OF ISSUES

*From the Virginia State Armory from April 1, 1861, to June 14, 1861, inclusive.*

9,233 Cartridge Boxes,  
4,842 Bayonet Scabbards,  
5,123 Cap Pouches,  
9,500 Belts and Plates,  
275,000 Yards of Webbing for Belts,  
2,054 Rifles and Carbines,  
562 Pistols,  
1,813 Sabres,  
25,850 Flint Muskets,  
11,636 Altered Percussion Muskets,  
4,118 Original Percussion Muskets,  
1,540,850 Cartridges for Small Arms,  
1,540,850 Caps for the same,  
53 Iron Cannon, six and twelve pounds,  
39 Brass Cannon, six and twelve pounds,  
14 Rifle Cannon, six pounds,  
9 Howitzers, twelve pounds,  
6,000 Friction Tubes,  
11,258 Rounds Fixed Ammunition for Artillery.

Of the artillery, fifty pieces were mounted in this city.

*Ammunition on hand in the Laboratory, turned over on the 14th instant to the Southern Confederacy.*

1,000,000 Percussion Caps,  
9,894 Rounds of Ammunition for Artillery,  
114,400 Rounds of Ammunition for Infantry.

C. DIMMOCK,  
*Colonel of Ordnance of Virginia.*

P. S.—In addition to the above issues, about 13,000 muskets and rifles have been issued from the Virginia Military Institute;

also, two six-pounder bronze cannon, two twelve-pounder howitzer, four six-pounder brass pieces, (cadets battery,) one Parrott rifle cannon, eight sets of artillery harness, 20,000 musket cartridges, 9,000 pounds rifle, musket and cannon powder, and 250 rounds of artillery ammunition.

C. D. ●

## (APPENDIX C.)

OFFICE OF NAVAL DETAIL AND EQUIPMENT, }  
Richmond, June 10, 1861. }

*Sir*,—I have the honor to inform your Excellency that the important duty of the naval defences of the rivers of Virginia, was assigned to the officers of the Virginia navy, on the 23d of April last.

A few days previous, the magazine, at Norfolk, with upwards of three hundred thousand pounds of powder, and a large number of shells, was captured by Lieutenants Pegram, Sinclair and Jones. This daring and unauthorized attack, placed at the disposal of the State an amount of ammunition it would be difficult to supply, and with the cannon taken at the Norfolk yard, afforded all the materials needed for the batteries.

The rivers of Virginia being undefended, and exposed to attack, it is due to the naval officers of Virginia to say, that they went to work to defend them, with zeal proportionate to the necessities of the case. Heavy cannon were moved to their destinations with dispatch; ammunition and projectiles provided; men instructed, and every other preparation made to repel an opposing force.

In erecting the batteries at Sewell's Point, at Pig's Point, at Aquia Creek, and at Gloucester Point, they were attacked by armed steamers. In each case the enemy were repulsed, and the works continued and finished, in spite of their fire.

The works on the Elizabeth, James, York and Rappahannock rivers, are so far completed as to justify the belief that they will be able to drive off any naval force that the United States Government can bring against them.

On the Potomac river, batteries have been erected at the terminus of the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac Rail Road on Aquia Creek. In their incomplete state they were attacked, three times, by a superior force, and in each case Captain Lynch repulsed the enemy's steamers, with considerable loss. If the attack should be renewed, Captain Lynch is now prepared to strike a more serious blow.

The command of the steamer Teaser, has been assigned to Lieutenant Rochelle. Two 32 pound guns have been placed upon her, and she is now employed on the defences of James river.

Captain J. R. Tucker is fitting out the steamer Yorktown,

with as heavy a battery as she will bear. She will be ready by the 1st of July, and will be a valuable auxiliary to the defences of James River.

A howitzer battery, of six guns, has been organized by Lieutenant Parker. Four of the pieces are now mounted; the drill of the men is perfect, and this battery will be valuable, whether employed in the field, or in the defences of Richmond.

The frigate Merrimac has been raised, and is now in the dry dock at Norfolk. The other sunken ships will be raised as soon as the dock is ready to receive them.

The enclosed list, marked (A,) will show the number and calibre of the cannon at the various batteries; and that marked (B,) the number and calibre sent to the other States of the Confederacy.

I am, very respectfully,  
Your obedient servant,

S. BARON, *Captain.*

## (APPENDIX D.)

HEADQUARTERS OF THE VIRGINIA FORCES, }  
Richmond, June 15, 1861. }

*His Excellency, JOHN LETCHER, Governor of Virginia:*

Sir,—Agreeably to your request, I submit a statement of the military and naval preparations for the defence of Virginia, from the period of her separation from the United States Government, to the date of transfer of the military operations of the State to the Confederate Government.

Arrangements were made for the establishment of batteries to prevent the ascent of our rivers by hostile vessels. As soon as an examination was made for the selection of sites, their construction was begun, and their armament and defence committed to the Virginia navy.

Preparations were also begun to receive into the service of the State, volunteer companies, and for organizing, arming and equipping them. Mustering officers were appointed, rendezvous established, and provision made for their subsistence and shelter.

The primary estimate of the number of troops, of all arms required, based upon the points to be defended, amounted to 51,000 men. The estimated quota of each portion of the State has been furnished, except from the western section. Arrangements were made for calling out volunteers from the western section at the same time, and in the same manner as from the eastern section, but as yet it has been feebly responded to.

Complete returns from the troops in the field have not, and, from the nature of things, cannot for some time be received. But from the best sources of information within our reach, the number of Virginia troops is about 35,000 men. This amount probably falls below the real number, for, referring to the report of the colonel of ordnance, it will be seen that he has issued 2,054 rifles and carbines, and 41,604 muskets, in addition to pistols and sabres to the cavalry. Thirteen thousand arms have also been issued from Lexington, making a total of 56,658. Seven thousand of those from Lexington, and several thousand from the arsenal at Richmond, have been issued to troops from other States, but many of the Virginia companies, supposed to be about 5,000 men, were armed, when received into the service of the State. Should the number of armed companies from other States not differ materially from the number of armed companies of the State, the number of Virginia troops in the field may be assumed to be about 40,000.

When it is remembered that this body of men was called from a state of profound peace to one of unexpected war, you will have reason to commend the alacrity with which they left their homes and families, and prepared themselves for the defence of the State.

The assembling of the men, however, was not the most difficult operation. Provision for their instruction, subsistence, equipment, clothing, shelter and transportation in the field, required more time and labor. The carriages of the guns for river, land and field service, had to be made, with the necessary implements, caissons, battery wagons, &c.

One hundred and fifteen guns for field service have thus been provided, from which twenty light batteries, of four guns each have been furnished with the requisite horses, harness, &c. .... 115

For the defence of James River; two batteries and two steamers have been provided, mounting altogether 40 guns, varying in calibre from 32-pounders to 8 and 9 inch Columbiads. Arrangements are also in progress for mounting sixty guns of different weights in the defences around Richmond, and a naval battery of six 12-pound Howitzers is in process of organization. .... 40

On York River three batteries have been constructed, mounting thirty guns, of calibres similar to the guns on James River. .... 30

Sites for batteries on the Potomac have also been selected, and arrangements are in progress for their construction. But the entire command of that river being in possession of the United States Government, and a larger force required for their security than could be devoted to that purpose, the batteries at Aquia Creek have only been prepared. Twelve guns are in position there. .... 12

On the Rappahannock River a four gun battery of 32-pounders and eight inch Columbiads has been erected. .... 4

Six batteries have been erected on the Elizabeth River, to guard the approaches to Norfolk and the Navy Yard. They mount 5 32-pounders and 8 and 9 inch Columbiads. .... 85

To prevent the ascent of the Nansemond River and the occupation of the Railroad from Norfolk to Richmond, three batteries have been constructed on that river, which will mount 19 guns. .... 19

The frigate United States has been prepared for a school ship, and provided with a deck battery of 19 32-pounders and 9 inch Columbiads for harbor defence. .... 19

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 324

The frigate Merimac has been raised and is in the dry dock,

and arrangements are made for raising the Germantown and Plymouth.

In addition to the batteries already described, other works have been constructed for their land defence, exceeding in many instances the work on the batteries themselves. An extensive line of field works has been erected for the security of Norfolk, on the side towards the bay. Redoubts for the same purpose have been constructed at Jamestown Island, Gloucester Point, Yorktown, and across the neck of land below Williamsburg.

I have confined myself to a general narrative of operations, and for the detail, refer you to the reports of the several chiefs of staff.

I am, Governor, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

ROBERT E. LEE,  
*General Commanding.*



## (APPENDIX E.)

BY THE GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA.

## A PROCLAMATION.

The delegates of the people of Virginia, in Convention assembled, having by their ordinance, passed April 25, 1861, adopted and ratified the Constitution of the Provisional Government of the Confederate States of America, ordained and established at Montgomery, Alabama, on the 8th day of February, 1861, and the State of Virginia having been, by an act of the Congress of the Provisional Government of the Confederate States, passed May 7, 1861, admitted as a State into the Confederate Government, and the President being, under the Constitution of the Provisional Government of the Confederate States, the commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the Confederate States, and of the militia of the several States when called into the service of the Confederate States.

Now, therefore, I, JOHN LETCHER, Governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia, by and with the advice and consent of the Executive Council, do hereby transfer to the authorities of the Confederate States, by regiments, all the volunteer forces which have been mustered into the service of Virginia, and do order a like transfer to be made by regiments, battalions, squadrons and companies of all volunteers, or militia, as the same shall be formed and their services may be required.

I further hereby transfer to the authorities of the Confederate States the command of all the officers, seamen and marines of the Provisional Navy of Virginia for service in the Confederate States.

I do further order that all officers of the Virginia service now on duty in any of the departments of the staff, continue to discharge their respective functions under the direction and control of the President, until otherwise ordered; and that all quartermaster, commissary and medical stores belonging to the State and in charge of said officers, be turned over for the use of the Confederate States, upon proper receipts for the articles turned over, to be forwarded to the accounting officer for settlement. All monies in charge of any of the departments will be forthwith returned into the treasury of the State.

I do further order the provisional army of Virginia to respect and obey all lawful orders emanating from the President, or those commanding under his authority; and that the same may be incorporated, in whole or in part, into the provisional army of the Confederate States, at the pleasure of the President.

I do further authorize the use of all public property, munitions of war, &c., captured from the United States, the machinery at Harper's Ferry excepted, by the President or those acting under his authority, for the common defence.

Given under my hand as Governor, and under the seal of the State, at Richmond, this sixth day of June, A. D. 1861, and in the eighty-fifth year of the Commonwealth.

JOHN LETCHER.

By the Governor:

GEORGE W. MUNFORD,

*Secretary of the Commonwealth,*

## (APPENDIX F.)

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, }  
June 14, 1861. }

*To His Excellency, JOHN LETCHER, Governor of Virginia:*

*Sir,*—The amount actually paid out of the State Treasury, from the 31st of April to the present date, by orders of the Board, appointed to audit military and naval claims, is as follows:

|                   |                |
|-------------------|----------------|
| For the Army..... | \$1,737,950 49 |
| For the Navy..... | 100,748 49     |
| Total.....        | \$1,838,698 98 |

Besides this there are outstanding allowances not yet presented at the Treasury, which will probably amount to \$100,000 additional. These amounts do not include pay of the officers and men, the pay rolls not having yet been presented or made out. The Paymaster-general estimates the amount necessary for pay alone, to the 1st of June, at \$1,000,000, for troops now in the field. Additional forces now called out will require more. He also estimates that there will be required, for commutation for clothing of the troops, and commutation for forage for officers, the sum of \$841,000. Total required, \$3,679,698 98.

GEORGE W. MUNFORD,  
*Secretary of the Commonwealth.*



## (APPENDIX G.)

DIVISION HEADQUARTERS, }  
Harper's Ferry, April 19, 1861. }

*General*,—I beg to communicate through you to Governor Letcher, that I am forwarding to Winchester, with all despatch possible, the arms and machinery at this place, retaining only such of the arms which are complete, and rescued from the burning as are thought necessary to equip the troops, imperfectly armed as they came in. There are now about thirteen hundred men here, and I expect reinforcements to the number of five hundred in a few hours, and I have information of about a thousand now on the way. It is estimated by a number of the workmen lately employed in the armory, who presented themselves to me to-day as a committee, that it would take several months to remove the machinery and other public property from this point, but I find they are much disaffected, being property holders, and therefore disposed to exaggerate the difficulties. I hope, however, that the interview impressed them with different views of their own interests, that their labor which was their support, was their most valuable interest. They will be needed wherever their works may be removed. This I believe will induce them to aid heartily in the purposes designed by the Executive. If authorised to give them assurance of employment, it would relieve me of some difficulties, and probably promote the public interest. The armory at Richmond could be put in operation at once. I make these suggestions for the consideration of the Governor.

The information I have received in regard to the condition of affairs in Maryland, and especially the city of Baltimore, added to the appearance of men on the mountain on the Maryland side, commanding this place, induced me this morning to send an officer to the high sheriff of the county, notifying him of my distress to, and of my unwillingness to trespass upon the soil of our sister State, unless compelled by necessity, requesting him to call out the militia to maintain their neutrality. My messenger has not yet returned, and circumstances have since come to my knowledge which impelled me to order a company to occupy the heights during the night.

My labors have been so incessant during the day that I cannot communicate more freely at present.

I enclose a despatch from John W. Garrett, President of the Baltimore and Ohio Rail Road.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

KENTON HARPER,  
*Major General Commanding.*

*Brig. Gen. W. H. RICHARDSON, Adj't General, Va.*

DIVISION HEADQUARTERS, }  
Harper's Ferry, Nov. 20, 1861. }

*Dear Governor*,—I have addressed you officially through the Adjutant General, and I only wish to say to you here, that you know me, and that I must necessarily be allowed to act to a great extent upon my own judgment, as to what is required by the exigencies of my position. You have honored me with a high trust, involving great responsibilities, and I will rely upon you for all needful support.

The influences around me at Winchester, I found to be so unfriendly that I determined in a few hours to remove my Headquarters to Charlestown. But one company had arrived which I took with me, and left orders with an officer directing the troops as they came in to report to me at that place. The use of the telegraph was denied me by the operator, and the President of the road saying he was unable to get another operator, I closed the office, to prevent its being used against me. I do not doubt, however, that the mischief was done by the operator, even before my messenger returned, and that the commanding officer of the post was informed of my movements.

In haste, yours truly,

KENTON HARPER,  
*Major General Commanding.*

*His Excellency, JOHN LETCHER, Governor.*



[COPY.]

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS, }  
Adjutant General's Office, April 17, 1861. }

*Brigadier General* JAMES H. CARSON, *16th Brigade*:

Sir,—You will issue instant orders to the volunteer force of your brigade, to hold itself in readiness for service at a moment's warning, and support any movement that may be made by the State troops, upon the Arsenal and works at Harper's Ferry. They will probably be joined by the volunteers of Augusta and Rockingham, &c. If necessary, you will assume the command of the entire force.

By order of the Commander-in-Chief.

WM. H. RICHARDSON, *A. G.*



[COPY.]

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS, }  
Adjutant General's Office, April 18, 1861. }

*General THOMAS HAYMOND, Commanding 3d Division:*

The Governor directs that you give orders to the volunteer corps, in your Division, to be ready for service at a moment's notice, and to the Brigadier Generals to be prepared for service. That you take measures effectually to prevent the passage of the Federal or any other troops from the West, Eastward on the Baltimore and Ohio Rail Road.

The Brigadier Generals of your Division are Buckner Fairfax, Preston, 10th Brigade; James H. Carson, Frederick, the 16th; James Boggs, Pendleton, 18th; C. B. Conrad, Gilmer, 20th; John J. Jackson, Wood, 23d; and Bushrod W. Price, Marshall, 24th; and to them, your orders should be addressed, promptly.

By command.

WM. H. RICHARDSON, A. G.

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[COPY.]

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS,  
Adjutant General's Office, April 18, 1861. }

*Gen. WM. B. TALIAFERRO, Commanding 4th Division:*

*Sir*,—You will forthwith take command of the State troops, which are now or may be assembled at the City of Norfolk. Your immediate presence there is necessary.

By command.

WM. H. RICHARDSON, A. G.



[COPY.]

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS,  
Adjutant General's Office, April 22, 1861. }

*Major General* KENTON HARPER:

Sir,—The Governor has received your report and desires me to convey to you his approval of your proceedings. He directs

me to inform you that a portion of your force will be probably required at Alexandria, in which case you will meet the requisition of Gen. Philip St. George Cocke, who is in command at that point.

Very respectfully,  
Your obedient servant,

WM. H. RICHARDSON, A. G.

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1936 1937 1938 1939 1940

1941 1942 1943 1944 1945

1946 1947 1948 1949 1950

(A.)

## NAVAL DEFENCES OF VIRGINIA.

~~~~~  
JAMES RIVER.

Captain H. H. COCKE—Commanding Officer.

Fort Powhatan—Lieutenant C. ST. GEORGE NOLAND.

- 6 Thirty-two pounders of 51 cwt.
- 2 Thirty-two pounders of 27 cwt.
- 2 More thirty-two pounders of 27 cwt., and two more thirty-two pounders of 51 cwt. are to be sent for this battery.

Jamestown Island—Lieutenant AP C. R. JONES,

- 3 Nine-inch guns of 9,000 pounds,
- 6 Thirty-two pounders of 57 cwt.
- 9 Eight-inch army columbiads.
- 2 Twelve pounder army guns.

Steam Tug "Teaser"—Lieut. J. H. ROCHELLE, *Commanding*.

- 2 Thirty-two pounders of 27 cwt.

Steamer "Yorktown," preparing at Richmond—Commander
JOHN R. TUCKER.

Will mount 1 Ten-inch pivot gun of 12,000 pounds.

Will mount 1 Sixty-four pounder ditto, of 106 cwt.

Will mount 6 Eight-inch broadside guns of 63 cwt.

Two more eight-inch guns can be mounted on this vessel and will be ordered.

Arrangements are now being made for mounting sixty guns of different calibres and weights, for the defences of the city of Richmond. We are now organizing a *Naval* battery of six twelve pounder Howitzers, four of which are now completed. They are preparing under the immediate superintendence of Lieutenant William H. Parker.

YORK RIVER.

Captain W. C. WHITTLE—Commanding Officer.

West Point—Commander WM. LEIGH.

- 2 Nine inch guns of 9,000 pounds,
- 1 Thirty-two pounder of 57 cwt.
- 4 Thirty-two pounders of 33 cwt. are to be sent for this battery.

Gloucester Point—Commander T. J. PAGE.

- 8 Nine inch guns of 9,000 pounds,
- 2 Thirty-two pounders of 57 cwt.
- 1 Thirty-two pounder of 33 cwt.
- 1 Thirty-two pounder of 27 cwt.
- 5 more thirty-two pounders of 27 cwt. are to be sent for this battery.

Yorktown—Commander J. L. HENDERSON.

- 2 Eight inch Army Columbiads,
 - 4 Eight inch Army Barbette guns.
- (Note.—Two more eight inch guns are to be sent for this battery.)

POTOMAC RIVER.

Captain W. F. LYNCH—Commanding Officer.

Aquia Creek.

- 2 Eight inch guns of 63 cwt.
- 1 Parrott Rifled Field Piece, (Walker's company.)

Potomac Creek—Lieut. WM. TAYLOR SMITH.

- 2 Thirty-two pounders of 27 cwt.

Hill Battery, near to the right of Aquia Creek—Lieut. CHARLES C. SIMMS.

- 2 Eight inch Army Columbiads on Barbette carriages.

Simms' Point, near to the left of Aquia Creek.

- 1 Eight inch gun of 63 cwt.,
- 3 Parrott Rifled Field Pieces. } Masked battery.

Potomac Creek Bridge—Commander R. D. THORBURN,

1 Eight inch gun of 63 cwt.

RAPPAHANNOCK RIVER.

Captain R. G. ROBB—Commanding Officer.

Lowry's Point—Lieut. HENRY C. LEWIS.

2 Eight inch Army Columbiads,
2 Thirty-two pounders of 27 cwt.

Note.—Three eight inch guns of 63 cwt. have been ordered to be prepared at Norfolk for the naval defences of the Rappahannock.

HARPER'S FERRY.

Lieut. CHAS. M. FAUNTLEROY.

2 Thirty-two pounders of 57 cwt.

ELIZABETH RIVER AND VICINITY.

Fort Norfolk—Commander A. SINCLAIR.

12 nine-inch guns of 9,000 pounds,
4 thirty-two pounders of 51 cwt.

Fort Nelson—Naval Hospital—Cammander CHARLES F. MCINTOSH.

2 eight-inch guns of 55 cwt.
8 thirty-two pounders of 57 cwt.
5 thirty-two pounders of 51 cwt.

Oranney Island—Commander WM. McBLAIR.

1 ten-inch pivot gun,	} Arrangements have been made for mounting thirty guns in all.
10 eight-inch guns of 63 cwt.	
6 eight-inch guns of 55 cwt.	
4 thirty-two pounder guns of 51 cwt.]	

Bush's Bluff—Boatswain YOUNG, volunteer.

5 thirty-two pounder guns of 42 cwt.

Pinner's Point—Lieut. GEORGE W. HARRISON.

6 thirty-two pounders of 57 cwt.
 3 thirty-two pounders of 51 cwt.
 3 thirty-two pounders of 42 cwt.

Sewall's Point—Commander WM. LEWIS MAURY.

6 nine-inch guns,	} Arrangements have been made for mounting not less than 20 guns.
2 thirty-two pounders of 57 cwt.	
2 thirty-two pounders of 27 cwt.	

Lambert's Point—Lieut. JOHN S. TAYLOR.

6 thirty-two pounders of 59 cwt.

Barrett's Point—Lieutenant J. PEMBROKE JONES.

6 Thirty-two pounders of 57 cwt.

Town Point.

Number and calibre of guns not reported. Arrangements have been made for mounting five guns.

Pig's Point—Commander R. B. PEGRAM.

4 Eight inch guns of 55 cwt.
 4 Thirty-two pounders of 42 cwt.

Frigate "United States"—Receiving Ship —Commander THOS. R. ROOTES.

Spar Deck, 3 nine inch guns of 9,000 pounds,
 Gun Deck, 16 thirty-two pounders of 51 cwt.

In addition to preparing this vessel, as a school ship for drilling the men, she has been provided with the above armament for the defence of the yard and the gun park, at St. Helena.

The frigate "Merrimac" has been raised, and is now in Dry Dock, at Norfolk. She is valued, in her present condition, at not less than \$250,000.

Arrangements are now being made for raising the sloops of war "Jamestown" and "Plymouth."

OFFICE OF NAVAL DETAIL AND EQUIPMENT, }
 Richmond, Va., June 10, 1861. }

(B.)

LIST OF GUNS

*Sent from the Norfolk Navy Yard to North Carolina, Tennessee,
Louisiana and Georgia.*

~~~~~

## NORTH CAROLINA.

- 2 Thirty-two pounders of 42 cwt.
- 4 Thirty-two pounders of 27 cwt.
- 4 Twenty-four pounders of 31 cwt.
- 20 Thirty-two pounders of 61 cwt.
- 10 Thirty-two pounders of 57 cwt.
- 10 Thirty-two pounders of 46 cwt.
- 10 Eight-inch guns of 63 cwt.
- 20 Thirty-two pounder carronades 17 or 18 cwt.
- 80 Guns.

## TENNESSEE.

- 10 Thirty-two pounders of 42 cwt.
- 32 Thirty-two pounders of 61 cwt.
- 42 Guns.
- 10 Forty-two pounders of 70 cwt. were also sent from Richmond.

## LOUISIANA.

- 8 Eight-inch guns of 63 cwt.
- 1 Nine-inch gun of 9,000 pounds.
- 8 Thirty-two pounders of 33 cwt.
- 4 Thirty-two pounders of 27 cwt.
- 21 Guns.

## GEORGIA.

- 2 Thirty-two pounders of 27 cwt.



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ON THE 10th DAY OF JANUARY 1875

FROM THE LIBRARY OF THE MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

TO THE LIBRARY OF THE MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

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FROM THE LIBRARY OF THE MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

TO THE LIBRARY OF THE MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

[DOC. NO. XXXVII.]

**REPORT**

OF THE

**AUDITOR OF PUBLIC ACCOUNTS,**

EXHIBITING THE

**WHITE, FREE AND SLAVE POPULATION,**

AND THE VALUE OF

**REAL ESTATE AND PERSONAL PROPERTY.**

**ARRANGED BY DISTRICTS.**



REPORT  
OF THE

Commissioner of the  
General Land Office

FOR THE YEAR 1872

WASHINGTON: GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1873.

The following report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office, for the year 1872, is published in accordance with the provisions of the Act of March 3, 1872, (16 Stat. 397), which provides that the Commissioner shall submit to the President an annual report of the operations of the office during the preceding year, and of the condition of the public lands, and of the progress of the survey of the same.

The report is divided into two parts, the first of which contains a general statement of the operations of the office during the year, and the second of which contains a detailed statement of the operations of the office during the year, and of the condition of the public lands, and of the progress of the survey of the same.

The first part of the report contains a general statement of the operations of the office during the year, and of the condition of the public lands, and of the progress of the survey of the same.

The second part of the report contains a detailed statement of the operations of the office during the year, and of the condition of the public lands, and of the progress of the survey of the same.

Approved: J. M. McKim,  
Commissioner of the General Land Office.

Witness my hand and the seal of the office at Washington, this 1st day of January, 1873.

## REPORT.

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AUDITOR'S OFFICE, }  
*Richmond, Nov. 21, 1861.* }

TO R. L. MONTAGUE, Esq.,

*President of the Convention.*

Sir,—In pursuance of a resolution of the Convention, over which you preside, adopted on this day, requesting “the Auditor of Public Accounts to furnish to the Convention a table showing the white population of each county in the State; the number of white male inhabitants above the age of twenty-one years; the negro population of each county; and a statement showing the value of property in each county, real and personal.” I have the honor of submitting herewith the table desired, with a request that you will lay the same before the Convention.

The information had been obtained and forms part of my report for the next General Assembly, and as will be observed, is arranged by geographical districts. I have not deemed the arrangement of sufficient importance to change the same, and trust that the table, as arranged, will be acceptable.

I am, very respectfully,  
Your most ob't serv't,

J. M. BENNETT,  
*Auditor of Public Accounts.*



TABLE A.

*Exhibiting the white male persons over 21 years of age, and the free negro and slave population of each county and city in the state; and the total white and free negro and slave population; also, the value of real estate and personal property owned by residents of each county; arranged by districts.*

## EASTERN VIRGINIA—TIDE WATER DISTRICT.

| COUNTIES.             | 1<br>Number of white<br>males over 21<br>years of age. | 2<br>White population. | 3<br>Free negroes. | 4<br>Slaves. | 5<br>Total. | 6<br>Value of real es-<br>tate. | 7<br>Value of personal<br>estate. |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|--------------|-------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Alexandria .....      | 2,110                                                  | 9,858                  | 1,408              | 1,386        | 12,652      | 5,066,425                       | 2,848,413                         |
| Accomac .....         | 2,415                                                  | 10,687                 | 3,392              | 4,507        | 18,586      | 3,288,595                       | 3,418,229                         |
| Charles City .....    | 451                                                    | 1,806                  | 856                | 2,947        | 5,609       | 1,805,827                       | 2,216,085                         |
| Caroline .....        | 1,587                                                  | 6,950                  | 843                | 10,672       | 18,465      | 4,727,562                       | 9,196,405                         |
| Chesterfield .....    | 1,916                                                  | 10,018                 | 644                | 8,353        | 19,015      | 4,273,429                       | 6,873,608                         |
| Essex .....           | 734                                                    | 3,295                  | 47                 | 6,696        | 10,469      | 3,651,663                       | 6,930,343                         |
| Elizabeth City .....  | 466                                                    | 3,180                  | 201                | 2,417        | 5,798       | 2,390,530                       | 3,257,595                         |
| Fairfax .....         | 1,924                                                  | 8,047                  | 671                | 3,117        | 11,835      | 3,913,107                       | 3,270,314                         |
| Greensville .....     | 881                                                    | 1,973                  | 234                | 4,167        | 6,374       | 1,824,494                       | 4,206,406                         |
| Gloucester .....      | 917                                                    | 4,518                  | 702                | 5,736        | 10,956      | 2,585,441                       | 4,740,689                         |
| Hanover .....         | 1,573                                                  | 7,508                  | 233                | 9,484        | 17,225      | 2,263,388                       | 5,492,985                         |
| Henrico .....         | 2,403                                                  | 13,697                 | 1,604              | 8,342        | 23,643      | 8,566,777                       | 8,001,472                         |
| Isle of Wight .....   | 1,076                                                  | 5,053                  | 1,354              | 8,570        | 9,977       | 1,842,295                       | 2,988,587                         |
| James City .....      | 272                                                    | 1,412                  | 926                | 1,838        | 4,176       | 805,388                         | 1,294,013                         |
| King George .....     | 525                                                    | 2,515                  | 385                | 3,675        | 6,575       | 1,926,844                       | 3,755,494                         |
| King William .....    | 557                                                    | 2,589                  | 415                | 5,525        | 8,529       | 2,547,850                       | 3,671,600                         |
| King & Queen .....    | 905                                                    | 3,801                  | 388                | 6,142        | 10,331      | 2,465,794                       | 5,177,924                         |
| Lancaster .....       | 433                                                    | 1,984                  | 30                 | 2,869        | 5,154       | 1,174,350                       | 2,462,375                         |
| Mathews .....         | 722                                                    | 3,865                  | 218                | 3,008        | 7,091       | 1,784,390                       | 3,066,310                         |
| Middlesex .....       | 501                                                    | 1,866                  | 123                | 2,375        | 4,364       | 1,125,820                       | 1,727,768                         |
| Nansemond .....       | 1,152                                                  | 5,742                  | 2,470              | 5,484        | 13,693      | 2,576,890                       | 4,999,560                         |
| New Kent .....        | 488                                                    | 2,146                  | 364                | 3,374        | 5,884       | 1,293,093                       | 2,173,800                         |
| Norfolk county .....  | 1,206                                                  | 5,887                  | 1,227              | 3,538        | 10,152      | 2,945,414                       | 3,593,113                         |
| Northumberland .....  | 733                                                    | 3,871                  | 226                | 3,439        | 7,530       | 2,271,802                       | 3,198,127                         |
| Northampton .....     | 649                                                    | 2,994                  | 966                | 3,872        | 7,832       | 2,792,995                       | 8,605,810                         |
| Princess Anne .....   | 994                                                    | 4,335                  | 193                | 3,186        | 7,714       | 1,956,116                       | 2,654,374                         |
| Prince George .....   | 700                                                    | 2,918                  | 496                | 4,996        | 8,410       | 2,108,425                       | 4,672,740                         |
| Prince William .....  | 1,314                                                  | 5,689                  | 520                | 2,356        | 8,565       | 2,483,498                       | 2,825,296                         |
| Richmond county ..... | 731                                                    | 3,570                  | 821                | 2,466        | 6,556       | 1,228,165                       | 1,918,789                         |
| Stafford .....        | 1,100                                                  | 4,922                  | 319                | 3,314        | 8,555       | 1,975,720                       | 4,003,937                         |
| Southampton .....     | 1,243                                                  | 5,757                  | 1,750              | 5,409        | 12,916      | 1,882,692                       | 4,237,102                         |
| Spartanburg .....     | 961                                                    | 4,396                  | 177                | 6,495        | 11,048      | 1,841,530                       | 4,926,533                         |
| Surry .....           | 517                                                    | 2,364                  | 1,254              | 2,515        | 6,133       | 1,223,142                       | 2,060,942                         |
| Sussex .....          | 729                                                    | 3,118                  | 673                | 6,384        | 10,175      | 1,736,654                       | 6,727,102                         |
| Warwick .....         | 158                                                    | 667                    | 59                 | 1,019        | 1,740       | 369,350                         | 614,382                           |
| Westmoreland .....    | 735                                                    | 3,886                  | 1,192              | 3,704        | 8,282       | 1,920,394                       | 2,686,164                         |
| York .....            | 517                                                    | 2,378                  | 671                | 1,925        | 4,949       | 715,420                         | 1,060,900                         |
| Total .....           | 85,798                                                 | 168,232                | 28,727             | 160,229      | 357,258     | \$8,800,769                     | \$140,949,392                     |
| CITIES AND TOWNS.     |                                                        |                        |                    |              |             |                                 |                                   |
| Fredericksburg .....  | 679                                                    | 3,315                  | 422                | 1,291        | 5,028       |                                 |                                   |
| Norfolk city .....    | 1,704                                                  | 10,157                 | 1,048              | 4,392        | 15,717      |                                 |                                   |
| Portsmouth .....      | 1,627                                                  | 8,779                  | 567                | 983          | 10,259      |                                 |                                   |
| Richmond .....        | 4,102                                                  | 24,287                 | 1,987              | 11,099       | 37,973      |                                 |                                   |
| Williamsburg .....    | 150                                                    | 741                    | 120                | 715          | 1,612       |                                 |                                   |
| Total .....           | 8,262                                                  | 47,302                 | 4,114              | 19,203       | 70,619      |                                 |                                   |
| Aggregates .....      | 44,060                                                 | 215,534                | 32,841             | 179,502      | 427,877     |                                 |                                   |

TABLE A.—Continued.

*Exhibiting the white male persons over 21 years of age, and the free negro and slave population of each county and city in the state; and the total white and free negro and slave population; also, the value of real estate and personal property owned by residents of each county; arranged by districts.*

## EASTERN VIRGINIA—PIEDMONT DISTRICT.

| COUNTIES.          | 1<br>Number of white<br>males over 21<br>years of age. | 2<br>White population. | 3<br>Free negroes. | 4<br>Slaves. | 5<br>Total. | 6<br>Value of real es-<br>tate. | 7<br>Value of personal<br>estate. |
|--------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|--------------|-------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Albemarle.....     | 2,650                                                  | 12,205                 | 504                | 13,916       | 26,625      | \$8,572,770                     | \$8,684,522                       |
| Amelia.....        | 677                                                    | 2,894                  | 192                | 7,667        | 10,735      | 2,777,007                       | 7,270,381                         |
| Amherst.....       | 1,699                                                  | 7,136                  | 333                | 6,847        | 14,316      | 3,718,968                       | 5,735,876                         |
| Appomattox.....    | 926                                                    | 4,113                  | 176                | 4,600        | 8,889       | 2,017,334                       | 5,006,126                         |
| Bedford.....       | 3,014                                                  | 14,390                 | 502                | 10,176       | 25,068      | 7,640,556                       | 11,897,809                        |
| Brunswick.....     | 1,140                                                  | 4,993                  | 670                | 9,148        | 14,811      | 2,587,607                       | 9,256,796                         |
| Buckingham.....    | 1,379                                                  | 6,041                  | 360                | 8,811        | 5,212       | 4,103,081                       | 8,557,258                         |
| Campbell.....      | 964                                                    | 9,746                  | 682                | 8,864        | 19,256      | 4,826,323                       | 7,475,316                         |
| Charlotte.....     | 1,054                                                  | 4,981                  | 252                | 9,236        | 14,469      | 4,756,209                       | 9,203,933                         |
| Culp p.r.....      | 1,133                                                  | 4,964                  | 425                | 6,675        | 12,064      | 5,556,716                       | 6,303,167                         |
| Cumberland.....    | 696                                                    | 2,941                  | 310                | 6,705        | 9,961       | 2,727,861                       | 7,303,350                         |
| Dinwiddie.....     | 1,037                                                  | 4,649                  | 200                | 7,071        | 11,920      | 3,157,366                       | 6,909,552                         |
| Fauquier.....      | 2,277                                                  | 10,457                 | 792                | 10,455       | 21,704      | 5,996,727                       | 7,060,047                         |
| Franklin.....      | 2,737                                                  | 3,642                  | 105                | 6,351        | 20,098      | 4,870,091                       | 6,682,206                         |
| Fluvanna.....      | 1,123                                                  | 5,102                  | 257                | 4,994        | 10,353      | 2,547,226                       | 5,759,879                         |
| Greene.....        | 631                                                    | 3,011                  | 22                 | 1,984        | 5,025       | 1,185,538                       | 1,964,948                         |
| Goochland.....     | 868                                                    | 3,814                  | 703                | 6,139        | 10,656      | 2,786,886                       | 5,349,197                         |
| Halifax.....       | 2,477                                                  | 1,060                  | 558                | 14,897       | 26,521      | 7,544,009                       | 14,337,908                        |
| Henry.....         | 1,457                                                  | 6,773                  | 308                | 5,018        | 12,105      | 2,174,685                       | 3,685,273                         |
| Loudoun.....       | 3,150                                                  | 15,030                 | 1,243              | 5,499        | 21,772      | 12,312,701                      | 8,620,796                         |
| Louis.....         | 1,436                                                  | 6,164                  | 339                | 10,193       | 16,698      | 4,562,235                       | 9,456,865                         |
| Lunenburg.....     | 946                                                    | 4,447                  | 232                | 7,305        | 11,984      | 2,438,714                       | 8,011,602                         |
| Madison.....       | 992                                                    | 4,264                  | 93                 | 4,397        | 8,854       | 2,999,957                       | 4,532,565                         |
| Mecklenburg.....   | 1,595                                                  | 6,777                  | 960                | 2,419        | 20,096      | 4,466,906                       | 11,649,393                        |
| Nelson.....        | 1,209                                                  | 6,656                  | 121                | 6,238        | 13,015      | 3,920,686                       | 6,352,666                         |
| Nottoway.....      | 530                                                    | 2,270                  | 95                 | 6,468        | 8,836       | 2,173,501                       | 6,101,601                         |
| Orange.....        | 1,008                                                  | 4,407                  | 188                | 6,111        | 10,706      | 4,291,216                       | 6,300,065                         |
| Patrick.....       | 1,344                                                  | 7,159                  | 130                | 2,070        | 9,829       | 2,298,803                       | 2,340,929                         |
| Pittsylvania.....  | 3,253                                                  | 15,027                 | 457                | 12,172       | 27,656      | 7,995,184                       | 14,937,057                        |
| Prince Edward..... | 907                                                    | 4,038                  | 465                | 7,341        | 11,844      | 3,211,424                       | 7,103,021                         |
| Powhatan.....      | 577                                                    | 2,589                  | 399                | 5,403        | 8,301       | 3,257,823                       | 5,555,755                         |
| Rappahannock.....  | 1,080                                                  | 5,018                  | 372                | 3,520        | 8,550       | 3,117,788                       | 3,641,020                         |
| Total.....         | 47,094                                                 | 216,879                | 12,325             | 238,600      | 467,897     | \$135,545,848                   | \$223,073,184                     |
| CITIES AND TOWNS.  |                                                        |                        |                    |              |             |                                 |                                   |
| Danville.....      | 304                                                    | 1,674                  | 202                | 1,763        | 3,639       |                                 |                                   |
| Lynchburg.....     | 967                                                    | 3,791                  | 350                | 2,716        | 6,857       |                                 |                                   |
| Petersburg.....    | 2,285                                                  | 9,434                  | 3,164              | 5,680        | 18,278      |                                 |                                   |
| Total.....         | 3,556                                                  | 14,899                 | 3,716              | 10,159       | 23,774      |                                 |                                   |
| Aggregates.....    | 50,650                                                 | 231,778                | 16,044             | 248,849      | 496,671     |                                 |                                   |

TABLE A.—Continued.

*Exhibiting the white male persons over 21 years of age, and the free negro and slave population of each county and city in the state; and the total white and free negro and slave population; also, the value of real estate and personal property owned by residents of each county; arranged by districts.*

## VALLEY.

| COUNTIES.       | 1<br>Number of white<br>males over 21<br>years of age. | 2<br>White population | 3<br>Free negroes | 4<br>Slaves. | 5<br>Total. | 6<br>Value of real es-<br>tate. | 7<br>Value of personal<br>estate. |
|-----------------|--------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|--------------|-------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Alleghany.....  | 1,249                                                  | 5,643                 | 132               | 990          | 6,765       | 1,557,405                       | 1,559,779                         |
| Augusta.....    | 3,884                                                  | 18,668                | 468               | 4,708        | 23,844      | 14,326,899                      | 10,007,998                        |
| Bath.....       | 608                                                    | 2,652                 | 78                | 946          | 3,676       | 1,732,922                       | 1,119,740                         |
| Berkeley.....   | 1,901                                                  | 10,606                | 269               | 1,650        | 12,525      | 5,084,183                       | 2,380,443                         |
| Botetourt.....  | 1,650                                                  | 8,444                 | 803               | 2,769        | 11,516      | 4,341,347                       | 5,031,519                         |
| Clarke.....     | 760                                                    | 3,707                 | 61                | 3,375        | 7,146       | 3,837,276                       | 3,270,897                         |
| Craig.....      | 626                                                    | 3,106                 | 27                | 420          | 3,553       | 1,058,585                       | 754,827                           |
| Frederick.....  | 1,977                                                  | 10,077                | 531               | 1,545        | 12,553      | 6,810,498                       | 5,004,461                         |
| Hampshire.....  | 2,635                                                  | 12,481                | 219               | 1,213        | 13,913      | 7,451,255                       | 2,591,746                         |
| Hardy.....      | 1,055                                                  | 8,521                 | 270               | 1,073        | 9,864       | 3,572,808                       | 2,040,891                         |
| Highland.....   | 825                                                    | 3,890                 | 27                | 402          | 4,319       | 1,587,421                       | 990,408                           |
| Jefferson.....  | 1,969                                                  | 10,092                | 523               | 1,960        | 14,575      | 7,453,256                       | 4,815,182                         |
| Morgan.....     | 773                                                    | 3,613                 | 24                | 94           | 3,731       | 797,591                         | 851,136                           |
| Page.....       | 1,361                                                  | 6,875                 | 384               | 850          | 8,109       | 2,526,274                       | 1,725,381                         |
| Pendleton.....  | 1,168                                                  | 5,873                 | 48                | 244          | 6,165       | 1,664,767                       | 945,662                           |
| Roanoke.....    | 1,156                                                  | 5,256                 | 149               | 2,643        | 8,048       | 3,982,280                       | 3,256,182                         |
| Rockbridge..... | 2,591                                                  | 12,845                | 42                | 3,984        | 17,250      | 7,165,272                       | 6,015,251                         |
| Rockingham..... | 3,954                                                  | 20,495                | 526               | 2,387        | 23,408      | 10,446,512                      | 6,679,419                         |
| Shenandoah..... | 2,783                                                  | 12,829                | 314               | 773          | 13,896      | 5,492,836                       | 2,756,685                         |
| Warren.....     | 579                                                    | 4,586                 | 281               | 1,575        | 6,442       | 2,286,825                       | 2,170,408                         |
| Total.....      | 34,399                                                 | 170,259               | 5,058             | 35,581       | 210,898     | \$92,942,772                    | \$63,160,810                      |
| TOWNS.          |                                                        |                       |                   |              |             |                                 |                                   |
| Staunton.....   | 526                                                    | 2,889                 | 108               | 909          | 3,906       |                                 |                                   |
| Winchester..... | 614                                                    | 3,005                 | 675               | 714          | 4,394       |                                 |                                   |
| Total.....      | 1,140                                                  | 5,894                 | 783               | 1,623        | 8,800       |                                 |                                   |
| Aggregates..... | 35,539                                                 | 176,153               | 5,841             | 37,204       | 219,198     |                                 |                                   |

TABLE A.—Continued.

*Exhibiting the white male persons over 21 years of age, and the free negro population of each county and city in the state; and the total white and free slave population; also, the value of real estate and personal property owned by residents of each county; arranged by districts.*

## TRANS-ALLEGHANY—SOUTHWEST.

| COUNTIES.       | 1<br>Number of white<br>males over 21<br>years of age. | 2<br>White population. | 3<br>Free negroes. | 4<br>Slaves. | 5<br>Total. | 6<br>Value of real es-<br>tate. | 7<br>Value of personal<br>estate. |
|-----------------|--------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|--------------|-------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Boone.....      | 846                                                    | 4,681                  | 1                  | 153          | 4,840       | 524,989                         | 423,833                           |
| Buchanan.....   | 477                                                    | 2,762                  | 1                  | 30           | 2,793       | 213,357                         | 91,149                            |
| Carroll.....    | 1,465                                                  | 7,719                  | 31                 | 262          | 8,012       | 1,001,908                       | 784,848                           |
| Fayette.....    | 1,115                                                  | 5,716                  | 10                 | 271          | 5,997       | 1,409,657                       | 478,150                           |
| Floyd.....      | 1,351                                                  | 7,745                  | 16                 | 475          | 8,236       | 1,384,296                       | 978,352                           |
| Grayson.....    | 1,385                                                  | 7,653                  | 52                 | 547          | 8,252       | 1,464,938                       | 1,141,980                         |
| Greenbrier..... | 2,240                                                  | 10,499                 | 186                | 1,525        | 12,210      | 5,537,618                       | 2,551,100                         |
| Giles.....      | 1,104                                                  | 6,051                  | 54                 | 778          | 6,883       | 1,820,049                       | 1,379,909                         |
| Lee.....        | 1,894                                                  | 10,195                 | 13                 | 824          | 11,032      | 3,297,312                       | 1,159,087                         |
| Logan.....      | 824                                                    | 4,789                  | 1                  | 148          | 4,938       | 508,520                         | 447,733                           |
| Mercer.....     | 1,182                                                  | 6,428                  | 28                 | 862          | 6,818       | 1,464,047                       | 827,615                           |
| Monroe.....     | 1,957                                                  | 9,526                  | 117                | 1,114        | 10,757      | 4,245,516                       | 2,854,738                         |
| Montgomery..... | 1,553                                                  | 8,259                  | 139                | 2,217        | 10,615      | 4,134,315                       | 3,458,145                         |
| McDowell.....   | 270                                                    | 1,535                  | .....              | .....        | 1,535       | 93,190                          | 39,523                            |
| Pulaski.....    | 741                                                    | 3,814                  | 13                 | 1,589        | 5,416       | 2,557,663                       | 2,113,786                         |
| Raleigh.....    | 641                                                    | 3,291                  | 19                 | 57           | 3,367       | 569,665                         | 289,966                           |
| Russell.....    | 1,515                                                  | 9,030                  | 51                 | 1,099        | 10,180      | 2,956,886                       | 3,772,037                         |
| Scott.....      | 2,080                                                  | 11,530                 | 52                 | 490          | 12,072      | 2,119,987                       | 1,167,756                         |
| Smyth.....      | 1,361                                                  | 7,734                  | 181                | 1,037        | 8,952       | 2,571,965                       | 1,719,326                         |
| Tazewell.....   | 1,719                                                  | 8,627                  | 91                 | 1,202        | 9,920       | 3,104,524                       | 2,102,283                         |
| Washington..... | 2,602                                                  | 14,098                 | 247                | 2,548        | 16,893      | 53,378,75                       | 4,411,035                         |
| Wise.....       | 747                                                    | 4,416                  | 26                 | 66           | 4,508       | 569,287                         | 248,995                           |
| Wyoming.....    | 455                                                    | 2,797                  | .....              | 64           | 2,861       | 287,060                         | 163,372                           |
| Wythe.....      | 1,997                                                  | 9,986                  | 157                | 2,162        | 12,305      | 4,736,262                       | 4,088,893                         |
| Total.....      | 31,526                                                 | 168,881                | 1,486              | 19,025       | 189,392     | \$51,910,830                    | \$37,093,506                      |

TABLE A.—Concluded.

*Exhibiting the white male persons over 21 years of age, and the free negro and slave population of each county and city in the state; and the total white and free negro and slave population; also, the value of real estate and personal property owned by residents of each county; arranged by districts.*

## TRANS-ALLEGHANY—NORTHWEST.

| COUNTIES.       | 1<br>Number of white<br>males over 21<br>years of age. | 2<br>White population. | 3<br>Free negroes. | 4<br>Slaves. | 5<br>Total. | 6<br>Value of real es-<br>tate. | 7<br>Value of personal<br>estate. |
|-----------------|--------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|--------------|-------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Barbour.....    | 1,762                                                  | 2,729                  | 135                | 95           | 8,959       | 2,363,066                       | 754,457                           |
| Braxton.....    | 1,007                                                  | 4,585                  | 3                  | 104          | 4,992       | 996,952                         | 328,722                           |
| Brooke.....     | 1,023                                                  | 5,425                  | 51                 | 15           | 5,494       | 3,086,024                       | 1,493,722                         |
| Cabell.....     | 1,490                                                  | 7,691                  | 24                 | 35           | 8,020       | 2,186,925                       | 1,000,988                         |
| Calhoun.....    | 420                                                    | 2,492                  | 1                  | 9            | 2,502       | 401,769                         | 118,187                           |
| Clay.....       | 34                                                     | 1,761                  | 5                  | 21           | 1,787       | 180,354                         | 85,155                            |
| Doddridge.....  | 935                                                    | 5,168                  | 1                  | 34           | 5,203       | 1,080,445                       | 323,392                           |
| Gilmer.....     | 644                                                    | 3,655                  | 22                 | 52           | 3,759       | 766,642                         | 346,447                           |
| Hancock.....    | 884                                                    | 4,442                  | 1                  | 2            | 4,445       | 2,300,959                       | 1,418,708                         |
| Harrison.....   | 2,668                                                  | 13,185                 | 23                 | 582          | 13,790      | 5,021,996                       | 2,099,592                         |
| Jackson.....    | 1,545                                                  | 8,240                  | 11                 | 55           | 8,306       | 1,328,240                       | 458,791                           |
| Kanawha.....    | 2,572                                                  | 13,787                 | 179                | 2,184        | 16,150      | 3,297,941                       | 2,220,626                         |
| Lewis.....      | 1,454                                                  | 7,766                  | 33                 | 230          | 8,029       | 2,385,139                       | 860,271                           |
| Marion.....     | 2,422                                                  | 12,656                 | 2                  | 63           | 12,721      | 3,306,648                       | 1,595,058                         |
| Marshall.....   | 2,187                                                  | 12,936                 | 36                 | 49           | 13,001      | 3,736,216                       | 1,054,491                         |
| Mason.....      | 1,595                                                  | 8,752                  | 47                 | 386          | 9,185       | 2,774,360                       | 1,164,130                         |
| Monongalia..... | 2,415                                                  | 12,907                 | 40                 | 101          | 13,048      | 3,571,754                       | 1,814,232                         |
| Nicholas.....   | 962                                                    | 4,470                  | 2                  | 154          | 4,626       | 1,305,655                       | 1,462,470                         |
| Ohio.....       | 4,186                                                  | 22,196                 | 126                | 100          | 22,422      | 8,538,904                       | 4,476,616                         |
| Pleasants.....  | 551                                                    | 2,926                  | 4                  | 15           | 2,945       | 657,306                         | 157,607                           |
| Preston.....    | 2,585                                                  | 13,153                 | 62                 | 67           | 13,312      | 2,688,076                       | 1,457,204                         |
| Pocahontas..... | 823                                                    | 3,686                  | 20                 | 52           | 3,958       | 1,877,858                       | 1,080,712                         |
| Putnam.....     | 1,179                                                  | 5,708                  | 13                 | 580          | 6,301       | 1,523,495                       | 1,054,054                         |
| Randolph.....   | 940                                                    | 4,798                  | 14                 | 183          | 4,990       | 1,765,539                       | 645,668                           |
| Ritchie.....    | 1,176                                                  | 6,809                  | .....              | 38           | 6,847       | 1,307,004                       | 604,475                           |
| Roane.....      | 1,010                                                  | 5,809                  | 1                  | 72           | 5,882       | 714,110                         | 220,465                           |
| Taylor.....     | 1,394                                                  | 7,300                  | 51                 | 112          | 7,463       | 1,841,748                       | 879,156                           |
| Tyler.....      | 1,212                                                  | 6,488                  | 11                 | 18           | 6,517       | 1,721,036                       | 807,743                           |
| Tucker.....     | 255                                                    | 1,396                  | 12                 | 20           | 1,428       | 292,380                         | 92,612                            |
| Upshur.....     | 1,271                                                  | 7,064                  | 16                 | 212          | 7,292       | 1,750,505                       | 741,889                           |
| Wayne.....      | 1,271                                                  | 6,604                  | .....              | 143          | 6,747       | 1,066,521                       | 510,693                           |
| Wetzel.....     | 1,235                                                  | 6,691                  | 2                  | 10           | 6,703       | 886,456                         | 378,898                           |
| Webster.....    | 188                                                    | 1,552                  | .....              | 3            | 1,555       | 197,316                         | 54,000                            |
| Wirt.....       | 729                                                    | 3,728                  | .....              | 23           | 3,751       | 583,519                         | 224,981                           |
| Wood.....       | 2,639                                                  | 10,791                 | 79                 | 176          | 11,046      | 2,595,777                       | 1,181,079                         |
| Total.....      | 48,893                                                 | 255,201                | 1,027              | 6,448        | 262,676     | \$69,052,170                    | \$32,232,724                      |

## Recapitulation of Table A.

| DISTRICTS.       | 1                                           | 2                 | 3             | 4       | 5         | 6                     | 7                         |
|------------------|---------------------------------------------|-------------------|---------------|---------|-----------|-----------------------|---------------------------|
|                  | Number of white males over 21 years of age. | White population. | Free negroes. | Slaves. | Total.    | Value of real estate. | Value of personal estate. |
| Tide-Water ..... | 44,060                                      | 215,534           | 32,841        | 179,502 | 427,577   | 68,800,769            | 140,949,392               |
| Piedmont.....    | 50,650                                      | 231,778           | 16,044        | 248,849 | 496,671   | 135,545,848           | 278,078,184               |
| Valley.....      | 85,539                                      | 176,153           | 5,841         | 37,204  | 219,198   | 92,942,072            | 63,160,810                |
| Southwest.....   | 31,526                                      | 168,881           | 1,456         | 19,725  | 189,392   | 51,910,830            | 37,093,506                |
| Northwest.....   | 49,893                                      | 255,201           | 1,027         | 6,448   | 262,676   | 69,052,170            | 32,282,724                |
| Aggregates.....  | 210,668                                     | 1,047,547         | 57,289        | 491,028 | 1,595,814 | \$487,751,689         | \$496,509,616             |

*J. M. Berlin*  
*215 State Court*  
*Va*

AN ORDINANCE

OF THE

STATE OF VIRGINIA.

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WHEREAS, the State of Virginia has made every honorable  
2 effort to restore the friendly relations which should exist be-  
3 tween the General Government and the several States of the  
4 Union—upon terms perfectly just to all, but deeming it un-  
5 necessary to refer to the causes of complaint which have  
6 existed for a series of years, still more aggravated as those  
7 causes now are by the declared purposes of a mere sectional  
8 majority—and as all the efforts so made have proved una-  
9 vailing—without reciting the differences of opinion which  
10 exist in regard to the powers of the State Government or  
11 those of the Government of the United States, as derived  
12 from the reserved rights of the one, the constitutional autho-  
13 rity of the other, or the inherent rights of the people consti-  
14 tuting a Government which seeks to protect the persons and  
15 property of those who compose and who have ordained and

16 established it, against the abuses of such Government itself,  
 17 or which arise from its connexion with the Government of  
 18 other States, or that of an association of States—the people of  
 19 Virginia, in Convention assembled, deem it proper now to  
 20 declare that the time has arrived when it becomes them to  
 21 assume, as they do, their position as the people of a *sovereign*  
 22 *independent State*.

1. *Be it, therefore, ordained by the people of Virginia, and*  
 2 *they do hereby declare,* That the said State is no longer one  
 3 of the Union of States known as the United States of Ame-  
 4 rica, and that the people of the said State owe no allegiance  
 5 or duty to any other Government whatsoever.

2. *Be it further ordained, as it is hereby declared,* That the  
 2 people of the said State do resume all the rights of property  
 3 or the use thereof which have been granted, by the said  
 4 State to the Government of the United States, or which  
 5 have in anywise accrued to the same by reason of the  
 6 connection of the said State with the said Government, by  
 7 the assent of the said State, given with a view to the pro-  
 8 tection of her own people, and the people of all the other  
 9 States, composing a Union formed under an agreement that  
 10 it should establish justice—insure domestic tranquility.—pro-  
 11 vide for the common defence—promote the general welfare  
 12 and secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and their

13 posterity—that agreement having been violated, and the ob-  
 14 jects of the Union perverted so as to defeat the purposes of  
 15 justice—to destroy the very foundations of domestic tran-  
 16 quility—to lessen the means of common defence—so as to  
 17 disregard the objects of the general welfare of one entire  
 18 section of the Union, and thereby to entail, in that section,  
 19 injury and oppression upon the people thereof, and upon  
 20 their posterity forever.

3. And without determining at this time whether the State  
 2 of Virginia will unite herself with any other State or asso-  
 3 ciation of States in any common Government, this Conven-  
 4 tion doth respectfully and earnestly request that the States  
 5 of North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, Maryland, Mis-  
 6 souri, Arkansas and Delaware will, as soon as possible, ap-  
 7 point Commissioners to meet Commissioners, to be appointed  
 8 by this Convention, in the City of Lexington, in the State  
 9 of Kentucky, on the last Wednesday in May next, to confer  
 10 together and to propose a plan of constructing a Government  
 11 to be formed by the said States, Virginia inclusive, and the  
 12 Confederate States of America. Such plan of Government,  
 13 however, to have no binding authority till the same shall be  
 14 adopted and ratified by this Convention. And for the better  
 15 accomplishment of the objects intended, the said Confederate  
 16 States of America—ara, also, respectfully requested to send

17 three Commissioners to the Conference herein proposed—  
 18 who shall be invited at such time as may be agreeable to  
 19 them to address the same. That each of the States herein  
 20 before named, shall be entitled to as many votes as it had  
 21 Representatives and Senators in the last Congress, in the  
 22 Conference herein proposed. That the Commissioners to be  
 23 appointed by this Convention, shall make report to the Go-  
 24 vernor of this Commonwealth, as speedily as possible, of the  
 25 result of their deliberations—whereupon he shall make known  
 26 the same by proclamation. That on the 15th day after the  
 27 date of such proclamation, (unless the same be Sunday, then  
 28 on the next day,) this Convention shall reassemble in the  
 29 City of Richmond at such place as the Governor shall desig-  
 30 nate in said proclamation, and shall then and there consider  
 31 the report of the said commissioners and all other matters  
 32 which at this time are or may then be proper subjects for de-  
 33 liberation, touching the future relations of the State of Vir-  
 34 ginia to any other government or State.

4. *And it is hereby ordained and declared by the people of*  
 2 *Virginia,* That they do recognize and acknowledge the in-  
 3 dependence and nationality of the said Confederate States of  
 4 America; and that they will extend to the said States any aid  
 5 which they the said people of Virginia can command, or which  
 6 may be necessary to enable the said States to maintain their

7 independence, or against any coercive measures which may  
8 be adopted by the authorities of the United States.

5. *Be it further declared,* That the people of Virginia have  
2 ever cherished an ardent attachment for the Union and the  
3 Constitution of the United States while it was the bond of  
4 peace and fraternity; and that it can now only be restored  
5 upon the original basis by an amendment of the Constitution  
6 through the primary agency of the non-slaveholding States  
7 themselves proposing suitable and sure guarantees, and by a  
8 full and unconditional, plain and positive recognition of the  
9 rights of property in slaves, as held under the laws of any of  
10 the States; so as also to obtain satisfactory assurances and  
11 guarantees, for the future, as to slavery in the District of Co-  
12 lumbia; as to the powers of the Federal Government over  
14 African slavery, and the employment of slave labor in the  
15 forts, arsenals, dock yards, and all places ceded by the States  
16 for Federal uses; as to protection against excessive direct  
17 taxes on slaves; as to the rendition of fugitive slaves; as to  
18 the transit with slaves through any of the States by land or  
19 water, and of the right of transportation on the high seas of  
20 slaves from one State to another State or Territory; as to the  
21 protection of slave property in the common territories of the  
22 United States; as to the better security of the independence

23 of the judiciary, and for protection against unjust taxation in  
 24 the form of excessive imposts laid upon foreign importations

6. *Be it further declared*, That the people of Virginia,  
 2 though they have taken their position, have an anxious de-  
 3 sire to preserve the peace, and would, therefore, regard any  
 4 action of the Federal Government tending to produce a col-  
 5 lision, pending negotiations for the adjustment of existing  
 6 difficulties, as aggressive and injurious to the interests and  
 7 offensive to the honor of this State; and they would regard  
 8 any action on the part of the Confederate States of America,  
 9 tending to produce a like collision, as hurtful and unfriendly,  
 10 and as leaving the people of Virginia free to determine their  
 11 future policy.

7. *Be it also further declared*, That the President of this  
 2 Convention shall immediately cause copies of this ordinance  
 3 to be forwarded to the Governors of each of the United  
 4 States, as the same existed on the first day of December  
 5 1860, to the President of the Confederate States of Ame-  
 6 rica, and to the President of the United States. And it is  
 7 further ordained, that this Convention will proceed at once  
 8 to the appointment, *viva voce*, of fifteen commissioners to at-  
 9 tend on behalf of this State, the Conference herein proposed  
 10 to be holden; and it is provided, also, that if commissioners  
 11 shall fail to attend the said Conference, from the other States

12 named in the third clause of this ordinance, so that the said  
13 Conference shall not be holden, then the said commissioners  
14 from this State shall, in like manner, report the fact to the  
15 Governor, who shall make proclamation thereof, when also  
16 this Convention shall reassemble at the time herein provided  
17 for.

8. But this Convention, anxious as it is to take no step to  
2 disturb existing relations, only so far as is necessary, but  
3 seeking to avoid any collision, doth suspend the operation of  
4 the second clause of this ordinance till such time as it may  
5 deem proper to enforce the same, and with a view to an ad-  
6 justment of the pending difficulties, through the agency of  
7 the Conference herein provided for, and by a returning sense  
8 of justice among the people of all sections.



## SUBSTITUTE

*For the first section of the report of the Committee on Federal Relations, proposing amendments to the Constitution of the United States, presented by Mr. LOYD, March 21, 1861.*

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In all the present territory of the United States, north of the  
2 parallel of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes of north lati-  
3 tude, involuntary servitude, except in punishment of crime,  
4 is prohibited. In all the present territory of the United  
5 States south of said line of latitude, involuntary servitude or  
6 slavery of the African race is hereby recognized as existing,  
7 any law or usage to the contrary notwithstanding; and no  
8 law shall be framed by Congress or by the territorial legisla-  
9 ture, to hinder or prevent the taking of persons held in  
10 slavery or involuntary servitude, from any of the States of  
11 this Union to said territory, nor to impair the rights arising  
12 from said relation; but the same shall be subject to judicial  
13 cognizance in the Federal courts, according to the remedies  
14 and practice of the common law; and said relation shall be  
15 protected by all the departments of the territorial Govern-  
16 ment. When any territory north or south of said line, within

17 such boundary as Congress may prescribe, shall contain a  
18 population equal to that required for a member of Congress,  
19 it shall, if its form of government be republican, be admitted  
20 into the Union on an equal footing with the original States,  
21 with or without involuntary servitude, as such Constitution  
22 of the State may provide. In all territory which may here-  
23 after be acquired by the United States, involuntary servitude  
24 is prohibited, except for crime, north of the latitude of thirty-  
25 six degrees thirty minutes; but shall not be prohibited by  
26 Congress or any territorial legislature south of said line.

# REPORT

*Of the Committee on Federal Relations, proposing amendments  
to the Constitution of the United States.*

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The Committee on Federal Relations have, according to order, had under consideration sundry resolutions to them referred, and amendments proposed to the Federal Constitution, and beg leave to report the following amendments to be proposed to the Constitution of the United States; to be appended to their former report:

## ARTICLE XIII.

SECTION 1. In all the present territory of the United States, north of the parallel of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes of north latitude, involuntary servitude, except in punishment of crime, is prohibited. In all the present territory, south of that line, involuntary servitude, as it now exists, shall remain and shall not be changed; nor shall any law be passed by Congress or the territorial legislature to hinder or prevent the taking of persons held to service or labor, from any of the States of this Union to said territory; nor to im-

10 pair the rights arising from said relation; nor shall said rights  
11 be in any manner affected by any preëxisting law of Mexico;  
12 but the same shall be subject to judicial cognizance in the  
13 Federal courts, according to the remedies and practice of the  
14 common law. When any territory, north or south of said  
15 line, within such boundary as Congress may prescribe, shall  
16 contain a population equal to that required for a member of  
17 Congress, it shall, if its form of government be republican,  
18 be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the  
19 original States, with or without involuntary servitude, as  
20 such Constitution of the State may provide. In all territory  
21 which may hereafter be acquired by the United States, in-  
22 voluntary servitude is prohibited, except for crime, north of the  
23 latitude of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes; but shall  
24 not be prohibited by Congress or any territorial legislature  
25 south of said line.

SECTION 2. No territory shall be acquired by the United  
2 States, except by discovery and for naval and commercial  
3 stations, depots and transit routes, without the concurrence  
4 of a majority of all the senators from States which allow in-  
5 voluntary servitude, and a majority of all the senators from  
6 States which prohibit that relation; nor shall territory be ac-  
7 quired by treaty, unless the votes of a majority of the sena-  
8 tors from each class of States hereinbefore mentioned be cast

9 as a part of the two-third majority necessary to the ratifica-  
10 tion of such treaty.

SECTION 3. Neither the Constitution, nor any amendment  
2 thereof, shall be construed to give Congress power to legis-  
3 late concerning involuntary servitude in any State or territory  
4 wherein the same is acknowledged or may exist by the laws  
5 thereof, nor to interfere with or abolish the same in the Dis-  
6 trict of Columbia, without the consent of Maryland and Vir-  
7 ginia, and without the consent of the owners, or making the  
8 owners, who do not consent, just compensation; nor the  
9 power to interfere with or prohibit representatives and others  
10 from bringing with them to the District of Columbia, retain-  
11 ing and taking away, persons so held to labor or service, nor  
12 the power to interfere with or abolish involuntary service in  
13 places under the exclusive jurisdiction of the United States  
14 within those States and territories where the same is esta-  
15 blished or recognized; nor the power to prohibit the removal  
16 or transportation, by land or water, of persons held to labor,  
17 or involuntary service in any State or territory of the United  
18 States to any other State or territory thereof, where it is esta-  
19 blished or recognized by law or usage; and the right during  
20 transportation, by sea or river, of touching at ports, shores  
21 and landings, and landing in case of need shall exist, but  
22 not the right of sojourn or sale in any State or territory

23 against the laws thereof. Nor shall Congress have power to  
 24 authorize any higher rate of taxation on persons held to labor  
 25 or service than on land.

26 The bringing into the District of Columbia persons held to  
 27 labor or service for sale, or placing them in depots to be after-  
 28 wards transferred to other places for sale as merchandise,  
 29 is prohibited.

SECTION 4. The third paragraph of the second section of  
 2 the fourth article of the Constitution shall not be construed  
 3 to prevent any of the States, by appropriate legislation, and  
 4 through the action of their judicial and ministerial officers,  
 5 from enforcing the delivery of fugitives from labor to the per-  
 6 son to whom such service or labor is due.

SECTION 5. The importation of slaves, coolies or persons  
 2 held to service or labor, into the United States, and the terri-  
 3 tories from places beyond the limits thereof is hereby forever  
 4 prohibited.

SECTION 6. Congress shall provide by law that the United  
 2 States shall pay to the owner the full value of his fugitive  
 3 from labor, in all cases where the marshal, or other officer,  
 4 whose duty it was to arrest such fugitive, was prevented from  
 5 so doing by intimidation from mobs or riotous assemblages  
 6 or by violence, or when, after arrest, such fugitive was res-

7 cued by like intimidation or violence, and the owner thereby  
8 deprived of the same.

SECTION 7. The elective franchise and the right to hold of-  
2 fice, whether federal or territorial, shall not be exercised by  
3 persons who are of the African race.

SECTION 8. No one of these amendments, nor the third  
2 paragraph of the second section of the first article of the Con-  
3 stitution, nor the third paragraph of the second section of  
4 the fourth article thereof, shall be amended or abolished with-  
5 out the consent of all the States.





Arch. Hollick.

## SUBSTITUTE

*For the Report of the Committee on Federal Relations, presented  
by Mr. GOGGIN, March 16, 1861.*

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### AN ORDINANCE OF THE STATE OF VIRGINIA.

WHEREAS, the State of Virginia has made every honorable  
2 effort to restore the friendly relations which should exist be-  
3 tween the General Government and the several States of the  
4 Union—upon terms perfectly just to all, but deeming it un-  
5 necessary to refer to the causes of complaint which have  
6 existed for a series of years, still more aggravated as those  
7 causes now are by the declared purposes of a mere sectional  
8 majority—and as all the efforts so made have proved una-  
9 vailing—without reciting the differences of opinion which  
10 exist in regard to the powers of the State Government or  
11 those of the Government of the United States, as derived  
12 from the reserved rights of the one, the constitutional autho-  
13 rity of the other, or the inherent rights of the people consti-  
14 tuting a Government which seeks to protect the persons and  
15 property of those who compose and who have ordained and

16 established it, against the abuses of such Government itself,  
 17 or which arise from its connexion with the Government of  
 18 other States, or that of an association of States—the people of  
 19 Virginia, in Convention assembled, deem it proper now to  
 20 declare that the time has arrived when it becomes them to  
 21 assume, as they do, their position as the people of a *sovereign*  
 22 *independent State*.

1. *Be it, therefore, ordained by the people of Virginia, and*  
 2 *they do hereby declare,* 'That the said State is no longer one  
 3 of the Union of States known as the United States of Ame-  
 4 rica, and that the people of the said State owe no allegiance  
 5 or duty to any other Government whatsoever.

2. *Be it further ordained, as it is hereby declared,* That the  
 2 people of the said State do resume all the rights of property  
 3 or the use thereof which have been granted, by the said  
 4 State to the Government of the United States, or which  
 5 have in anywise accrued to the same by reason of the  
 6 connection of the said State with the said Government, by  
 7 the assent of the said State, given with a view to the pro-  
 8 tection of her own people, and the people of all the other  
 9 States, composing a Union formed under an agreement that  
 10 it should establish justice—insure domestic tranquility—pro-  
 11 vide for the common defence—promote the general welfare  
 12 and secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and their

13 posterity—that agreement having been violated, and the ob-  
 14 jects of the Union perverted so as to defeat the purposes of  
 15 justice—to destroy the very foundations of domestic tran-  
 16 quility—to lessen the means of common defence—so as to  
 17 disregard the objects of the general welfare of one entire  
 18 section of the Union, and thereby to entail, in that section,  
 19 injury and oppression upon the people thereof, and upon  
 20 their posterity forever.

3. And without determining at this time whether the State  
 2 of Virginia will unite herself with any other State or asso-  
 3 ciation of States in any common Government, this Conven-  
 4 tion doth respectfully and earnestly request that the States  
 5 of North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, Maryland, Mis-  
 6 souri, Arkansas and Delaware will, as soon as possible, ap-  
 7 point Commissioners to meet Commissioners, to be appointed  
 8 by this Convention, in the City of Lexington, in the State  
 9 of Kentucky, on the last Wednesday in May next, to confer  
 10 together and to propose a plan of constructing a Government  
 11 to be formed by the said States, Virginia inclusive, and the  
 12 Confederate States of America. Such plan of Government,  
 13 however, to have no binding authority till the same shall be  
 14 adopted and ratified by this Convention. And for the better  
 15 accomplishment of the objects intended, the said Confederate  
 16 States of America—are, also, respectfully requested to send

17 three Commissioners to the Conference herein proposed—  
 18 who shall be invited at such time as may be agreeable to  
 19 them to address the same. That each of the States herein  
 20 before named, shall be entitled to as many votes as it had  
 21 Representatives and Senators in the last Congress, in the  
 22 Conference herein proposed. That the Commissioners to be  
 23 appointed by this Convention, shall make report to the Go-  
 24 vernor of this Commonwealth, as speedily as possible, of the  
 25 result of their deliberations—whereupon he shall make known  
 26 the same by proclamation. That on the 15th day after the  
 27 date of such proclamation, (unless the same be Sunday, then  
 28 on the next day,) this Convention shall reassemble in the  
 29 City of Richmond at such place as the Governor shall desig-  
 30 nate in said proclamation, and shall then and there consider  
 31 the report of the said commissioners and all other matters  
 32 which at this time are or may then be proper subjects for de-  
 33 liberation, touching the future relations of the State of Vir-  
 34 ginia to any other government or State.

4. *And it is hereby ordained and declared by the people of*  
 2 *Virginia,* That they do recognize and acknowledge the in-  
 3 dependence and nationality of the said Confederate States of  
 4 America; and that they will extend to the said States any aid  
 5 which they the said people of Virginia can command, or which  
 6 may be necessary to enable the said States to maintain their

7 independence, or against any coercive measures which may  
8 be adopted by the authorities of the United States.

5. *Be it further declared*, That the people of Virginia have  
2 ever cherished an ardent attachment for the Union and the  
3 Constitution of the United States while it was the bond of  
4 peace and fraternity; and that it can now only be restored  
5 upon the original basis by an amendment of the Constitution  
6 through the primary agency of the non-slaveholding States  
7 themselves proposing suitable and sure guarantees, and by a  
8 full and unconditional, plain and positive recognition of the  
9 rights of property in slaves, as held under the laws of any of  
10 the States; so as also to obtain satisfactory assurances and  
11 guarantees, for the future, as to slavery in the District of Co-  
12 lumbia; as to the powers of the Federal Government over  
13 African slavery, and the employment of slave labor in the  
14 forts, arsenals, dock yards, and all places ceded by the States  
15 for Federal uses; as to protection against excessive direct  
16 taxes on slaves; as to the rendition of fugitive slaves; as to  
17 the transit with slaves through any of the States by land or  
18 water, and of the right of transportation on the high seas of  
19 slaves from one State to another State or Territory; as to the  
20 protection of slave property in the common territories of the  
21 United States; as to the better security of the independence

22 of the judiciary, and for protection against unjust taxation in  
 23 the form of excessive imposts laid upon foreign importations

6. *Be it further declared*, That the people of Virginia,  
 2 though they have taken their position, have an anxious de-  
 3 sire to preserve the peace, and would, therefore, regard any  
 4 action of the Federal Government tending to produce a col-  
 5 lision, pending negotiations for the adjustment of existing  
 6 difficulties, as aggressive and injurious to the interests and  
 7 offensive to the honor of this State; and they would regard  
 8 any action on the part of the Confederate States of America,  
 9 tending to produce a like collision, as hurtful and unfriendly,  
 10 and as leaving the people of Virginia free to determine their  
 11 future policy.

7. *Be it also further declared*, That the President of this  
 2 Convention shall immediately cause copies of this ordinance  
 3 to be forwarded to the Governors of each of the United  
 4 States, as the same existed on the first day of December  
 5 1860, to the President of the Confederate States of Ame-  
 6 rica, and to the President of the United States. And it is  
 7 further ordained, that this Convention will proceed at once  
 8 to the appointment, *viva voce*, of fifteen commissioners to at-  
 9 tend on behalf of this State, the Conference herein proposed  
 10 to be holden; and it is provided, also, that if commissioners  
 11 shall fail to attend the said Conference, from the other States

12 named in the third clause of this ordinance, so that the said  
13 Conference shall not be holden, then the said commissioners  
14 from this State shall, in like manner, report the fact to the  
15 Governor, who shall make proclamation thereof, when also  
16 this Convention shall reassemble at the time herein provided  
17 for.

, 8. But this Convention, anxious as it is to take no step to  
2 disturb existing relations, only so far as is necessary, but  
3 seeking to avoid any collision, doth suspend the operation of  
4 the second clause of this ordinance till such time as it may  
5 deem proper to enforce the same, and with a view to an ad-  
6 justment of the pending difficulties, through the agency of  
7 the Conference herein provided for, and by a returning sense  
8 of justice among the people of all sections.



## RESOLUTIONS

*Submitted by Mr. BURLEY, March 16, 1861.*

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1. *Resolved*, That this Convention can see no reason for departing from the faith of our fathers, and from the principles on which the Government of the United States was founded, and, therefore, we declare, in the name of our constituents, the people of Virginia, that the Constitution of the United States was, in the language of Mr. Madison, adopted by the people of the several States, who were parties to the compact in their highest sovereign capacity, “in toto and forever.”

2. *Resolved*, As the fixed and deliberate opinion of this Convention, that nullification and secession are fallacies and heresies, and in the language of Mr. Madison, “both spring from the same poisonous root;” that they had no place in the minds of the framers of the Constitution, and are political anomalies in government which the sound practical sense of the people will never adopt or submit to, and which, if

8 once recognized, will utterly and entirely overthrow all pos-  
 9 sibility of establishing a fixed and permanent Government  
 10 on this continent.

3. *Resolved*, In the language of the illustrious statesman  
 2 above referred to, whom the people of Virginia have been  
 3 taught to venerate and revere as the wisest, safest and truest  
 4 expounder of the Constitution which he so largely contributed  
 5 to construct; that that instrument makes the Government to  
 6 operate directly on the people, places at its command the  
 7 needful physical means of executing its powers, and finally  
 8 proclaims its supremacy, and that of the laws made in pur-  
 9 suance of it over the Constitution and laws of the States,  
 10 subject to the revolutionary rights of the people in extreme  
 11 cases; that a political system that does not provide for a  
 12 peaceable and authoritative termination of existing contro-  
 13 versies would not be more than the shadow of a Govern-  
 14 ment, the object and end of a real Government being the  
 15 substitution of law and order for uncertainty, confusion and  
 16 violence; that in the event of a failure of every constitutional  
 17 resort, and an accumulation of usurpations and abuses ren-  
 18 dering passive obedience and non-resistance a greater evil  
 19 than resistance and revolution, there can remain but one  
 20 resort, the last of all—an appeal from the cancelled obliga-  
 21 tions of the Constitutional Compact to the original rights and

22 the law of self-preservation. This is the *ultima ratio* of all  
 23 governments, whether consolidated, confederated, or a com-  
 24 pound of both. It cannot be doubted that a single member  
 25 of the Union, in the extremity supposed—BUT IN THAT  
 26 ONLY—would have a right, as an extra and ultra constitu-  
 27 tional right, to make the appeal.

4. *Resolved*, That the forts, fortifications, armies, arsenals,  
 2 arms, ammunition, ships-of-war, custom-houses, mints, post-  
 3 offices, and other property of the United States, can, by the  
 4 Constitution, be disposed of only by Congress, and that no  
 5 portion of the people have any interest in or claim to any  
 6 part thereof, after they cease to be citizens of the United  
 7 States, and when they no longer participate in the payment  
 8 of its debts or in the defence of the institutions of the coun-  
 9 try.

5. *Resolved*, That while no doubt can exist on the minds of  
 2 this body of the right and the obligation of the Government to  
 3 execute all its laws fairly, impartially and promptly upon all  
 4 its citizens, without distinction or discrimination, yet, under  
 5 the extraordinary condition of things, as they now exist, we  
 6 earnestly and anxiously urge upon the Executive Depart-  
 7 ment of the Government the policy of abstaining from the  
 8 exercise of such power at any point where such attempt  
 9 would be likely to occasion collision, so long as there are ef-

10 forts to be made by the other States or hopes to be indulged  
 11 of a final and peaceful settlement of the difficulties with  
 12 which the country is embarrassed.

6. *Resolved*, That the right of revolution above recognized,  
 2 can be exercised as well by a portion of the citizens of a  
 3 State against their State government, as it can be exercised  
 4 by the whole people of a State against their Federal Govern-  
 5 ment; and, when the powers of a State Government are used  
 6 for purposes of unjust discriminations against a portion of the  
 7 citizens, or a particular section of the State, in imposing upon  
 8 one portion or section an undue proportion of the burdens of  
 9 the State Government, and in exempting from taxation a pe-  
 10 culiar species of property belonging, to a great extent, to an-  
 11 other portion of the citizens, and located mostly in another  
 12 section of the State, thus increasing taxation upon all other  
 13 interests in order to favor a "peculiar interest;" the people  
 14 thus oppressed, after having exhausted all constitutional ef-  
 15 forts to obtain redress, would be justified in resisting the col-  
 16 lection of all reevnue from them until the injustice aforesaid  
 17 was removed. And that any change of the relation Virginia  
 18 now sustains to the Federal Government, against the wishes  
 19 of even a respectable minority of her people, would be such  
 20 an act of injustice perpetrated upon the rights of that mi-  
 21 nority as to justify them in changing their relation to the

22 State Government, by separating themselves from that sec-  
23 tion of the State that had thus wantonly disregarded their  
24 interests and defied their will, particularly when the cause  
25 assigned for the change of Virginia's relation to the said Fe-  
26 deral Government, is the alleged insecurity in the said last  
27 mentioned Government of the peculiar species of property  
28 thus protected by the organic law of the State from contribu-  
29 ting its due share to the support of the said State Govern-  
30 ment, by prohibiting the taxing of a large portion of said pro-  
31 perty, and limiting the portion subject to taxation to a spe-  
32 cific tax far less than that imposed upon even other species of  
33 property.







PARTIAL REPORT  
FROM THE  
COMMITTEE ON FEDERAL RELATIONS,  
PRESENTED  
MARCH 9, 1861.

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The Committee on Federal Relations have, according to order, had under consideration the several propositions referred to them, and beg leave to report for consideration and adoption by the Convention, the following preamble and resolutions:

The representatives of the people of Virginia in Convention assembled, are profoundly sensible of the difficulty, delicacy and importance of the duty which, in obedience to the popular will, they have assumed to perform.

They feel that the controversy which unfortunately distracts and divides our country has brought about a condition of public affairs for which history has no parallel and the experience of governments no precedent.

They recognize the fact that the great questions which press

2 for consideration are of entire novelty and of great intrinsic  
 3 difficulty, and that their proper solution will require on the  
 4 part of our governments, State and Federal, and of our peo-  
 5 ple the exercise of the utmost prudence, discretion, calmness  
 6 and forbearance.

Above all other things at this time they esteem it of indis-  
 2 pensable necessity to maintain the peace of the country, and  
 3 to avoid everything calculated or tending to produce collision  
 4 and bloodshed.

The grievances for which several of the States have with-  
 2 drawn from the Union and overthrown the Federal Govern-  
 3 ment within their limits, are such as have affected the peo-  
 4 ple of Virginia to a greater extent than any of the seceded  
 5 States, and it is their determined purpose to require such  
 6 guarantees for the protection of the rights of the people of  
 7 the slaveholding States, as, in the judgment of Virginia,  
 8 will be sufficient for the accomplishment of that object.

Virginia having initiated measures to obtain such guarantees,  
 2 a proper self-respect impels her to demand of all the parties  
 3 that they shall refrain, during the pendency of her efforts for  
 4 amicable adjustment, from all action tending to produce a  
 5 collision of forces; therefore,

1. *Be it resolved and declared by the people of the State of*  
 2 *Virginia in Convention assembled,* That the States which

3 composed the United States of America, when the Federal  
 4 Constitution was formed, were independent sovereignties,  
 5 and in adopting that instrument the people of each State  
 6 agreed to associate with the people of the other States, upon  
 7 a footing of exact equality. It is the duty, therefore, of the  
 8 common Government to respect the rights of the States and  
 9 the equality of the people thereof, and within the just limits  
 10 of the Constitution, to protect with equal care, the great in-  
 11 terests that spring from the institutions of each.

2. African slavery is a vital part of the social system of the  
 2 States wherein it exists, and as that form of servitude  
 3 existed when the Union was formed, and the jurisdiction of  
 4 the several States over it within their respective limits, was  
 5 recognized by the Constitution, any interference to its preju-  
 6 dice by the Federal authority, or by the authorities of the  
 7 other States, or by the people thereof, is in derogation from  
 8 plain right, contrary to the Constitution, offensive and  
 9 dangerous.

3. The choice of functionaries of a common Government  
 2 established for the common good, for the reason that they  
 3 entertain opinions and avow purposes hostile to the institu-  
 4 tions of some of the States, necessarily excludes the people  
 5 of one section from participation in the administration of the  
 6 Government, subjects the weaker to the domination of the

7 stronger section, leads to abuse, and is incompatible with the  
8 safety of those whose interests are imperilled; the formation,  
9 therefore, of geographical or sectional parties in respect to  
10 Federal politics is contrary to the principles on which our  
11 system rests, and tends to its overthrow.

4. The Territories of the United States constitute a trust to  
2 be administered by the General Government, for the common  
3 benefit of the people of the United States, and any policy in  
4 respect to such Territories calculated to confer greater bene-  
5 fits on the people of one part of the United States, than on  
6 the people of another part is contrary to equality and prejudi-  
7 cial to the rights of some for whose equal benefit the trust  
8 was created. If the equal admission of slave labor and free  
9 labor into any Territory, excites unfriendly conflict between  
10 the systems, a fair partition of the Territories ought to be  
11 made between them, and each system ought to be protected  
12 within the limits assigned to it, by the laws necessary for its  
13 proper development.

5. The sites of the federal forts, arsenals, &c., within the  
2 limits of the States of this Union, were acquired by the  
3 Federal Government, and jurisdiction over them ceded by  
4 the States, as trusts, for the common purposes of the Union,  
5 during its continuance; and upon the separation of the  
6 States, such jurisdiction reverts of right to the States, re-

7 spectively, by which the jurisdiction was ceded. Whilst a  
 8 State remains in the Union, the legitimate use of such forts,  
 9 &c., is to protect the country against foreign force, and to aid  
 10 in suppressing domestic insurrection. To use, or prepare  
 11 them to be used to intimidate a State, or constrain its free  
 12 action, is a perversion of the purposes for which they were  
 13 obtained; they were not intended to be used against the  
 14 States, in whose limits they are found, in the event of civil  
 15 war. In a time of profound peace with foreign nations,  
 16 and when no symptoms of domestic insurrection appear—  
 17 but whilst irritating questions of the deepest importance  
 18 are pending between the States—to accumulate within the  
 19 limits of a State, interested in such questions, an unusual  
 20 amount of troops and munitions of war, not required for  
 21 any legitimate purpose, is unwise, impolitic and offensive.

6. Deeply deploring the present distracted condition of the  
 2 country, and lamenting the wrongs that have impelled some  
 3 of the States to cast off obedience to the Federal Govern-  
 4 ment, but sensible of the blessings of the Union, and im-  
 5 pressed with its importance to the peace, prosperity and  
 6 progress of the people, we indulge the hope, that, an adjust-  
 7 ment may be reached by which the Union may be preserved  
 8 in its integrity, and peace, prosperity and fraternal feelings  
 9 be restored throughout the land.

7. To remove the existing causes of complaint much may be accomplished by the Federal and State Governments; the laws for the rendition of fugitives from labor and of fugitives from justice may be made more effectual, the expenditures of the Government may be reduced within more moderate limits and the abuses that have entered into the administrative departments reformed. The State authorities may repeal their unfriendly and unconstitutional legislation, and substitute in its stead such as becomes the comity and is due to the rights of the States of the same Union. But to restore the Union and preserve confidence the Federal Constitution should be amended in those particulars wherein experience has exhibited defects and discovered approaches dangerous to the institutions of some of the States.

8. The people of Virginia recognize the American principle that government is founded in the consent of the governed, and they concede the right of the people of the several States of this Union, for just causes, to withdraw from their association under the Federal Government with the people of the other States, and to erect new governments for their better security, and they will never consent that the Federal power, which is in part their power, shall be exerted for the purpose of subjugating the people of such States to the Federal authority.

9. The exercise of this right by the States of South Carolina,  
 2 Georgia, Florida, Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana and Texas,  
 3 without the assent of the other States, has given rise to new  
 4 conditions, and presented questions touching those condi-  
 5 tions, intimately affecting the rights and safety of the other  
 6 States. Among these are the free navigation of the Missis-  
 7 sippi River, the maintenance of the forts intended to protect  
 8 the commerce of the Gulf of Mexico, and the power to re-  
 9 strain smuggling along the interior borders of the seceded  
 10 States; but the Federal authorities, under the Constitution as  
 11 it is, disclaim power to recognize the withdrawal of any  
 12 State from the Union and consequently to deal with these  
 13 questions, holding that it is reserved only to the States as par-  
 14 ties to the government compact to take lawful action touching  
 15 them.

10. Without expressing an opinion as to the question of power,  
 2 but in deference to the opinion of the Federal authorities, the  
 3 people of Virginia hereby declare their desire to confer upon  
 4 the Government of the United States, the powers necessary  
 5 to enable its proper authorities to deal peaceably with these  
 6 questions, and, if it shall become necessary, to recognize the  
 7 separate independence of the seceding States, and to make  
 8 such treaties with them, and to pass such laws as the sepa-  
 9 ration may make proper.

*G. M. Belcher*

11. This Convention composed of delegates elected by the  
 2 people in districts, for the purpose of considering the existing  
 3 difficulties in our Federal relations, represents the desire and  
 4 earnest request of the people of Virginia, to meet as directly  
 5 as possible the people of her sister States; and to them  
 6 appeal for satisfactory adjustment. Virginia, therefore, re-  
 7 quests the people of the several States, either by popular  
 8 vote, or in Conventions similar to her own, to respond, at  
 9 their earliest convenience, to the (positions assumed in the  
 10 foregoing resolutions, and the) proposed amendments to the  
 11 Constitution of the United States hereunto appended. (And  
 12 in the event that this Commonwealth fails to obtain satis-  
 13 factory responses to her requests, from the non-slaveholding  
 14 States, she will feel compelled to resume the powers granted  
 15 by her under the Constitution of the United States, and to  
 16 throw herself upon her reserved rights.)

12. The people of Virginia will await any reasonable time  
 2 to obtain answers from the other States, to these propositions,  
 3 aware of the embarrassments that may produce delay, but  
 4 they will expect, as an indispensable condition, that a pacific  
 5 policy shall be adopted towards the seceded States, and that  
 6 no attempt be made to subject them to the Federal authority,  
 7 nor to reinforce the forts now in possession of the military  
 8 forces of the United States, nor recapture the forts, arsenals

9 or other property of the United States within their limits, nor  
 10 to exact the payment of imposts upon their commerce; nor  
 11 any measure resorted to, justly calculated to provoke hostile  
 12 collision.

13. (In the opinion of this Convention, the people of Virginia  
 2 would regard any action of the Federal Government; tending  
 3 to produce a collision of forces, pending negotiations for the  
 4 adjustment of existing difficulties as aggressive and inju-  
 5 rious to the interests and offensive to the honor of this Com-  
 6 monwealth; (and they would regard any such action on the  
 7 part of the seceded or confederated States as hurtful and un-  
 8 friendly, (and as leaving them free to determine their future  
 9 policy. )

14. The peculiar relations of the States of Delaware, Mary-  
 2 land, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, Mis-  
 3 souri and Arkansas to the other States, make it proper, in the  
 4 judgment of this Convention, that the former States should  
 5 consult together and concert such measures for their final ac-  
 6 tion as the honor, the interests and the safety of the people  
 7 thereof may demand, and for that purpose the proper authori-  
 8 ties of those States are requested to appoint commissioners  
 9 to meet commissioners to be appointed by this Convention  
 10 on behalf of the people of this State, at Frankfort, in the  
 11 State of Kentucky, on the last Monday in May next.



## SUBSTITUTE

*For the Report of the Committee on Federal Relations, presented  
by Mr. WISE, March 9, 1861.*

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The undersigned begs leave to assign the reason for his dis-  
2 sent from the first partial Report of the Committee on Federal  
3 Relations, and presents the following as a substitute for the  
4 plan of measures recommended thereby to be adopted by the  
5 Convention:

This Convention, called by the people of the Commonwealth  
2 of Virginia, to deliberate upon the present exigencies of their  
3 Federal Relations, and upon the redress of their wrongs and  
4 grievances in the Confederacy of the United States, deems it  
5 necessary and proper, with a view to preserve peace, to de-  
6 fend the Federal Constitution, and to restore and perpetuate  
7 the Federal Union of all the States, on a basis of just and  
8 equal rights, to declare:

That for a long series of years the property of the citizens of  
2 the slaveholding States, and particularly that of her own citi-  
3 zens, has been assailed and endangered; that the Constitu-  
4 tion of the United States has been broken; that the rights

5 and comities of States and their equality in the Union have  
6 been denied to the people of the slaveholding States; that  
7 the Federal laws have been nullified in respect to the protec-  
8 tion of their property in slaves; that the separate and inde-  
9 pendent right of self-government by the border slaveholding  
10 States has been seriously impaired, and, in part, practically  
11 annulled; that their domestic tranquility and social safety  
12 have been endangered and ruthlessly disturbed by actual in-  
13 vasion; that associated and systematic efforts have been con-  
14 stantly and persistently made to enforce upon their people  
15 rules of conscience and of morals by a power without their  
16 borders, to control the family governments of their homes  
17 and their relations as masters to their domestic slaves; that  
18 their character as a people has been maligned and misrepre-  
19 sented to the world, in order to bring an influence to bear  
20 upon their rights and relations and their wills, rendering  
21 them odious and no less offensive and injurious to their sense  
22 of self-respect and to their interests than the force of arms;  
23 that the sanctity of the Federal judiciary has been threat-  
24 ened and set at naught, in order to destroy the only peaceful  
25 guard and guarantee of their rights of property and Federal  
26 equality; and that a sectional hate which engendered these  
27 evils is continually magnifying them by every form and  
28 effort of incendiarism, until they are no longer endurable;

29 until the people actuated by it have obtained the reins of  
 30 Federal authority and control in all the departments of go-  
 31 vernment; and until several of the sovereignties, parties to  
 32 the Federal compact, have been compelled to resume the  
 33 powers granted by them under the Federal Constitution,  
 34 and to form a separate and independent confederacy, thereby  
 35 dissolving the Union of the United States of America.

These wrongs have been perpetrated in part by the Federal  
 2 Government, either by acts of omission or commission, in  
 3 part by the non-slaveholding States, and in part by their  
 4 people, unrestrained by laws, such as confederates are bound  
 5 to enact in respect to the rights and safety of each other.

And the secession, consequent upon these wrongs, is now  
 2 met by every indication of an intention and an attempt to  
 3 coerce the submission of seceding States, by the authorities  
 4 of the Federal Government, who are but the mere agents of  
 5 the sovereign parties to the Federal compact, without even an  
 6 appeal to them for the sanction of any ultimate resort to force.

Thus, under the pretext of enforcing laws of the Federal  
 2 Government, the jurisdiction of which is now denied and  
 3 abjured by the seceding States, the nation is imminently  
 4 threatened by an unnatural and unnecessary civil war—  
 5 equally unnecessary, whether the Union is to be finally  
 6 dissolved or restored.

These indications are made but too plainly manifest by the  
 2 failure of the Conference, inaugurated by the Legislature of  
 3 this Commonwealth herself, to agree on any terms of adjust-  
 4 ment; by the disclaimer of all power on the part of the  
 5 Federal authorities to negotiate for peace with the commis-  
 6 sioners of the seceded States; by the inaugural address of  
 7 the incumbent President of the United States, declaring the  
 8 policy, powers and purposes of his administration of the  
 9 Federal Government, and supposed to represent the senti-  
 10 ments of large majorities of the States constituting the major  
 11 section of the United States; by his failure to suggest any  
 12 mode, whilst disclaiming all powers of adjustment; by the  
 13 failure of Congress to recognize the results of the Peace Con-  
 14 ference, or to recommend any other plan of peace; and by  
 15 the concentration of Federal troops at various points, and  
 16 the reinforcing and holding of certain forts and arsenals,  
 17 with the obvious intent and purpose of overcoming any  
 18 resistance to the execution of Federal laws by the seceded  
 19 States, and to overawe the further secession and free action  
 20 of the slaveholding States.

Under these circumstances of peril to every thing precious to  
 2 a State, this Commonwealth feels compelled to appeal to her  
 3 confederates still remaining in the Union, and to ask for their  
 4 determinate conclusions on the following points of difference

5 and dissension, as to which she is bound to demand, and  
 6 seeks to obtain satisfactory guarantees and assurances for the  
 7 future:

1. As to a full recognition of the rights of property in Afri-  
 2 can slaves.

2. As to slavery in the District of Columbia.

3 As to the powers of the Federal Government over African  
 2 slavery, and the employment of slave labor in the forts, arse-  
 3 nals, dock yards, and all places ceded by the States for Fede-  
 4 ral uses.

4. As to protection against the pretension to lay and collect  
 2 excessive *direct taxes* on slaves.

5. As to the rendition of fugitive slaves.

6. As to protection of the right and comity of transit with  
 2 slaves through the limits of the States, by land or water; and  
 3 of the right of transportation of slaves on the high seas.

7. The protection of the right of citizens of the United States,  
 2 owning slaves to sojourn temporarily with their slaves in  
 3 waiting, in the limits of non-slaveholding States.

8. The protection of equality of settlement by owners of  
 2 slaves, with their slave property, in the common territories of  
 3 the United States.

9. As to the rights of negroes or free persons of the African

2 race to all the privileges and immunities of citizens of the  
3 several States.

10. As to the equality of the African race with the white  
2 race in the States where it may reside, and the protection of  
3 that equality by State laws, and by the laws of the United  
4 States.

11. As to the better security of the independence of the  
2 Judicial Department of the Government of the United States,  
3 by changing the mode of appointing the Federal Judges.

12. As to the protection of the slaveholding States against  
2 the abduction of their slaves, by repealing such State or  
3 Federal laws as may countenance the wrong, or by passing  
4 such laws by the States and by the Federal Government as  
5 may be necessary and proper to suppress it.

13. As to the protection of the domestic tranquility of the  
2 people of the United States by suppressing the incendiary  
3 assemblages, associations and publications which have en-  
4 gendered the sectional wrongs and hatred which have rent  
5 the Union asunder and now threaten a civil war.

14. The protection of the public peace by suppressing socie-  
2 ties and individual efforts for the collection of money and  
3 other means to invade the States or territories of the United  
4 States.

15. And by suppressing all organizations seeking and in-

2 troducing foreign aid and influence, to incite domestic vio-  
 3 lence in any of the States or Territories of the United States.

Upon these points, and any others which may arise requiring  
 2 them, this Commonwealth needs and ought to demand ad-  
 3 ditional assurances and guarantees to those now existing;  
 4 and those assurances and guarantees can, on the main points  
 5 of dissension and severance, only be made sure by obtain-  
 6 ing, not merely constitutional amendments, or the pledges of  
 7 States by resolves or otherwise, but by grants of power to  
 8 check abuses or wrongs by a majority of the States.

And with the view of adjusting these points and obtaining  
 2 these guarantees, guarded by the necessary and proper  
 3 checks and balances of power, it is recommended that this  
 4 Convention shall appeal to the States still remaining in the  
 5 Union to give, at as early a day as practicable, their answers  
 6 to those demands of this Commonwealth, say within the  
 7 period of the present year and by the 1st day of October  
 8 next, if possible.

In the meantime it is recommended that every step be taken  
 2 to preserve the peace of the country:

That to that end neither the Federal Government nor the  
 2 seceded States shall commence hostilities; that the States  
 3 now in the Union should confer with this State upon a  
 4 mode of sanctioning the claim of the right of peaceable

5 secession, and of determining all questions arising there-  
 6 upon, such as the free navigation of the Mississippi river,  
 7 the maintenance of forts and arsenals, and the settlement of  
 8 commercial and postal regulations, &c. &c. And the Fede-  
 9 ral authorities should avoid all acts whatever tending to  
 10 cause or to irritate the causes of civil war, by abstaining  
 11 from the execution of all laws which may require the force  
 12 of arms against the seceded States; by withdrawing all oc-  
 13 cupation of their forts, arsenals, dock yards, and other places  
 14 ceded; and by reducing the military forces at the forts, arse-  
 15 nals, magazines, dock yards, &c., within the limits and  
 16 around and about the borders of the slaveholding States still  
 17 remaining in the Union, to mere garrisons for the purpose  
 18 of guarding and preserving the public property, pending the  
 19 efforts of this Commonwealth to adjust pending issues, to  
 20 obtain guarantees, to preserve peace, and to restore the amity  
 21 and Union, if possible, of all the States.

And it is further recommended to adopt an ordinance that  
 2 this Commonwealth shall be immediately placed in a full  
 3 and complete state of military organization for defence; and  
 4 it shall be immediately submitted to the people to determine  
 5 whether, if the just demands of this Commonwealth are not  
 6 satisfactorily responded to, or are not responded to at all by

7 her Confederates, or civil war commencing on the part of the  
 8 Federal Government, within the period named pending her  
 9 efforts of adjustment, they will or will not resume the powers  
 10 granted by them under the Constitution of the United  
 11 States, and that this Convention shall place itself immedi-  
 12 ately in communication with the border slaveholding States  
 13 for conference and coöperation.

To these ends, therefore, be it resolved—

1. That the foregoing points for adjustment or for declaration  
 2 of purpose on the part of the States now in the Union, be  
 3 immediately addressed to them.

2. That additional guarantees or assurances shall be de-  
 2 manded on the more important of these points, in the forms  
 3 of checks and balances of power, to be defined by amend-  
 4 ments to the Constitution of the United States.

3. That responses to these demands from the respective  
 2 States shall be requested within a fixed and limited period,  
 3 to wit: on or before the 1st day of October next, if possible.

4. That, in the meantime, it be recommended to the people of  
 2 this Commonwealth, in the event the Federal authorities  
 3 shall under any pretext whatever, attempt to enforce their  
 4 claim of jurisdiction over the people of the seceded States,  
 5 as by collecting the duties for revenue or diverting the transit  
 6 or entrance of commerce, or in any other mode, by force of

7 arms, to resist such exertion of force by all the means in  
8 their power.

5. That the Federal authorities be requested to withdraw all  
2 occupation of the places ceded in the seceded States, and to  
3 reduce the forces at Fortress Monroe and Harper's Ferry, at  
4 Fort Washington and Fort McHenry, in Maryland, to garri-  
5 sons on guard duty; and that the guns which have been  
6 lately mounted landwards, be removed and all other prepara-  
7 tions for war in the limits of this Commonwealth, or on her  
8 border be at once stopped; protesting that these forces and  
9 warlike preparations are irritating causes of civil war and  
10 dangerous to the people.

6. That the Legislature of this Commonwealth be recom-  
2 mended and urged to make ample appropriations to place her  
3 people in a complete state of military defence.

7. That this Convention will place itself in immediate com-  
2 munication with the Border and other slaveholding States  
3 still remaining in the Union, for conference and coöperation,  
4 whilst awaiting the responses of the other States to these  
5 requests and demands.

8. That an ordinance be adopted at once submitting to  
2 the people of this Commonwealth to determine whether, if  
3 their just demands are not satisfactorily responded to by the  
4 non-slaveholding States, or are not responded to at all by

5 them, or if civil war shall commence on the part of the Fe-  
6 deral authorities, within the period named pending the efforts  
7 of this Commonwealth for adjustment, they will or will not  
8 resume the powers granted by them under the Constitution  
9 of the United States; and will or will not unite their destiny  
10 with that of the seceded slaveholding States of the South,  
11 embracing in any new Union to be formed such non-slave-  
12 holding States as will manifest a disposition and determination  
13 to respect and maintain the equal rights of all the States and  
14 their people.

All which is respectfully submitted, with the request to be  
2 permitted to assign hereafter the objections to the report,  
3 entertained by the minority of the Committee, several of  
4 whom are now absent.

HENRY A. WISE.

## SUBSTITUTE

*For the Report of the Committee on Federal Relations, presented  
by Mr. BARBOUR, March 9, 1861.*

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1. *Resolved*, That this Convention has witnessed, with deep  
2 concern, the failure on the part of the authorities of the Fe-  
3 deral Government and a majority of the non-slaveholding  
4 State Governments to coöperate efficiently with the authori-  
5 ties of this Commonwealth, in an earnest effort to restore the  
6 Federal Union on terms consistent with the security of the  
7 people of the slaveholding States.

2. *Resolved*, That the recommendations of this Common-  
2 wealth having been met by no sufficient response on the  
3 part of the authorities of the non-slaveholding States and  
4 the Federal Government, considerations of public duty, in-  
5 duce us to refrain from further recommendations. If the  
6 authorities of the Federal Government and of the non-slave-  
7 holding State Governments desire and expect to restore the  
8 Federal Union, they must, without further delay, adopt such  
9 measures as will afford to the people of the slaveholding  
10 States full constitutional assurance of their safety in continu-

11 ing any further association with them under a common Go-  
12 vernment.

3. *Resolved*, That this Convention will, on the day after the  
2 adoption of these resolutions, appoint three Commissioners,  
3 to proceed to Montgomery and confer with the authorities  
4 of the Confederate States in reference to the present grave  
5 emergency in our public affairs.

JAMES BARBOUR.

## SUBSTITUTE

*For the Report of the Committee on Federal Relations, presented  
by Mr. HARVIE, March 9, 1861.*

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The undersigned, a minority of the Committee on Federal  
2 Relations, report:

That having had under consideration the resolutions re-  
2 ferred to the said Committee, and dissenting from the report  
3 of the majority, recommend to the Convention the adoption  
4 of the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That the Committee on Federal Relations be in-  
2 structed to report an ordinance resuming the powers de-  
3 legated by Virginia to the Federal Government, and to make  
4 provision for submitting the same to the qualified voters of  
5 the Commonwealth for their adoption or rejection.

Respectfully submitted.

LEWIS E. HARVIE,  
ROBERT L. MONTAGUE,  
SAMUEL C. WILLIAMS.

## S U B S T I T U T E

*For the report of the Committee on Federal Relations, presented in Committee of the Whole, by Mr. CARLILE, March 21, 1861.*

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Whereas, the Peace Conference which was called by the  
2 Legislature of this State, and in which twenty-one States  
3 (fourteen of them non-slaveholding) of this Union were re-  
4 presented after much anxious deliberation and careful inves-  
5 tigation, has recommended for the adjustment of our present  
6 national difficulties, the adoption by the people of the several  
7 States in the manner provided for amendments to the Con-  
8 stitution of the United States by the fifth article thereof, the  
9 following propositions:

### ARTICLE XIII.

SECTION 1. In all the present territory of the United States,  
2 north of the parallel of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes  
3 of north latitude, involuntary servitude, except in punish-  
4 ment of crime, is prohibited. In all the present territory  
5 south of that line, the status of persons held to service or  
6 labor, as it now exists, shall not be changed; nor shall any  
7 law be passed by Congress or the territorial legislature, to

8 hinder or prevent the taking of such persons from any of the  
9 States of this Union to said territory, nor to impair the rights  
10 arising from said relation; but the same shall be subject to  
11 judicial cognizance in the federal courts, according to the  
12 course of the common law. When any territory north or  
13 south of said line, within such boundary as Congress may  
14 prescribe, shall contain a population equal to that required  
15 for a member of Congress, it shall, if its form of govern-  
16 ment be republican, be admitted into the Union on an equal  
17 footing with the original States, with or without involuntary  
18 servitude, as such constitution of the State may provide.

SECTION 2. No territory shall be acquired by the United  
2 States, except by discovery and for naval and commercial  
3 stations, depots, and transit routes, without the concurrence  
4 of a majority of all the Senators from States which allow  
5 involuntary servitude, and a majority of all the Senators  
6 from States which prohibit that relation; nor shall territory  
7 be acquired by treaty unless the votes of a majority of all the  
8 Senators from each class of States herein before mentioned,  
9 be cast as a part of the two-third majority necessary to the  
10 ratification of such treaty.

SECTION 3. Neither the Constitution nor any amendment  
2 thereof, shall be construed to give Congress power to re-  
3 gulate, abolish, or control, within any State of the United

4 States, the relation established or recognized by the laws  
5 thereof, touching persons held to labor or involuntary service  
6 therein, nor to interfere with or abolish involuntary service  
7 in the District of Columbia, without the consent of Mary-  
8 land, and without the consent of the owners, or making the  
9 owners who do not consent just compensation; nor the  
10 power to interfere with or prohibit representatives and others  
11 from bringing with them to the District of Columbia, retain-  
12 ing and taking away, persons so held to labor or service, nor  
13 the power to interfere with or abolish involuntary service in  
14 places under the exclusive jurisdiction of the United States,  
15 within those States and territories where the same is estab-  
16 lished or recognized; nor the power to prohibit the removal  
17 or transportation of persons held to labor or involuntary  
18 service in any State or territory of the United States to any  
19 other State or territory thereof where it is established or  
20 recognized by law or usage; and the right during transporta-  
21 tion, by sea or river, of touching at ports, shores and land-  
22 ings, and of landing in case of distress, shall exist, but not  
23 the right of transit in or through any State or territory, or of  
24 sale or traffic against the laws thereof. Nor shall Congress  
25 have power to authorize any higher rate of taxation on per-  
26 sons held to labor or service than on land.

The bringing into the District of Columbia persons held to

2 labor or service for sale, or placing them in depots to be after-  
 3 wards transferred to other places for sale as merchandise, is  
 4 prohibited.

SECTION 4. The third paragraph of the second section of  
 2 the fourth article of the Constitution shall not be construed  
 3 to prevent any of the States, by appropriate legislation, and  
 4 through the action of their judicial and ministerial officers,  
 5 from enforcing the delivery of fugitives from labor to the per-  
 6 son to whom such service or labor is due.

SECTION 5. The foreign slave trade is hereby forever prohi-  
 2 bited; and it shall be the duty of Congress to pass laws to  
 3 prevent the importation of slaves, coolies, or persons held to  
 4 service or labor, into the United States and the Territories  
 5 from places beyond the limits thereof.

SECTION 6. The first, third and fifth sections, together with  
 2 this section of these amendments, and third paragraph of the  
 3 second section of the first article of the Constitution, and the  
 4 third paragraph of the second section of the fourth article  
 5 thereof, shall not be amended or abolished without the con-  
 6 sent of all the States.

SECTION 7. Congress shall provide by law that the United  
 2 States shall pay to the owner the full value of his fugitive  
 3 from labor, in all cases where the marshal, or other officer,  
 4 whose duty it was to arrest such fugitive, was prevented from

5 so doing by violence or intimidation from mobs or riotous as-  
 6 semblages, or when, after arrest, such fugitive was rescued  
 7 by like violence or intimidation, and the owner thereby de-  
 8 prived of the same; and Congress shall provide by law for  
 9 securing to the citizens of each State the privileges and im-  
 10 munities of the several States.

Therefore, be it resolved by the representatives of the people  
 2 of Virginia, in Convention assembled:

1. That it be and is hereby recommended to the people of  
 2 the several States composing the United States, to hold in  
 3 their respective States, conventions to consider the said mea-  
 4 sures of adjustment, and express their approval of the same,  
 5 and request their senators and representatives, in Congress  
 6 assembled, either in extra or regular session, at its first meet-  
 7 ing, to adopt the same by the constitutional majority of two-  
 8 thirds of each house, so that the same may be laid before the  
 9 several States of this Union, in the mode pointed out by the  
 10 said fifth article of the Constitution aforesaid, for ratification  
 11 or rejection.

2. That this Convention, for, and in the name of the good  
 2 people of this Commonwealth, do declare their approval of  
 3 the said propositions, and will, if adopted as an amendment  
 4 to the Constitution of the United States, accept the same as  
 5 an adjustment of all our national difficulties, and that we do

6 hereby request our senators and representatives in Congress,  
7 at its next session, whether convened in extra or regular ses-  
8 sion, to use their best efforts to have the same adopted in  
9 their respective houses by the constitutional vote required,  
10 to the end that the same may be laid before the people of the  
11 several States of the Union, to be by them ratified or rejected,  
12 in the manner provided in the Constitution, through the ac-  
13 tion of State conventions or the legislatures of the several  
14 States.

3. That it shall be the duty of the officers conducting the  
2 election for members of the next General Assembly of this  
3 State to see that a poll is opened at the several places of voting  
4 in this Commonwealth to take the sense of the voters of this  
5 State upon the said measures of adjustment recommended  
6 by the Peace Conference, and the better to secure a correct  
7 poll book, the Governor of this Commonwealth is requested  
8 to have prepared and transmitted to every county in this  
9 Commonwealth, a sufficient number of poll books to supply  
10 each county with as many books as there are places of voting  
11 in the same, said books to be headed Poll Book for taking  
12 the sense of the voters upon the adoption of the measures of  
13 adjustment recommended by the Peace Conference, and to  
14 have two columns, the one headed "For the adjustment,"  
15 the other headed "Against the adjustment;" and it shall be

16 the duty of the said conducting officers, each and all of them  
17 to see that the names of all persons qualified to vote for mem-  
18 bers of the General Assembly, and who present themselves  
19 to vote at the respective places of voting, are allowed to vote  
20 for or against the said measures of adjustment, and that the  
21 names of all those who vote for adjustment are recorded in  
22 the column headed "For the adjustment," and all those who  
23 vote "against adjustment," are recorded in the column  
24 headed "Against the adjustment," said poll books to be re-  
25 turned, and their correctness certified to underneath by the  
26 officers conducting the election, within two days after the  
27 said election, to the clerk of the respective county or corpo-  
28 ration court, as the case may be, in which the said conduct-  
29 ing officers reside, and it shall be the duty of the respective  
30 county and corporation clerks of this Commonwealth to cer-  
31 tify to the Governor of this Commonwealth, attested by their  
32 seal of office, the result of the vote upon the question afore-  
33 said, in their respective counties and corporations aforesaid,  
34 within two days after the said poll books shall be returned  
35 by the conducting officers aforesaid; and the Governor of  
36 this Commonwealth upon receipt thereof, is hereby requested  
37 to ascertain the result of the said vote in the State, and to  
38 make the same known by proclamation, and if a majority of  
39 the votes cast shall be in favor of the said Peace Conference

40 adjustment, he is hereby requested to communicate to the  
41 Governor of each of the States of this Union the foregoing  
42 resolutions, with the result of the vote aforesaid, with a re-  
43 quest to each to take such steps as the Constitution and  
44 laws of his State may require to be taken, in order that a  
45 convention of delegates may be elected by the voters in each  
46 State and convened, to whom shall be referred the foregoing  
47 resolutions.

## SUBSTITUTE

*For the Report of the Committee on Federal Relations, presented  
by Mr. BALDWIN, March 11, 1861:*

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The representatives of the people of Virginia, in Convention  
2 assembled, are profoundly sensible of the difficulty, delicacy  
3 and importance of the duty which, in obedience to the popu-  
4 lar will, they have assumed to perform.

They feel that the controversy which unfortunately distracts  
2 and divides our country has brought about a condition of  
3 public affairs for which history has no parallel, and the ex-  
4 perience of Government no precedent.

They recognize the fact that the great questions which press  
2 for consideration are of entire novelty and of great intrinsic  
3 difficulty—and that their proper solution will require on the  
4 part of our Governments, State and Federal, and of our  
5 people, the exercise of the utmost prudence, discretion,  
6 calmness and forbearance.

They concur most earnestly in the opinion declared by the  
2 General Assembly of Virginia, that a permanent dissolution

3 of the Union is inevitable, unless our unhappy controversies  
 4 can be adjusted in the spirit in which the Constitution was  
 5 originally formed; and they feel that to perfect any such  
 6 adjustment it is of indispensable necessity that during its  
 7 progress the peace of the country shall be maintained, and  
 8 that all parties shall in good faith avoid giving just occasion  
 9 for irritation, collision and bloodshed.

Therefore, be it resolved by the people of Virginia, in Con-  
 2 vention assembled:

1. The Conference of States, which, upon the invitation of  
 2 Virginia, was recently held in the City of Washington,  
 3 having recommended certain amendments to the Constitu-  
 4 tion of the United States, as, in the opinion of the Con-  
 5 ference, containing a fair and satisfactory adjustment of ex-  
 6 isting difficulties, so far as they can be reached by changes  
 7 in the organic law—this Convention is of opinion that the  
 8 said amendments if concurred in by the States hereinafter  
 9 invited to conference, and engrafted upon the Constitution  
 10 of the United States, will be satisfactory to the people of  
 11 Virginia.

2. The peculiar relations of the States of Delaware, Mary-  
 2 land, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, Mis-  
 3 souri and Arkansas to each other and to the other States,  
 4 make it proper, in the judgment of this Convention, that

5 the former States should consult together for the mainte-  
 6 nance of their rights in the Union, or, failing in that, to  
 7 concert such measures for their final action as the honor, the  
 8 interests and the safety of their people may demand—and for  
 9 that purpose the proper authorities of those States are re-  
 10 quested to appoint Commissioners to meet Commissioners  
 11 appointed by this Convention, on behalf of the people of  
 12 this State, at Frankfort, in the State of Kentucky, on the  
 13 last Monday in May next.

3. The people of Virginia will not anticipate any disposition  
 2 on the part of the General Government to engage in the  
 3 hopeless effort to subject the Governments and people of  
 4 several States, against their will, to Federal authority. Any  
 5 such attempt would inevitably result in civil war—soon to  
 6 become a sectional war against the institutions and people of  
 7 fifteen States of this Union. The people of Virginia cannot  
 8 be inattentive or indifferent to any indications of such a  
 9 policy—but they trust that the Government will take the  
 10 wiser course, and will, in accordance with the spirit of our  
 11 institutions, withdraw all irritating displays of force, and  
 12 seek to disarm freemen by removing the causes of their just  
 13 complaints.

4. The grievances for which several of the States have un-  
 2 dertaken to withdraw from the Union are such as have af-

3 fected Virginia to a greater extent than any one of them.  
 4 For these grievances she requires and expects to obtain full  
 5 redress, and she will be slow to believe that those States will  
 6 find it consistent with their inclinations, or their interests,  
 7 to abandon permanently a Union in which they are offered  
 8 terms of adjustment which, in respect to common interests  
 9 and common grievances, satisfy the judgment and the honor  
 10 of Virginia.

In any event, as Virginia is endeavoring to secure to them  
 2 the opportunity to determine their destiny in peace, she can  
 3 look with no favor or sympathy upon any conduct on their  
 4 part tending to precipitate upon her people the horrors of  
 5 civil war.

5. It is the belief of this Convention that the sectional con-  
 2 troversies which divide the people of the United States, if  
 3 not originated, have been greatly aggravated by the manage-  
 4 ment of politicians, for the advancement of personal and  
 5 party schemes. They feel confident that if the people,  
 6 North and South can come to understand each other, they  
 7 will find means to compel a fair and amicable settlement of  
 8 all the matters in dispute. It is, therefore, recommended  
 9 that the Conference at Frankfort shall take into considera-  
 10 tion the propriety of a direct appeal to the people of the  
 11 North in favor of justice, union, and peace.

6. The Federal authorities under the Constitution as it is,  
 2 having disclaimed the power to recognize the withdrawal of  
 3 any State from the Union or to deal with the grave ques-  
 4 tions arising upon such withdrawal, the people of Virginia,  
 5 without expressing any opinion upon the question of power  
 6 but in deference to the opinion of the Federal authorities,  
 7 hereby declare their willingness to unite in conferring upon  
 8 the Government of the United States, the power, if it shall  
 9 become necessary, to recognize the separate independence of  
 10 the seceding States, and to make such treaties with them,  
 11 and to pass such laws as the separation may render proper.

7. In order to await the action of the Frankfort Conference,  
 2 this Convention will adjourn to meet again on the        day  
 3 of        , 1861.



## SUBSTITUTE

*For the Report of the Committee on Federal Relations, presented  
by Mr. WICKHAM, March 11, 1861.*

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The representatives of the people of Virginia in Convention  
2 assembled, are profoundly sensible of the difficulty, delicacy  
3 and importance of the duty which, in obedience to the popu-  
4 lar will, they have assumed to perform.

They feel that the controversy which unfortunately distracts  
2 and divides our country has brought about a condition of  
3 public affairs for which history has no parallel and the expe-  
4 rience of governments no precedent.

They recognize the fact that the great questions which press  
2 for consideration are of entire novelty and of great intrinsic  
3 difficulty, and that their proper solution will require on the  
4 part of our governments, State and Federal, and of our peo-  
5 ple the exercise of the utmost prudence, discretion, calmness  
6 and forbearance.

Above all other things at this time they esteem it of indis-  
2 pensable necessity to maintain the peace of the country, and

3 to avoid everything calculated or tending to produce collision  
4 and bloodshed.

The grievances for which several of the States have with-  
2 drawn from the Union and overthrown the Federal Govern-  
3 ment within their limits, are such as have affected the peo-  
4 ple of Virginia to a greater extent than any of the seceded  
5 States, and it is their determined purpose to require such  
6 guarantees for the protection of the rights of the people of  
7 the slaveholding States, as, in the judgment of Virginia,  
8 will be sufficient for the accomplishment of that object.

Deeply deploring the present distracted condition of the  
2 country, and lamenting the wrongs that have impelled some  
3 of the States to cast off obedience to the Federal Govern-  
4 ment, but sensible of the blessings of the Union, and im-  
5 pressed with its importance to the peace, prosperity and  
6 progress of the people, she indulges the hope, that, an adjust-  
7 ment may be reached by which the Union may be preserved  
8 in its integrity, and peace, prosperity and fraternal feelings  
9 be restored throughout the land.

Virginia having initiated measures to obtain such guarantees,  
2 a proper self-respect impels her to demand of all the parties  
3 that they shall refrain, during the pendency of her efforts for

4 amicable adjustment, from all action tending to produce a  
5 collision of forces; therefore,

1. *Resolved*, That the people of Virginia are under existing  
2 circumstances unalterably opposed to the exercise of any spe-  
3 cies of force on the part of the Federal Government towards  
4 the States that have withdrawn themselves from the Union,  
5 and believing that any armed collision between the Federal  
6 authorities and those of the seceded States would render ut-  
7 terly futile the efforts in which Virginia is engaged to recon-  
8 cile the differences now existing between the States, and would  
9 cause the irrevocable dissolution of the Union, they earnestly  
10 insist that the Federal Government shall adopt a pacific policy  
11 towards those States; shall make no attempt to subject them  
12 to Federal authority, or to reinforce the forts now in posses-  
13 sion of the military forces of the United States, or to recap-  
14 ture the forts, arsenals or other property of the United States,  
15 within their limits, nor to resort to any measures calculated,  
16 in the present excited state of feeling, to provoke hostile col-  
17 lision; and on the other hand, they invoke the seceded States  
18 to abstain from any act tending to produce such collision be-  
19 tween them and the Federal authorities.

2. *Resolved*, That the peculiar relations of the States of Dela-  
2 ware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Ken-

3 tucky, Missouri and Arkansas to the other States, make it  
 4 proper, in the judgment of this Convention, that the former  
 5 States should consult together and concert such measures for  
 6 their final action as the honor, the interests and the safety of  
 7 the people thereof may demand, and for that purpose the pro-  
 8 per authorities of those States are requested to appoint com-  
 9 missioners to meet commissioners to be appointed by this Con-  
 10 vention on behalf of the people of this State, at Frankfort, in  
 11 the State of Kentucky, on the last Monday in May next.

3. *Resolved*, That whilst we desire to confer with the States  
 2 mentioned in the preceding resolution upon this as upon all  
 3 other matters connected with our national troubles, yet we  
 4 deem it proper to declare, that we regard the propositions  
 5 agreed upon by the Convention recently in session in the City  
 6 of Washington, known as the "Peace Congress," as afford-  
 7 ing, if adopted as amendments to the Constitution, a fair,  
 8 proper and honorable basis of adjustment of all our national  
 9 difficulties.

4. *Resolved*, That the people of Virginia, confiding in the  
 2 justice of the people of her sister States, appeals to them for  
 3 a satisfactory adjustment of the existing difficulties in our  
 4 Federal relations. Virginia, therefore, invites the people of the  
 5 several States, either by popular vote or in Conventions, simi-

6 lar to her own, to respond, at their earliest convenience to the  
7 positions assumed in the foregoing resolutions. She cannot  
8 regard a failure to obtain such adjustment in any other light  
9 than as a final overthrow of the Union of these States.

The first of these is the fact that the  
 second of these is the fact that the  
 third of these is the fact that the  
 fourth of these is the fact that the

THURSDAY, April 4, 1861.

The Convention assembled at 10 o'clock, A. M.

Prayer by the Rev. Dr JETER, of the Baptist Church.

In pursuance of the order of the day, the Convention, at half past ten o'clock, resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, Mr. SOUTHWALL in the chair. After some time passed in Committee of the Whole, the PRESIDENT resumed the chair, and Mr. SOUTHWALL reported that the Committee had made some progress with the matter referred to them, but had come to no final conclusion thereupon.

On motion of Mr. HULL, the following resolution was adopted:

*Resolved*, That when the Convention adjourns on Saturday next, it will adjourn to meet on Monday, and thereafter in the Hall of the House of Delegates.

The resolutions submitted by Mr. WILLEY, on the 16th ult., being the unfinished business, were taken up.

Mr. TURNER, of Jackson, moved to amend the resolutions by striking out the whole and inserting the following:

"1. *Resolved*, That it is expedient and proper that the 23d section of the 4th article of the Constitution of this State shall be so modified, that slaves, like other property, shall be taxed without exemption, and according to value, and that no exemption of any property from taxation shall be had without the vote of a majority of all the members elected to each House of the General Assembly.

"2. *Resolved*, That a Committee, to consist of thirteen members, to be selected from the different sections of the State, be appointed, who shall report to this Convention such amendments to the Constitution of the State as will effect the object indicated in the foregoing resolutions."

Mr. SEAWELL moved to amend the amendment by striking out all after the word "resolved," in the first line, and inserting the following:

That a Committee of Thirteen be appointed to inquire into and report to this Convention, whether any, and if any, what alterations of sections twenty-two and twenty-three of article four of the Constitution of the Commonwealth are proper to be made at this time.

Pending the consideration of which,

On motion of Mr. TREDWAY, the Convention adjourned.



## AMENDMENT

*To the Report of the Committee on Federal Relations, submitted by Mr. SCOTT, of Fauquier, in Committee of the Whole, April 10, 1861.*

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[To come in at the end of the 14th resolution.]

And in the event that favorable responses on the part of the  
2 non-slaveholding States be not made to the proposed amend-  
3 ments to the Constitution, by the time appointed for the re-  
4 assembling of this body, it is the opinion of this Convention  
5 that the said States of Delaware, Maryland, North Carolina,  
6 Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri and Arkansas ought to as-  
7 semble in primary conventions, and in conjunction with this  
8 State convene at \_\_\_\_\_ on the \_\_\_\_\_ day  
9 of \_\_\_\_\_ a Congress of the said States  
10 composed of delegates to be appointed by the respective con-  
11 ventions thereof for the purpose of recommending an amended  
12 constitution of government upon which the Union of the  
13 States and the Confederate States with such of the non-  
14 slaveholding States as may concur therein can be safely ef-  
15 fected; to which Congress the Confederate States and the  
16 concurring non-slaveholding States <sup>who concur in it</sup> ought to be invited to  
17 send Commissioners.



14

*1. 7. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.*

## AMENDMENT

*Proposed to be submitted by Mr. BRUCE, to the amendment submitted by Mr. SCOTT, of Fauquier, in Committee of the Whole, April 10, 1861.*

[Strike out all after the word "and," and insert:]

The foregoing resolutions and amendments to the Constitu-  
tion thereto appended, are respectfully submitted to the other  
States of the Confederacy, as the only terms on which Vir-  
ginia feels it safe or honorable to continue a member of the  
present Union, and she is bound to announce it as her fixed  
and unalterable determination, that if they are not acceded  
to on or before the                      day of                      , by such  
a number of her co-States as may be necessary to carry into  
effect the proposed amendments, in conformity with the pro-  
visions of the Constitution of the United States, that she  
will then withdraw herself from this Union, and proceed to  
form such new connections as she may deem necessary for  
her independence, her security and her happiness.



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## AMENDMENT

*By way of addition to the Report of the Committee on Federal Relations, presented by Mr. WYBOR, April 11th, 1861, and referred to the Committee of the Whole.*

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1. It shall be the duty of the President of this Convention, 2 immediately on its adjournment, to certify to the Governor 3 of this Commonwealth a copy of the foregoing resolutions 4 and proposed amendments to the Constitution of the United 5 States thereunto annexed, together with this schedule.

2. Upon the receipt of such certified copy the Governor shall 2 forthwith announce the fact by proclamation, to be published 3 in such newspapers of the State as may be deemed requisite 4 for general information; and shall annex to his proclamation 5 a copy of said resolutions, amendments and schedule; which 6 proclamation shall be published in the manner above men- 7 tioned for the space of one month; and the Secretary of the 8 Commonwealth shall immediately transmit, by mail, ten 9 printed copies thereof, together with the amendments to the 10 Constitution of this State, hereinafter set forth, to the clerks 11 of each county and corporation court in this Commonwealth,

12 to be by such clerks submitted to the examination of any  
13 person desiring the same.

3. It shall also be the duty of the Governor immediately upon  
2 the receipt of the certified copy aforesaid, to transmit copies  
3 thereof to the President of the United States, and to each of  
4 the Governors of the several States yet remaining in the  
5 Union; making known to the former the wish of this Con-  
6 vention, that he shall, with as little delay as possible, con-  
7 vene the Congress of the United States, in extra session, and  
8 lay before that body the amendments aforesaid, in order that  
9 the same may be proposed to the legislatures or conventions  
10 of the several States, for ratification, as part of the Constitu-  
11 tion of the United States; and expressing to the latter the  
12 desire of this Convention, that the legislatures of, or conven-  
13 tions, in their respective States, may be convened, to take  
14 into consideration the ratification of the amendments afore-  
15 said, if the same shall be proposed to them by Congress, and  
16 requesting each of them, on or before the time specified in  
17 the next succeeding section, save one of this schedule, to  
18 communicate to the Executive of this State, the result of  
19 their deliberations.

4. In the event that Congress shall, on or before the  
2 day of \_\_\_\_\_, in the year one thousand eight hundred  
3 and sixty-one, propose the amendments aforesaid to the se-

4 veral States for ratification, the Governor shall forthwith, by  
 5 proclamation, summon the members of this Convention to  
 6 meet at the Capitol, in the City of Richmond, on a day to  
 7 be named by him, not exceeding thirty from the date of his  
 8 proclamation.

5. In the event that the amendments aforesaid shall not be  
 2 proposed by Congress to the several States for ratification, or  
 3 having been proposed, shall not, on or before the  
 4 day of \_\_\_\_\_, in the year one thousand eight hundred  
 5 and sixty-one, have been ratified by the legislatures of three-  
 6 fourths of the several States, Virginia inclusive, or by con-  
 7 ventions in three-fourths thereof, so that the same shall be  
 8 valid, to all intents and purposes, as part of the Constitution  
 9 of the United States; it shall be the duty of the Governor to  
 10 make that fact known by proclamation, to be published in  
 11 the manner prescribed in the second section of this schedule;  
 12 and in the same proclamation, he shall appoint a day, not ex-  
 13 ceeding sixty nor less than thirty days, from the  
 14 day of \_\_\_\_\_ aforesaid, for holding an election to take  
 15 the sense of the people of this Commonwealth upon the  
 16 question of ratifying or rejecting the following ordinance, to  
 17 wit:

We, the people of Virginia, do declare and ordain, and it is  
 2 hereby declared and ordained, that the ordinance adopted by

3 us, in Convention, on the twenty-fifth day of June, in the  
4 year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-  
5 eight, whereby the Constitution of the United States of Ame-  
6 rica was ratified; and also all acts and parts of acts of the  
7 General Assembly of this State, ratifying amendments of the  
8 said Constitution, are hereby repealed; and that the Union  
9 now subsisting between Virginia and other States, under the  
10 name of the United States of America, is hereby dissolved.

6. Upon the day appointed by the Governor as aforesaid, the  
2 officers authorized by existing laws to conduct general elec-  
3 tions, shall at the places appointed for holding the same,  
4 open a poll book to be headed with the ordinance aforesaid,  
5 and to contain two separate columns: the first column to be  
6 headed, "For ratifying," the other to be headed, "For  
7 rejecting."

And such officers, keeping said polls open for the space of  
2 three days, shall then and there receive and record in said  
3 poll book, the votes for and against said ordinance, of all  
4 persons qualified under existing laws to exercise the right of  
5 suffrage.

7. The taking of the polls, the duties to be performed by the  
2 officers, the privilege of the voters and the penalties attaching  
3 for misconduct on the part of any person shall be in all  
4 things as prescribed by existing laws regulating general elec-

5 tions so far as they may be applicable, adopting the forms of  
6 the returns, to the purpose of certifying the votes aforesaid  
7 to the Governor and to the clerks of the several county and  
8 corporation courts of the Commonwealth.

8. It shall be the duty of the Governor upon receiving the  
2 returns of said officers, to ascertain the result thereof, and  
3 forthwith to declare the same by his proclamation, stating  
4 the aggregate vote in the State for and against the ratification  
5 aforesaid, and if a majority of all the votes cast in said elec-  
6 tion shall be in favor of ratifying said ordinance, he shall in  
7 the same proclamation, summon the members of this Con-  
8 vention to meet at the Capitol, in the City of Richmond, on  
9 a day to be named by him, not exceeding twenty days from  
10 the date of his said proclamation, to take into consideration  
11 such measures and such new connections as the adoption of  
12 said ordinance may make necessary for the safety and hap-  
13 piness of this State.







## PLAN NO. II.

### SUBSTITUTE

*For the entire Report of the Committee on Federal Relations, presented by Mr. WISE, April 13, 1861, and referred to the Committee of the Whole, (to be proposed as an alternative of Plan No. I.)*

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The people of Virginia having, in vain, made every effort,  
2 consistent with their honor, to obtain, within the pale of the  
3 confederacy of the United States of America, their just rights,  
4 and to restore the Union of said States upon a basis of equa-  
5 lity, deem it expedient and necessary to assume a separate  
6 and independent attitude, in order to endeavor more effectu-  
7 ally to obtain the same ends:

*Be it, therefore, ordained by the people of Virginia, and they*  
2 *do declare:*

1. That they hereby resume the powers granted by them  
2 under the Constitution of the United States, and that the said  
3 State is no longer one of the Union of States known as the  
4 United States of America; that they resume all rights of pro-  
5 perty and all jurisdiction of places ceded or granted by them

6 to the Government of the United States; and that they owe  
 7 allegiance to no other sovereignty or government than their  
 8 own now declared separate from and independent of all other  
 9 sovereignties or governments.

2. That they will, separately and independently, proceed to  
 2 form a plan of Government such as they may deem just and  
 3 equal for all the States to adopt as the Constitution of a new  
 4 Union. That when formed, the same shall be submitted to  
 5 all the States, slaveholding and non-slaveholding, those  
 6 which have and those which have not seceded. That each  
 7 State adopting the same shall be received and admitted into  
 8 union with the State of Virginia; and shall, as soon as thir-  
 9 teen contiguous States shall adopt and unite in the same,  
 10 constitute an independent confederated Republic to be known  
 11 under any style and title which it may adopt.

3. That until such new Confederacy shall be formed, the  
 2 State of Virginia will abide under her own State Govern-  
 3 ment, modified as may conform to the new attitude which  
 4 she assumes. That the people of Virginia do hereby recog-  
 5 nize and acknowledge the independent sovereignty and sepa-  
 6 rate national existence of the Confederate States of America;  
 7 and they pledge to said States their aid and coöperation in  
 8 maintaining their independence.

4. That the people of Virginia, professing an ardent desire

2 to restore the Union upon a more permanent basis, and to  
3 preserve and perpetuate peace and harmony among all the  
4 States, demand that the Federal Government, during their  
5 efforts to obtain these ends, shall abstain from the exercise  
6 of all force and from all measures of coercion against either  
7 or any of the States; and that in case of the exercise of force  
8 or coercion, endangering the peace of the country, by the  
9 Federal Government or its authorities, pending the efforts of  
10 this State to secure the rights of her people and to restore the  
11 unity and union of all the States, the same shall be resisted  
12 by all the means in her power.

5. That the foregoing ordinances be submitted in due form  
2 to the people of this Commonwealth, to be approved or not  
3 by them, at their elections to be held in May next for mem-  
4 bers of the General Assembly. And in case the same be ap-  
5 proved by a majority of the qualified voters, the Governor  
6 shall make proclamation thereof, and send copies thereof to  
7 the Executives of all the States, and to the President of the  
8 United States, and to the President of the Confederate States.



## PLAN NO. I.

### SUBSTITUTE.

*For the report of the Committee on Federal Relations, presented by Mr. WISE, April 13, 1861, and referred to the Committee of the Whole.*

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This Convention, called by the people of the Commonwealth  
2 of Virginia, to deliberate upon the present exigencies of their  
3 Federal Relations, and upon the redress of their wrongs and  
4 grievances in the Confederacy of the United States, deems it  
5 necessary and proper, with a view to preserve peace, to de-  
6 fend the Federal Constitution, and to restore and perpetuate  
7 the Federal Union of all the States, on a basis of just and  
8 equal rights, to declare:

That for a long series of years the property of the citizens of  
2 the slaveholding States, and particularly that of her own citi-  
3 zens, has been assailed and endangered; that the Constitu-  
4 tion of the United States has been broken; that the rights  
5 and comities of States and their equality in the Union have  
6 been denied to the people of the slaveholding States; that  
7 the Federal laws have been nullified in respect to the protec-

8 tion of their property in slaves; that the separate and inde-  
9 pendent right of self-government by the border slaveholding  
10 States has been seriously impaired, and, in part, practically  
11 annulled; that their domestic tranquility and social safety  
12 have been endangered and ruthlessly disturbed by actual in-  
13 vasion; that associated and systematic efforts have been con-  
14 stantly and persistently made to enforce upon their people  
15 rules of conscience and of morals by a power without their  
16 borders, to control the family governments of their homes and  
17 their relations as masters to their domestic slaves; that their  
18 character as a people has been maligned and misrepresented  
19 to the world, in order to bring an influence to bear upon  
20 their rights and relations and their wills, rendering them  
21 odious, and no less offensive and injurious to their sense of  
22 self-respect and to their interests than the force of arms; that  
23 the sanctity of the Federal judiciary has been threatened  
24 and set at naught, in order to destroy the only peaceful guard  
25 and guarantee of their rights of property and Federal equality;  
26 and that a sectional hate, which engendered these evils, is  
27 continually magnifying them by every form and effort of in-  
28 cendiaryism, until they are no longer endurable; until the  
29 people actuated by it have obtained the reins of Federal au-  
30 thority and control in all the departments of government; and  
31 until several of the sovereignties, parties to the Federal com-

32 pact, have been compelled to resume the powers granted by  
 33 them under the Federal Constitution, and to form a separate  
 34 and independent confederacy, thereby dissolving the Union  
 35 of the United States of America.

These wrongs have been perpetrated in part by the Federal  
 2 Government, by acts either of omission or of commission, in  
 3 part by the non-slaveholding States, and in part by their peo-  
 4 ple, unrestrained by laws such as confederates are bound to  
 5 enact in respect to the rights and safety of each other.

And the secession, consequent upon these wrongs, is now  
 2 met by every indication of an intention and an attempt to  
 3 coerce the submission of seceding States, by the authorities  
 4 of the Federal Government, who are but the mere agents of  
 5 the sovereign parties to the Federal compact, without even  
 6 an appeal to them for the sanction of any ultimate resort to  
 7 force.

Thus, under the pretext of enforcing laws of the Federal  
 2 Government, the jurisdiction of which is now denied and  
 3 abjured by the seceding States, the nation is imminently  
 4 threatened by an unnatural and unnecessary civil war—  
 5 equally unnecessary, whether the Union is to be finally dis-  
 6 solved or restored.

These indications are made but too plainly manifest by the  
 2 failure of the Conference, inaugurated by the Legislature of

3 this Commonwealth herself, to agree on any terms of adjust-  
 4 ment; by the disclaimer of all power on the part of the Fe-  
 5 deral authorities to negotiate for peace with the Commission-  
 6 ers of the seceded States; by the inaugural address of the in-  
 7 cumbent President of the United States, declaring the policy,  
 8 powers and purposes of his administration of the Federal  
 9 Government, and supposed to represent the sentiments of  
 10 large majorities of the States constituting the major section  
 11 of the United States; by his failure to suggest any mode,  
 12 whilst disclaiming all powers of adjustment; by the failure  
 13 of Congress to recognize the results of the Peace Conference,  
 14 or to recommend any other plan of peace; and by the con-  
 15 centration of Federal troops at various points, and the rein-  
 16 forcing and holding of certain forts and arsenals, with the  
 17 obvious intent and purpose of overcoming any resistance by  
 18 the seceded States to the execution of Federal laws, and to  
 19 overawe the further secession and free action of the slave-  
 20 holding States.

*Be it therefore ordained and declared by the people of Vir-*  
 2 *ginia, in Convention assembled, 'That the following amend-*  
 3 *ments to the Constitution of the United States, be submitted*  
 4 *to their confederate States still adhering to the late Union,*  
 5 *and also to the States which have seceded therefrom, for their*  
 6 *respective determinate conclusions thereon, to wit:*

*Amendments of the Constitution of the United States submitted.*

SECTION 1. In all the present territory of the United States,  
2 involuntary servitude, as it now exists, shall remain and shall  
3 not be changed; nor shall any law be passed by Congress or  
4 the territorial legislatures to hinder or prevent the taking of  
5 persons held to service or labor, from any of the States of  
6 this Union to said territory; nor to impair the rights arising  
7 from said relation; nor shall said rights be in any manner  
8 affected by any preëxisting law of Mexico in the part acquired  
9 from her; but the same shall be protected by necessary reme-  
10 dial laws as other rights, and be subject to judicial cognizance  
11 in the Federal Courts, according to existing laws, and to the  
12 remedies and practice of the common law, except so far as  
13 they may be modified by the existing or territorial laws.  
14 And, when any territory, within such boundary as Congress  
15 may prescribe, shall contain a population equal to that re-  
16 quired for a member of Congress, it shall, if its form of go-  
17 vernment be republican, be admitted into the Union on an  
18 equal footing with the original States, with or without invo-  
19 luntary servitude, as such Constitution of the State may pro-  
20 vide. In all territory which may hereafter be acquired by  
21 the United States, involuntary servitude is prohibited, except  
22 for crime, north of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes; but shall

23 not be prohibited by Congress or any territorial legislature,  
24 and shall be protected by law, south of that line.

SECTION 2. Neither the Constitution, nor any amendment  
2 thereof, shall be construed to give Congress power to abolish  
3 involuntary servitude in any territory; nor in the District of  
4 Columbia; nor in the sites of forts, magazines, arsenals or  
5 other places ceded by the States to the Federal Government,  
6 within the limits of those States where involuntary servitude  
7 is established or recognized; nor within any forts, magazines,  
8 arsenals, or other places reserved within the limits of any  
9 territory for the uses of the Government of the United States;  
10 but Congress shall pass all laws necessary and proper to pro-  
11 tect the property in persons held to service or labor, in said ter-  
12 ritory, district, or other places ceded or reserved to the United  
13 States. Nor shall any law be passed by Congress to hinder or  
14 prevent the taking of persons held to service or labor to or from  
15 the District of Columbia, or to hinder or prevent the retaining  
16 of the same within the limits thereof. Nor shall Congress  
17 have the power to hinder, interrupt, or prohibit the removal  
18 or transportation, by land or water, of persons held to service  
19 or labor in any State or Territory of the United States to any  
20 other State or Territory thereof, where it is established or re-  
21 cognized by law or usage; and the owner of property in per-  
22 sons held to service or labor, or his agent, shall have the

23 right of transit through any State or Territory of the United  
24 States with such property and persons, to and from any State  
25 or Territory recognizing said property by law or usage, and  
26 the right during transportation, by sea or river, of touching  
27 at ports, shores and landings, and of landing and sojourning  
28 with said property, in cases of need, temporarily, any law of  
29 any State or Territory to the contrary notwithstanding. And  
30 Congress shall not have the power to lay on persons held to  
31 service or labor in any of the States or territories of the  
32 United States any other tax than a capitation tax, to be ap-  
33 portioned as capitation or other direct taxes are directed to be  
34 apportioned throughout the United States according to the  
35 fourth clause of section nine of article first of the Constitution  
36 of the United States.

SECTION 3. In all cases where the property in persons held to  
2 service or labor in any State or Territory of the United States,  
3 or in the District of Columbia, has been or hereafter may be  
4 taken for public use, as in cases of impressment in war or  
5 otherwise, the owner thereof shall be justly compensated as  
6 in cases of other property so taken; and in all cases involving  
7 questions of property in said persons, the right of property  
8 in them shall be recognized and protected by the United  
9 States and their authorities as the rights of other property are  
10 recognized and protected.

SECTION 4. The third paragraph of the second section of  
2 the fourth article of the Constitution shall not be construed  
3 to prevent any of the States, by appropriate legislation, and  
4 through the action of their judicial, and ministerial officers,  
5 from enforcing the delivery of fugitives from labor to the  
6 person to whom such service or labor is due. And it shall  
7 be the duty of all the States, to pass all laws necessary  
8 and proper to aid, by their authorities, judicial and minis-  
9 terial, in the execution of the laws passed by Congress  
10 for the delivery of fugitives from service or labor to the per-  
11 son to whom such service or labor is due. And in case the  
12 owner, or his agent, of the person held to service or labor,  
13 shall be unlawfully deprived of his property in such person  
14 by force or violence, by mobs or riotous assemblages, or by  
15 secret associations or conspiracies, in the limits of any State,  
16 such State shall make just compensation therefor, and it  
17 shall be the duty of Congress to provide by law for the en-  
18 forcement of such compensation.

SECTION 5. The importation of slaves, coolies, or persons  
2 held to service or labor, into the United States and the terri-  
3 tories, from places beyond the limits thereof, is hereby forever  
4 prohibited. Provided, that nothing herein contained shall  
5 be deemed to apply to the Southern States which have de-  
6 clared, or may hereafter declare, their separation from this

7 Confederacy, in case their separate independence shall be  
8 acknowledged and continued.

SECTION 6. The elective franchise and the right to hold  
2 office, whether Federal or territorial, shall not be exercised  
3 by persons who are of the African race. And no person of  
4 the African race shall be deemed and held entitled, under the  
5 Constitution of the United States, to the privileges and im-  
6 munities of citizens in the several States. And the several  
7 States are prohibited from passing any laws establishing  
8 equality of the African with the white race within their  
9 limits.

SECTION 7. The second clause of the second section of the  
2 second article of the Constitution of the United States shall  
3 be so amended as to take from the President of the United  
4 States the power of nominating and appointing the judges of  
5 the Supreme and other Federal Courts of the United States,  
6 and their nomination and appointment shall be vested in the  
7 Senate of the United States alone; and three-fourths of the  
8 whole number of Senators shall be required to confirm the  
9 appointments.

SECTION 8. It shall be the duty of the several States, and of  
2 the Congress of the United States, within their respective  
3 jurisdictions, to pass all laws necessary and proper, to protect  
4 and preserve the domestic tranquility of the people of the

5 several States, by suppressing all attempts of individual per-  
 6 sons, or of assemblages, or associations to excite any por-  
 7 tion of the people of the States to acts which will cause, or  
 8 tend to cause, animosity or hostility between the various sec-  
 9 tions, or any invasion of any of the States or territories of  
 10 the United States, or which will introduce or invite foreign  
 11 influence to divide the Union, or which may tend to destroy  
 12 the same.

SECTION 9. The second clause of the second section of the  
 2 second article of the Constitution of the United States shall  
 3 be construed to give no power to the President of the United  
 4 States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to  
 5 make any treaty whereby property in persons held to service  
 6 or labor shall be prohibited or abolished.

SECTION 10. No one of these amendments, nor the third  
 2 paragraph of the second section of the first article of the  
 3 Constitution, nor the third paragraph of the second section  
 4 of the fourth article thereof, shall be amended or abolished  
 5 without the consent of all the States.

*And be it further ordained and declared:*

1. That responses to these propositions of amendment and  
 2 adjustment be requested to be returned within a limited pe-  
 3 riod: say, on or before the first day of October next.

2. That in the event the Federal authorities shall, in the

2 meantime, under any pretext whatever, attempt to enforce  
3 jurisdiction over the people of the seceded States, by arms,  
4 this State will resist such force by all her authority and  
5 power.

3. That a demand shall be made on the Federal authorities,  
2 to withdraw all occupation, in the seceded States, of all  
3 places ceded by them to the United States; and to reduce  
4 the forces at Fortress Monroe and Harper's Ferry and other  
5 places ceded in Virginia, to the lowest ordinary rate of a  
6 peace establishment.

4. That all the means of this Commonwealth shall be imme-  
2 diately applied to arming her people and to completing the  
3 military defences of the State.

5. That in case said propositions of amendment of the Con-  
2 stitution of the United States are not satisfactorily replied to,  
3 or are not replied to at all on or before the first day of Octo-  
4 ber next; or in case hostilities shall commence between the  
5 authorities of the United States and the seceded States, pend-  
6 ing the efforts of this Commonwealth for adjustment; then  
7 the people of Virginia will resume the powers granted by  
8 them under the Constitution of the United States, and inde-  
9 pendently unite with such other States as they may elect to  
10 form a new Union with, embracing such States, North or

11 South, as are willing to guarantee the just and equal rights  
12 of all.

6. That the foregoing ordinances, embracing said proposi-  
2 tions of amendment to the Constitution of the United States  
3 and those which follow said propositions, shall all be sub-  
4 mitted to the people of this Commonwealth, for their ap-  
5 proval or disapproval, at their elections to be held in May  
6 next. That the officers conducting the elections to be held  
7 for members of the General Assembly in May next, shall  
8 prepare proper poll books, the form of which shall be pre-  
9 scribed and distributed throughout the Commonwealth, by  
10 the Secretary thereof; which poll books shall have two  
11 columns, one to be headed, "Approved," and the other,  
12 "Disapproved;" and said officers shall see that a poll is  
13 opened at every election precinct in every county for the  
14 qualified voters to vote under the said heads of columns  
15 whether they approve said ordinances or not; and said offi-  
16 cers shall cause the names of said voters to be recorded for  
17 or against said ordinances; and shall certify and return said  
18 poll books, within five days after the election, to the clerk  
19 of the county or corporation court, as the case may be, where  
20 the election is held. And the clerks, respectively, shall  
21 certify the result of the vote to the Governor, under their  
22 seals of office, within five days after the poll books shall

23 have been returned to them by said officers. And the Go-  
24 vernor and Secretary of the Commonwealth shall compare  
25 and count the said polls and ascertain the result of the same,  
26 and the Governor shall make the result known by proclama-  
27 tion; and he shall make the same known to the President  
28 of this Convention, who shall immediately assemble the  
29 members thereof, if not in session. And if said ordinances  
30 shall be approved by the people, then this Convention shall  
31 proceed immediately to act in conformity thereto. In case  
32 they are approved, then this Convention shall proceed im-  
33 mediately to carry into effect such of the said ordinances as  
34 require no suspension of time for their execution; and as to  
35 those proposing amendments of the Constitution of the  
36 United States, the Convention shall await responses from the  
37 States, until the first day of October next. If the responses  
38 are satisfactory they shall be accepted; if not, or insufficient  
39 responses, or no responses at all, are made, then this Con-  
40 vention shall, for and in behalf of the people, carry into  
41 effect the ordinance for the resumption of their powers  
42 granted under the Constitution of the United States.







## AMENDMENT

*By way of addition, to the entire Report of the Committee on Federal Relations, presented by Mr. SPEED, April 13, 1861, and referred to the Committee of the Whole.*

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[To be added to the resolutions and amendments adopted.]

Whereas, the foregoing proposed amendments to the Constitution of the United States and provisions for conference and coöperation with the slaveholding States remaining in the Union, and for a Congress of the said States and others, ought to be submitted to the qualified voters of this Commonwealth, to be approved or disapproved by them, by vote, at the polls: and whereas, as an alternative proposition, the sense of the said voters should be taken upon the expediency of separate State action and without waiting for previous conference with the said States, and immediately dissolving the connection of Virginia with the Federal Union; therefore,

1. *Be it ordained*, That, in order to ascertain the sense of the voters upon the propositions aforesaid, it shall be the duty of the commissioners and officers conducting the elections for members of the General Assembly on the fourth Thurs-

5 day in May, 1861, to open a poll on that day, at each of the  
 6 several places of voting in every county and city or town  
 7 entitled to separate representation; and for this purpose suit-  
 8 able poll books shall be prepared and distributed throughout  
 9 the Commonwealth by the Secretary thereof. The said poll  
 10 books shall have two columns—one headed

11                   “*For Conference and Coöperation;*”

12 and the other headed

13                   “*For immediate withdrawal from the Union;*”

14 and the names of the persons who may vote for the former  
 15 proposition shall be written under the former heading, and of  
 16 those who may vote for the latter under the latter heading.  
 17 When the said commissioners and officers shall meet as re-  
 18 quired by law to compare the polls and certify the result of  
 19 the elections for members of the General Assembly, they  
 20 shall also ascertain and make returns of the number of per-  
 21 sons who vote for each of the said propositions; and shall  
 22 forthwith send to the clerks of their respective counties and  
 23 corporations a copy of the same; whose duty it shall be im-  
 24 mediately to transmit a copy thereof to the Governor of the  
 25 Commonwealth. The Governor and Secretary of the Com-  
 26 monwealth shall count and compare the said polls, and as-  
 27 certain the result of the votes so given. And the Governor

28 shall make the result known by proclamation, and also com-  
 29 municate the same to the President of this Convention.

2. *Be it further ordained*, That if a majority of the qualified  
 2 voters of the Commonwealth shall vote for

3                   *“Conference and Coöperation,”*

4 the result shall be taken and considered as an approval by  
 5 them of the action of the Convention in recommending such  
 6 course of policy, and as an expression of their will that the  
 7 same shall be carried out. But if a majority of them shall  
 8 vote for

9                   *“Immediate withdrawal from the Union,”*

10 the same shall be taken as a disapproval by them of the said  
 11 course of policy, and as an expression of their will that Vir-  
 12 ginia should immediately resume the powers delegated by  
 13 her people to the Federal Government, and as giving autho-  
 14 rity to the Convention to pass such ordinance or ordinances  
 15 as may be necessary for that purpose; and to make them take  
 16 effect immediately without being referred to the people for  
 17 farther ratification. And, in such event, it shall be the duty  
 18 of the President of the Convention, so soon as the result is  
 19 communicated to him by the Governor as aforesaid, to assem-  
 20 ble the Convention, in order that such expressed will of the

21 majority of the people may be carried into effect, and to take  
22 such further action for the interests of Virginia as the emer-  
23 gency may require.

## SUBSTITUTE

*For the Ordinance to provide against the sacrifice of property and to suspend proceedings in certain cases, presented by Mr. GOGGIN, April 27, 1861.*

1. *Be it ordained*, That no execution shall be issued after five days from the passage of this ordinance, by any court of record or magistrate for the sale of property; nor shall there be any sales under deeds of trust, except for the payment of interest and costs due according to the stipulations of such deeds; nor under decrees for the payment of money, until otherwise provided by law.

2. Where executions have issued and are now in force in the hands of officers, whether levied or not, if the debtor shall tender bond with sufficient security, conditioned for the payment of the debt, interest and cost, and the expiration of one year, at any time before or on the day of sale, -in all such cases, where property has been levied on, upon the giving of such bond such property shall be restored to the owner, and such bond shall be returned, and like proceedings shall then be had as in the case of forthcoming bonds.

3. If the debtor offers no such bond, it shall be the duty of the officer to summon three freeholders of the vicinage, who, after being first sworn for the purpose, shall proceed to value the property according to what would have been its value on

5 the 6th day of November, 1860, and unless the said property  
 6 shall sell for the full amount of such valuation, it shall be  
 7 restored to the debtor. *Provided*, however, that the lien of  
 8 the creditor upon such property shall thereafter remain as if  
 9 his *fi. fa.* were in force in the hands of the officer, and not  
 10 levied.

4. Except in criminal cases or Commonwealth's prosecutions  
 2 there shall be no trial of any cause requiring the intervention  
 3 of a jury, but either party to such cause shall have the  
 4 right, upon reasonable notice, to take the depositions of any  
 5 witness to be read *de bene esse*.

5. In cases of misdemeanor, juries shall be summoned from  
 2 the by-standers, and not under the law as it now is—and  
 3 with the consent of the party prosecuted, the cause may be  
 4 tried by the court.

6. This ordinance shall not apply to liabilities upon the part  
 2 of public officers, either to the State, to counties, to muni-  
 3 cipal corporations, or to individuals—nor to the liabilities of  
 3 fiduciaries in their character as such.

7. The time during which this ordinance is in force, shall  
 2 not be computed in any case where the statute of limitations  
 3 comes in question.

8. This ordinance shall expire on the 30th day after the as-  
 2 sembling of the next General Assembly.

# AN ORDINANCE

*To suspend the Board of Public Works.*

[ June 21st laid upon the table, and ordered to be printed. ]

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*Be it ordained,* That the Board of Public Works be, and the  
2 same is hereby, suspended, during the continuance of the  
3 existing war between the United States and the Confederate  
4 States of America ; but it shall be competent to the General  
5 Assembly at any time to repeal this ordinance and restore the  
6 said Board of Public Works.

*Be it futher ordained,* That the Governor, First and Second  
2 Auditor, a majority of whom may act, shall hereafter, during  
3 the suspension of the Board of Public Works, perform all the  
4 duties and exercise all the functions of the said Board, pre-  
5 scribed by the sixty-sixth chapter of the Code of 1860, or  
6 or any other act of Assembly.

This ordinance shall be in force from and after its passage.

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# AN ORDINANCE

*Authorizing Treasury Notes, and concerning the Banks.*

[ June 24th laid upon the table, and ordered to be printed.]

---

*Be it ordained,* That the twelfth and thirteenth sections, 2 and the last clause of the sixteenth section of chapter fifty- 3 eight of the Code be, and the same are hereby, suspended, 4 in respect to the Banks, which, since the seventeenth day of 5 April last, have made, or may hereafter make loans to this 6 Commonwealth and the Government of the Confederate 7 States, or to either of them. The “loans and discounts” 8 and the “circulation” of the Banks so lending, may exceed 9 the restrictions thereon by the amount of their loans to the 10 Commonwealth and the Government of the Confederate 11 States, until the same be repaid. The Banks are severally 12 authorized to loan to the Commonwealth and to the Govern- 13 ment of the Confederate States thirty per cent. on their re- 14 spective capitals, in the ratio of twenty per cent. to the Com- 15 monwealth, and of ten per cent. to the Government of the 16 Confederate States; and a loan to either shall impose an obli-

17 gation to loan to the other in the ratio aforesaid; provided  
 18 that upon the certificate of the Auditor, that the wants of  
 19 the Commonwealth will be supplied by loans by the Banks  
 20 of less than the twenty per cent. aforesaid, they shall seve-  
 21 rally be at liberty to increase their loans to the Government  
 22 of the Confederate States by such deficiency. The Banks  
 23 shall be at liberty to receive and circulate the Treasury Notes  
 24 of the Commonwealth and the Government of the Confe-  
 25 derate States.

In addition to the sum authorized to be borrowed by the  
 2 ordinance entitled "an ordinance to authorize the issue of  
 3 Treasury notes," passed April 30th, 1861, and for the pur-  
 4 poses therein declared, the payment of interest on the public  
 5 debt, and to pay the expenses of the Convention, the Gover-  
 6 nor is hereby authorized to direct the Auditor of Public Ac-  
 7 counts to borrow for the Commonwealth the farther sum  
 8 of four millions of dollars; two millions whereof, according  
 9 to the provisions of the ordinance aforesaid, and the residue  
 10 according to the provisions of this ordinance for that purpose  
 11 the Auditor, on the order of the Governor, shall issue Trea-  
 12 sury Notes for the amount directed to be borrowed The  
 13 notes issued according to the provisions of this ordinance  
 14 shall bear no interest; be payable on demand, in sums not  
 15 less than five dollars, and when presented at the Treasury,

16 in sums of five hundred dollars, or above, in multiples of  
17 one hundred dollars, may be converted into registered bonds  
18 of the State, bearing six per cent. interest, at the option of  
19 the holder. All and singular the enactments of the ordi-  
20 nance above mentioned, except as the same are hereby mo-  
21 dified, shall be accepted as a part of this ordinance, as if the  
22 same were herein repeated.

The Banks, or any of them, entitled to have their notes  
2 countersigned by the Treasurer, may have them counter-  
3 signed in like manner, to the extent of their loans under this  
4 ordinance, by depositing the Treasury Notes and bonds of  
5 the Confederate States, or either of them, subject to all the  
6 provisions of section forty-nine of chapter fifty-eight of the  
7 Code, edition of 1860.

Inasmuch as the preparation of the notes hereby authorized  
2 is an addition to the general duties of the Treasurer and Au-  
3 ditor, and because it will involve a large amount of labor not  
4 contemplated as part of their official duties, the said Trea-  
5 surer and Auditor shall each be allowed at the rate of three  
6 dollars for each thousand notes so prepared and signed by  
7 them.



## AN ORDINANCE

*To authorize the County Courts to make provision for the maintenance of the Families of Soldiers in the actual service of the State.*

[ June 14th laid upon the table, and ordered to be printed.]

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*Be it ordained by the people of Virginia in Convention assembled,* That in addition to the purposes specified in the act of the General Assembly of this Commonwealth, entitled “An act to authorize the county courts and any incorporated city or town to arm the militia of their respective counties, cities and towns and to provide means therefor,” passed January 19, 1861, the county courts and corporations accepting the provisions of said act, may furnish uniforms, equipments and any necessary relief to such volunteers and to such portions of the militia in their respective jurisdictions as they may deem expedient: may, likewise, make provision for the maintenance of the families of soldiers in the actual service of the State or of the Confederate States, and for such other

14 purposes as the public exigencies may require; and they  
15 shall have power to provide the means necessary for these  
16 purposes in the manner set forth in said act; and all orders  
17 and acts of county courts and corporations heretofore done  
18 and made for the purposes aforesaid, and any bonds hereto-  
19 fore issued for such purposes, are made legal and valid.

This ordinance shall be in force from its passage.

## AN ORDINANCE

*For the Reapportionment of Representation in the Congress of  
the Confederate States.*

[ June 27th laid upon the table, and ordered to be printed.]

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*Be it ordained,* That the number of members to which this  
2 State is entitled in the House of Representatives of the Con-  
3 federate States shall continue apportioned amongst to several  
4 counties and corporations of the State, arranged into sixteen  
5 districts as follows:

Middlesex, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth City, War-  
2 wick, James City, Gloucester, Matthews, Lancaster, West-  
3 moreland, Richmond, Essex, York, King & Queen and  
4 Northumberland shall be the first district.

Norfolk city, Norfolk county, Princess Anne, Nansemond,  
2 Isle of Wight, Southampton, Sussex, Surry and Greenesville  
3 shall be the second district.

Henrico, city of Richmond, Charles City, New Kent and  
2 Hanover shall be the third district.

Dinwiddie and city of Petersburg, Chesterfield, Powhatan,  
2 Amelia, Nottoway, Cumberland, Buckingham and Prince  
3 George shall be the fourth district.

Prince Edward, Brunswick, Mecklenburg, Lunenburg,  
2 Charlotte, Halifax and Appomattox shall be the fifth district.

Pittsylvania, Patrick, Henry, Franklin, Bedford and Carroll  
2 shall be the sixth district.

Albemarle, Campbell and Lynchburg, Amherst, Nelson,  
2 Fluvanna, Goochland and Greene shall be the seventh dis-  
3 trict.

Spotsylvania, Louisa, Orange, Madison, Culpeper, Caroline,  
2 King George, Stafford and King William shall be the eighth  
3 district.

Fauquier, Rappahannock, Prince William, Fairfax, Alexan-  
2 dria, Loudoun and Jefferson shall be the ninth district.

Frederick, Berkeley, Morgan, Hampshire, Clarke, Warren,  
2 Shenandoah, Page and Hardy shall constitute the tenth dis-  
3 trict.

Augusta, Rockingham, Rockbridge, Pendleton, Highland,  
2 Bath, Pocahontas and Alleghany shall constitute the  
3 eleventh district.

Bottetourt, Roanoke, Montgomery, Floyd, Pulaski, Giles,  
2 Craig, Mercer, Monroe, Greenbrier, Raleigh, and Fayette  
3 shall constitute the twelfth district.

Wythe, Smyth, Grayson, Washington, Scott, Lee, Wise,  
2 Buchanan, McDowell, Tazewell, Bland, Russell and Wy-  
3 oming shall constitute the thirteenth district.

Kanawha, Logan, Boone, Wayne, Cabell, Putnam, Mason,  
 2 Jackson, Roane, Clay, Nicholas, Braxton and Wirt shall  
 3 constitute the fourteenth district.

Lewis, Wood, Pleasants, Tyler, Ritchie, Doddridge, Up-  
 2 shur, Randolph, Webster, Tucker, Barbour, Harrison, Tay-  
 3 lor, Gilmer and Calhoun shall constitute the fifteenth dis-  
 4 trict.

Ohio, Hancock, Brooke, Marshall, Wetzel, Marion, Monon-  
 2 galia and Preston shall constitute the sixteenth district.

Each of said districts shall choose one representative in the  
 2 Congress of the Confederate States.



## AN ORDINANCE

*In relation to the Huttonsville and Martin's Bottom Turnpike Road.*

[June 18th laid upon the table, and ordered to be printed.]

*Be it ordained by the Convention.* That the sum of eight hundred dollars is hereby appropriated for the purpose of making repairs for military purposes on the Huttonsville and Martin's Bottom Turnpike Road, to be paid out of any money now or hereafter to be appropriated for the defence of the State. The amount hereby appropriated is directed to be expended in preparing said road for the transportation of troops and provisions, and the Governor is hereby directed to cause said repairs to be made with all possible dispatch, and the money appropriated shall be paid upon the order or orders of the Governor.

This ordinance shall be in force from its passage, subject to amendment or modification by the Convention or General Assembly.



## AN ORDINANCE

*To authorize a connection between the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac, and Richmond and Petersburg Rail Roads, in Richmond; and between the Richmond and Petersburg and Petersburg and Weldon Rail Roads, in Petersburg.*

[ June 19th laid upon the table, ordered to be printed, and made the order of the day for 20th instant, at half past 10 o'clock, A. M..]

*Be it ordained,* That the Governor be, and he is hereby,  
2 authorized and instructed to cause to be constructed, as  
3 speedily as possible, at the expense of the Commonwealth,  
4 out of any money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated,  
5 connections between the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Po-  
6 tomac, and Richmond and Petersburg Rail Roads, through  
7 Richmond, and between the Richmond and Petersburg, and  
8 Petersburg and Weldon Rail Roads, through Petersburg, on  
9 the terms proposed by the said rail road companies; that is  
10 to say :

1. The State is to be at all the expense of constructing said

2 connections, and to have them constructed under the con-  
 3 trol and management of engineers to be appointed by said  
 4 companies, and in the mode and manner to be prescribed by  
 5 them.

2. That when completed, for so long a period, not less than  
 2 five years, as the State shall secure to those companies the  
 3 complete use of those connections for all their purposes of  
 4 passenger and freight transportation, those companies will  
 5 pay as rent for that use to the State six per cent. per annum  
 6 on the cost of constructing the said connections, will keep  
 7 the same in good repair, and will not charge the State or the  
 8 Confederate States with any tolls or fares for transporting  
 9 troops or munitions of war and supplies for the army over  
 10 the same.

3. That whenever the State shall convey to those companies  
 2 the ownership of those connections, with the right to the  
 3 complete use of them, as aforesaid, the said companies bind  
 4 themselves to purchase them of the State at their prime  
 5 cost.

*Be it further ordained,* That the Governor is hereby author-  
 2 ized and empowered to enter into the proper contract on be-  
 3 half of the Commonwealth with the said rail road companies  
 4 to carry out said proposed terms.

## AN ORDINANCE

*To regulate the qualification of officers of the Commonwealth and to prescribe the oaths to be taken by them, and for securing the faithful discharge of their public duties.*

[ June 18th laid upon the table, and ordered to be printed.]

1. *Be it ordained,* That all officers of the State of Virginia,  
2 civil and military, legislative, executive and judicial, whether  
3 appointed or elected, shall in addition to the oaths now pre-  
4 scribed by law, and not prohibited by ordinance of this Con-  
5 vention passed May the 1st, 1861, entitled “An ordinance  
6 to release the officers, civil and military, and the citizens  
7 generally, of the State of Virginia, from all obligation to  
8 support the Constitution of the late Confederacy, known as  
9 the United States of America,” take the following oaths :

I swear (or affirm) that I will support and defend the Ordi-  
2 nance of the State of Virginia passed April 17, 1861, entitled  
3 “An ordinance to repeal the ratification of the Constitution  
4 of the United States of America, by the State of Virginia,  
5 and to resume all the rights and powers granted under said

6 Constitution ;" and all ordinances and laws passed in fur-  
7 therance thereof, to the best of my ability as a citizen of  
8 Virginia, and to the extent of my power as an officer. So  
9 help me God !

I swear (or affirm) that I will be faithful and true, and  
obedient to the legally constituted authorities of the Con-  
federate States of America, in all matters lawfully belonging  
to them under the Constitution for the Provisional Govern-  
ment thereof, and that I will support the said Constitution  
to the best of my ability as a citizen, and to the extent of  
my power as an officer. So help me God !

2. The said oaths shall be taken and recorded as now pro-  
2 vided by law, in respect to the oaths prescribed by Chapter  
3 13th of the Code of Virginia.

3. The first section of this ordinance shall be applicable as well to persons now in office, as to those who may be hereafter elected or appointed.

4. All persons now in office shall be required to take the several oaths prescribed by this ordinance on or before the day ; and any officer failing so to do on or before said day shall thereupon, and without any proceeding for the purpose, be deprived of his office, and be incapable of holding the same ; and all acts done by him thereafter shall be wholly void.

5. All persons not now in office, but elected or appointed,  
2 and not qualified according to law, and all persons hereafter  
3 elected or appointed shall, before they shall enter upon, or  
4 be qualified to discharge the duties of their several offices,  
5 be required to take the several oaths prescribed by this  
6 ordinance.

6. Whenever the Governor of Virginia shall be informed  
2 by the Auditor of Public Accounts that any officer named  
3 in the first section of this ordinance, and connected with the  
4 collection of the public revenue, or having charge thereof,  
5 shall have refused to take the oaths as provided by this  
6 ordinance, or shall be suspected upon just grounds of being  
7 opposed to taking the said oaths, or either of them, it shall  
8 be lawful for the said Governor, upon the recommendation  
9 of the Auditor, to appoint, in place of such suspected per-  
10 sons, assessors, collectors, and receivers of public revenue,  
11 who shall discharge all the duties required upon giving  
12 bonds in a penalty to be fixed, and with security to be  
13 approved by the Auditor, and taking the oaths required by  
14 this ordinance.

7. If any officer of this Commonwealth, referred to in this  
? ordinance, shall be guilty of any act mentioned in the 1st  
? section of the ordinance passed May 1st, 1861, entitled "An  
4 ordinance for the prevention and punishment of offences

5 against the Commonwealth," or shall wilfully fail to do his  
 6 duty in sustaining this Commonwealth and the Provisional  
 7 Government of the Confederate States in the present war  
 8 with the said United States Government; or shall, by word  
 9 or act, oppose the ordinance aforesaid, passed April 17, 1861,  
 10 or instigate or encourage opposition to the same, or main-  
 11 tain or defend the policy of the said Government of the  
 12 United States in its war and coercion against the Confederate  
 13 States, or any of them, he shall be subject to indictment  
 14 therefor, as for felony, and shall, upon conviction thereof, be  
 15 punished, as now provided for in the cases named in the 1st  
 16 section of the ordinance passed May 1st, 1861, aforesaid, ex-  
 17 cept where existing laws may fix other punishment, and  
 18 shall, moreover, be deprived of his office, which shall there-  
 19 upon become vacant, and shall forever be disqualified to hold  
 20 any office in this Commonwealth, or to exercise any civil  
 21 privilege whatsoever; nor shall the Governor exercise the  
 22 power of pardon or reprieve in any such cases, except as pro-  
 23 vided for in the Code of Virginia, chapter 17, § 18.

8. Vacancies in office, occurring under this ordinance, shall  
 2 be filled, as in other cases of vacancy, as provided by law.

9. This ordinance shall be in force from its passage, until re-  
 2 pealed by act of Assembly, or by any ordinance of Conven-  
 3 tion.

## AN ORDINANCE

*To regulate the qualification of Sheriffs and other Collectors of the Taxes of the Commonwealth.*

[June 18th laid upon the table, and ordered to be printed.]

---

1. *Be it ordained*, That all sheriffs, or other collectors of public taxes for the State, shall hereafter be required to give bonds before the judge of the circuit court for the county for which he shall have been elected, or in the circuit court thereof during term; and to take all the oaths required by law or by ordinance before such judge or in such court. And it shall be the duty of said judge in vacation to make the proper certificate for record at the next term of his court in the county, of the execution of the said bonds and the due qualification of said sheriffs; and where the qualification shall be in term, then the record shall be made in said court as in other cases. In all cases, the clerk of said court shall, within sixty days, transmit a copy thereof to the Auditor of Public Accounts.

2. Whenever a collector shall be appointed as herein provided he shall be required to give bond and to qualify as hereinbefore provided in the case of sheriffs.

3. Whenever the Auditor of Public Accounts shall deem the security on any bond of a sheriff now in office or hereafter elected, to be insufficient, it shall be lawful for him, and he is hereby required to petition the judge of the circuit court of the county for which the sheriff is elected, to require of said sheriff a new bond, in the same manner, as if none had been given by him.

4. The said sheriff, upon receiving reasonable notice of said petition shall give new bond at such time as the judge may require of him, and on failure so to do, shall thereupon be deprived of his office, and vacancy thereof be declared; to be filled as in other cases of vacancy.

5. This ordinance shall be in force from its passage, until repealed by act of Assembly, or by an ordinance of Convention.

5. All persons not now in office, but elected or appointed,  
2 and not qualified according to law, and all persons hereafter  
3 elected or appointed shall, before they shall enter upon, or  
4 be qualified to discharge the duties of their several offices,  
5 be required to take the several oaths prescribed by this  
6 ordinance.

6. Whenever the Governor of Virginia shall be informed  
2 by the Auditor of Public Accounts that any officer named  
3 in the first section of this ordinance, and connected with the  
4 collection of the public revenue, or having charge thereof,  
5 shall have refused to take the oaths as provided by this  
6 ordinance, or shall be suspected upon just grounds of being  
7 opposed to taking the said oaths, or either of them, it shall  
8 be lawful for the said Governor, upon the recommendation  
9 of the Auditor, to appoint, in place of such suspected per-  
10 sons, assessors, collectors, and receivers of public revenue,  
11 who shall discharge all the duties required upon giving  
12 bonds in a penalty to be fixed, and with security to be  
13 approved by the Auditor, and taking the oaths required by  
14 this ordinance.

7. If any officer of this Commonwealth, referred to in this  
2 ordinance, shall be guilty of any act mentioned in the 1st  
3 section of the ordinance passed May 1st, 1861, entitled "An  
4 ordinance for the prevention and punishment of offences

5 against the Commonwealth," or shall wilfully fail to do his  
 6 duty in sustaining this Commonwealth and the Provisional  
 7 Government of the Confederate States in the present war  
 8 with the said United States Government; or shall, by word  
 9 or act, oppose the ordinance aforesaid, passed April 17, 1861,  
 10 or instigate or encourage opposition to the same, or main-  
 11 tain or defend the policy of the said Government of the  
 12 United States in its war and coercion against the Confederate  
 13 States, or any of them, he shall be subject to indictment  
 14 therefor, as for felony, and shall, upon conviction thereof, be  
 15 punished, as now provided for in the cases named in the 1st  
 16 section of the ordinance passed May 1st, 1861, aforesaid, ex-  
 17 cept where existing laws may fix other punishment, and  
 18 shall, moreover, be deprived of his office, which shall there-  
 19 upon become vacant, and shall forever be disqualified to hold  
 20 any office in this Commonwealth, or to exercise any civil  
 21 privilege whatsoever; nor shall the Governor exercise the  
 22 power of pardon or reprieve in any such cases, except as pro-  
 23 vided for in the Code of Virginia, chapter 17, § 18.

8. Vacancies in office, occurring under this ordinance, shall  
 2 be filled, as in other cases of vacancy, as provided by law.

9. This ordinance shall be in force from its passage, until re-  
 2 pealed by act of Assembly, or by any ordinance of Conven-  
 3 tion.

## AN ORDINANCE

*To Provide for the Restoration to Rank and Position of Certain Officers.*

[ June 18th laid upon the table, and ordered to be printed.]

*Be it ordained,* That the ordinance passed the 17th day of 2 April, 1861, entitled “An ordinance to call the volunteers 3 into the service of the State, and for other purposes,” having 4 been passed to regulate the modes of organizing regiments, 5 brigades, and divisions of volunteers, thereafter to be called 6 into service, and not to interfere with regiments already or- 7 ganized, and, in fact, either in service or ready for service, it 8 shall be the duty of the Governor, or Governor and Council, 9 in case the officers of any such regiment, so organized and in 10 service or ready for service at the time said ordinance was 11 passed, have, under a mistaken construction of said ordi- 12 nance, been displaced or removed, to cause such officers to 13 be restored to their respective ranks and positions, unless 14 such officers are incompetent and disabled, by reason of ill-

15 health, age, or infirmity, from active and efficient service,  
16 and the officers so restored shall be entitled to such rank as  
17 if they had not been superseded or removed.

This ordinance shall be in force from its passage.

## SUBSTITUTE

*For the Ordinance to provide against the sacrifice of property and to suspend proceedings in certain cases, presented by Mr. GOGGIN, April 27, 1861.*

1. *Be it ordained*, That no execution shall be issued after  
2 five days from the passage of this ordinance, by any court of  
3 record or magistrate for the sale of property; nor shall there  
4 be any sales under deeds of trust, except for the payment of  
5 interest and costs due according to the stipulations of such  
6 deeds; nor under decrees for the payment of money, until  
7 otherwise provided by law.

2. Where executions have issued and are now in force in the  
2 hands of officers, whether levied or not, if the debtor shall  
3 tender bond with sufficient security, conditioned for the pay-  
4 ment of the debt, interest and cost, and the expiration of one  
5 year, at any time before or on the day of sale—in all such  
6 cases, where property has been levied on, upon the giving  
7 of such bond such property shall be restored to the owner,  
8 and such bond shall be returned, and like proceedings shall  
9 then be had as in the case of forthcoming bonds.

3. If the debtor offers no such bond, it shall be the duty of  
2 the officer to summon three freeholders of the vicinage, who,  
3 after being first sworn for the purpose, shall proceed to value  
4 the property according to what would have been its value on

5 the 6th day of November, 1860, and unless the said property  
 6 shall sell for the full amount of such valuation, it shall be  
 7 restored to the debtor. *Provided*, however, that the lien of  
 8 the creditor upon such property shall thereafter remain as if  
 9 his *fi. fa.* were in force in the hands of the officer, and not  
 10 levied.

4. Except in criminal cases or Commonwealth's prosecutions  
 2 there shall be no trial of any cause requiring the intervention  
 3 of a jury, but either party to such cause shall have the  
 4 right, upon reasonable notice, to take the depositions of any  
 5 witness to be read *de bene esse*.

5. In cases of misdemeanor, juries shall be summoned from  
 2 the by-standers, and not under the law as it now is—and  
 3 with the consent of the party prosecuted, the cause may be  
 4 tried by the court.

6. This ordinance shall not apply to liabilities upon the part  
 2 of public officers, either to the State, to counties, to muni-  
 3 cipal corporations, or to individuals—nor to the liabilities of  
 3 fiduciaries in their character as such.

7. The time during which this ordinance is in force, shall  
 2 not be computed in any case where the statute of limitations  
 3 comes in question.

8. This ordinance shall expire on the 30th day after the as-  
 2 sembling of the next General Assembly.

## AN ORDINANCE

*Authorizing Treasury Notes, and concerning the Banks.*

[ June 24th laid upon the table, and ordered to be printed.]

---

*Be it ordained,* That the twelfth and thirteenth sections, 2 and the last clause of the sixteenth section of chapter fifty- 3 eight of the Code be, and the same are hereby, suspended, 4 in respect to the Banks, which, since the seventeenth day of 5 April last, have made, or may hereafter make loans to this 6 Commonwealth and the Government of the Confederate 7 States, or to either of them. The “loans and discounts” 8 and the “circulation” of the Banks so lending, may exceed 9 the restrictions thereon by the amount of their loans to the 10 Commonwealth and the Government of the Confederate 11 States, until the same be repaid. The Banks are severally 12 authorized to loan to the Commonwealth and to the Govern- 13 ment of the Confederate States thirty per cent. on their re- 14 spective capitals, in the ratio of twenty per cent. to the Com- 15 monwealth, and of ten per cent. to the Government of the 16 Confederate States; and a loan to either shall impose an obli-

17 gation to loan to the other in the ratio aforesaid; provided  
 18 that upon the certificate of the Auditor, that the wants of  
 19 the Commonwealth will be supplied by loans by the Banks  
 20 of less than the twenty per cent. aforesaid, they shall seve-  
 21 rally be at liberty to increase their loans to the Government  
 22 of the Confederate States by such deficiency. The Banks  
 23 shall be at liberty to receive and circulate the Treasury Notes  
 24 of the Commonwealth and the Government of the Confe-  
 25 derate States.

In addition to the sum authorized to be borrowed by the  
 2 ordinance entitled "an ordinance to authorize the issue of  
 3 'Treasury notes,'" passed April 30th, 1861, and for the pur-  
 4 poses therein declared, the payment of interest on the public  
 5 debt, and to pay the expenses of the Convention, the Gover-  
 6 nor is hereby authorized to direct the Auditor of Public Ac-  
 7 counts to borrow for the Commonwealth the farther sum  
 8 of four millions of dollars; two millions whereof, according  
 9 to the provisions of the ordinance aforesaid, and the residue  
 10 according to the provisions of this ordinance for that purpose  
 11 the Auditor, on the order of the Governor, shall issue Trea-  
 12 sury Notes for the amount directed to be borrowed The  
 13 notes issued according to the provisions of this ordinance  
 14 shall bear no interest; be payable on demand, in sums not  
 15 less than five dollars, and when presented at the Treasury,

16 in sums of five hundred dollars, or above, in multiples of  
17 one hundred dollars, may be converted into registered bonds  
18 of the State, bearing six per cent. interest, at the option of  
19 the holder. All and singular the enactments of the ordi-  
20 nance above mentioned, except as the same are hereby mo-  
21 dified, shall be accepted as a part of this ordinance, as if the  
22 same were herein repeated.

The Banks, or any of them, entitled to have their notes  
2 countersigned by the Treasurer, may have them counter-  
3 signed in like manner, to the extent of their loans under this  
4 ordinance, by depositing the Treasury Notes and bonds of  
5 the Confederate States, or either of them, subject to all the  
6 provisions of section forty-nine of chapter fifty-eight of the  
7 Code, edition of 1860.

Inasmuch as the preparation of the notes hereby authorized  
2 is an addition to the general duties of the Treasurer and Au-  
3 ditor, and because it will involve a large amount of labor not  
4 contemplated as part of their official duties, the said Trea-  
5 surer and Auditor shall each be allowed at the rate of three  
6 dollars for each thousand notes so prepared and signed by  
7 them.







FEB 4 1928

